

Universal History,

FROM THE

Earliest Accounts to the Present Time.

Compiled from

ORIGINAL AUTHORS.

Illustrated with

CHARTS, MAPS, NOTES, &c.

AND

A GENERAL INDEX to the Whole.

*Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξίχεσθαι μὴ κατανόει· ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ ἐννήσεις ἀπόπας
ἀπὸρ ἕτεροι συνῆξαν ἐγκόπως.* Basil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.

V O L. VII.



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OF THE

SEVENTH VOLUME.

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A N

Universal History,

FROM THE

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C H A P. XXII.

S E C T. III.

*Continuation of the History of Syracuse, from the placing
Hiero upon the Throne, to the reducing Sicily to a
Roman Province.*

HIERO, in consequence of his being declared king of Syracuse, assumed the government of that city and its territories; and continued to prosecute the war against the Mamertini, whom, some time after his accession, he so far reduced, that they began to entertain thoughts of surrendering their city to him. Accordingly they sent ambassadors, inviting him to a conference; wherein it was agreed, that the city of Messana should be put into his hands, and that he should maintain the inhabitants in the possession of their ancient rights and privileges, and protect them against any foreign invasion. But as Hiero was advancing to take possession of the place, he was deceitfully prevented by Hannibal, who at that time commanded the Carthaginian forces in Sicily. The cunning African came, in appearance, to congratulate Hiero on his late victory, and amused him till some troops, which he had kept concealed in the Lipari islands, drew near Messana. The officer, who commanded that detach-

Yr. of Pl.
2083.
Ante Chr.
265.

*The Ma-
mertini
reduced to
great
straits by
Hiero.*

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ment,

ment, assured the Mamertini, that he came as a friend; and that his only design was to assist them against the Syracusans, and prevent them from delivering their city into the enemy's hands. The Mamertini, seeing themselves supported with a new reinforcement, summoned a council to deliberate on the measures they should take in so critical a juncture. The members of the assembly were divided in their opinions; some were for accepting the protection Carthage offered them, others for surrendering to Hiero, with whose mild government, and strict honour, they were well acquainted; but the greatest part were for calling the Romans to the assistance of a city, whose inhabitants were originally Italians^a.

Yr. of Fl.
2085.
Ante Chr.
263.

The Mamertini call in the Romans.

The Mamertini, before they fought the last battle with Hiero, had sent deputies to Rome, imploring the assistance of the Roman senate and people, against the invasions of their neighbours; and the people, at the instigation of the consuls, had promised to comply with their request. But the senate, having more regard to honour and equity than the people, were not yet come to any resolution. They considered, that the Sicilians were only endeavouring to recover a city which the Mamertini had surprised by the blackest treachery; and thought it altogether unworthy of the Roman virtue to undertake openly the defence of traitors, who were guilty of the same perfidy which they had lately punished in the Rhodians with the utmost severity. The senate, therefore, could not be prevailed upon to come into the measures of the people, so long as the Mamertini had no enemies to contend with except the Syracusans. But when news were brought to Rome, that the Carthaginians had entered Messina, and offered to defend it, the conscript fathers changed their opinion. They were sensible, that Carthage undertook the defence of that important place only with a design to seize it for herself; and therefore, as they did not care to be so near neighbours to that powerful republic, they laid aside their former scruples, came readily into the people's measures, and agreed to send the consul Appius Claudius to attempt the deliverance of Messina, and stop the progress of the Carthaginians^b.

Claudius sent to Messina.

Appius Claudius did not go at first in person to Messina, but sent thither one of his military tribunes, who was also named Claudius, in his stead. The tribune was a man of extraordinary boldness, and at the same time of

^a Polyb. lib. i. Zonar. lib. viii. cap. 8.

^b Polyb. *ibid*.

great prudence and address, fit for carrying on any great enterprize, and incapable of being terrified at the greatest dangers. He immediately set out for Rhegium; where he collected vessels, in order to cross over into Sicily. But before he ventured to sea with the few triremes he had under his command, he thought it adviseable to discover the disposition of the Mamertini. Accordingly, going on board a fishing-boat, he passed undiscovered through the midst of the enemy's fleet, and arrived safe at Messana, which he found possessed by the Carthaginians, who had entered it with the consent of some of the inhabitants, and contrary to the inclinations of others. The tribune convened the Mamertini, in the place where they usually met, in order to acquaint them with the motives of his coming among them. At first the clamours of the Carthaginians, who assisted at the assembly with the inhabitants, prevented him from being heard. However, he obtained at last a moment's silence, and then he addressed the assembly: "Mamertines, I come hither as a deputy from the Romans, to offer the assistance you have desired. The senate and people concur in granting it, and have nothing more at heart than to defend Messana from the oppression which threatens her. We engage our words, that we will withdraw our forces as soon as your city and fortunes are safe." These words made a deep impression on their minds; but as they had already introduced the Carthaginians into their city, they were no longer their own masters, and therefore returned such an answer as would have discouraged any one less bold than Claudius: "It is a great pleasure to Messana," they replied, "to be able to spare the Romans the trouble of assisting her. Carthage is beforehand with them, and her protection is sufficient. Wherefore, if you have no other proposals to make, you may withdraw. Every free city has a right to call in to her assistance whom she pleases." "A free city!" replied Claudius: "Are you not in the power of the Carthaginians? Are you not, even in this place, besieged by a foreign force? Does not Carthage already domineer over you, and make you feel the weight of that yoke, which you must, if not relieved by us, bear for ever? Answer me, if you dare." Upon these words, the Mamertini were silent, through fear of the Carthaginians; and the Carthaginians were struck dumb with the truth of the tribune's speech: who, taking advantage of this general silence, "You Carthaginians, (said he,)

Which he finds in the possession of the Carthaginians.

His speech to the assembly of the Mamertini, and their answer.

His intrapidity and resolution.

know not what to answer, because you are conscious of your own injustice: and you, Mamertini, are dumb, because you dare not speak. If fear had not shut your mouths, I am confident you would not reject my offers; and therefore I interpret your silence as a tacit consent to my proposal." Upon these words a murmur arose in the assembly; and Claudius, crying aloud, "Mamertini, I understand your meaning; you implore the assistance of the Romans; we will comply with your request;" left the assembly, and the city, without farther delay; and returned to Rhegium^c.

The Romans undertake the defence of Messina.

Upon his report the senate declared, that the Mamertini were disposed to receive succours from Rome, and ordered the same tribune to set sail with his fleet to Messina. His fleet was not in a condition to contend with that of Carthage, the Romans having, at that time, only a few triremes, and their men being quite ignorant of sea-affairs; whereas the Carthaginians were masters at sea, had numerous fleets cruising off the coasts of Italy and Sicily, and were furnished with expert mariners. However, the tribune, despising all danger, resolved to weigh anchor, and steer his course to Messina; but being met by Hanno, the Carthaginian admiral, in the streights between Rhegium and Messina, some of his ships were taken by the enemy, and others, by a violent storm, dashed in pieces against the rocks on the coast of Italy; insomuch that he was obliged to return to Rhegium, after having lost the best part of his fleet. Claudius, not at all discouraged by this misfortune, began to refit his ships, in order to put to sea again, saying, that he did not expect to learn the art of navigation without paying dear for it. Before he set sail the Carthaginians sent him back the vessels which they had taken in the late engagement, hoping, by means of this artful present, either to pique the Romans in point of honour, and divert them from sending succours to Messina, or at least to lay the whole blame of a rupture upon Rome. When Hanno's deputies restored the ships, they reproached the Romans with having infringed the treaties agreed on by both republics; and pretended that the streights belonged to Carthage. This imputation so incensed Claudius, that he rejected the present with indignation, and pursued his former resolution with more vigour than ever. Hanno's deputies, before they left Rhegium, told Claudius, in an imperious style, that Carthage would

Their small fleet lost or dispersed.

^c Polyb. lib. i. Zonar. lib. viii. cap. 2. Auſt. Vir. Illuſt. Vir.

not suffer a Roman even to wash his hands in the streights. But this declaration served only to make Claudius, who was undaunted in the greatest dangers, more eager to drive from the neighbourhood of Italy so imperious and encroaching an enemy. Soon after the departure of the deputies he again set sail; and conducted his enterprize so well, that he eluded the vigilance of the Carthaginian admiral, and arrived safe in the port of Messina. Hanno, who had exchanged the command of the fleet for that of the land-forces in Messina, upon the arrival of the Romans, retreated into the citadel, abandoning the city to Claudius, who immediately ordered the Mamertini to call an assembly, and invite Hanno to be present. It was not without the utmost difficulty that Hanno was prevailed upon to leave his citadel, and trust himself among the Romans and Mamertini. However, he came at last; but high words arising between him and Claudius, the bold Roman, who no longer appeared as an envoy, but supported by his legionaries, was so provoked, that he ordered his soldiers to seize Hanno; and kept him in confinement, till he prevailed upon him, partly by menaces, and partly by fair promises, to deliver up the citadel to the Romans, and evacuate the city. This act of cowardice cost him his life; for he was tried by his countrymen, found guilty, and condemned to be crucified *.

Claudius arrives safe at Messina.

Seizes the Carthaginian general, and obliges him to deliver up the citadel.

Hiero, king of Syracuse, had already made the necessary preparations to besiege Messina, which city he considered as a sure conquest, after the victory he had gained over the Mamertini. But when he found it was defended by the Romans, thinking himself too weak to enter the lists against the Romans and Mamertini, he sent ambassadors to the Carthaginians, offering to join them, provided they would assist him in the siege of Messina, and help him in expelling the Romans. Such an embassy was very acceptable to the Carthaginians, who were determined to risk every thing rather than suffer the Romans to get any footing in Sicily. A treaty, therefore, was immediately concluded between Carthage and Syracuse, whereby they agreed to assist each other in driving the Romans out of the island; Messina was to be delivered up to Hiero, and some places subject to Syracuse were to be put into the hands of the Carthaginians. Great preparations were carried on both at Syracuse and Carthage; new forces were raised, and a numerous fleet sent from

Hiero enters into an alliance with the Carthaginians against the Romans.

* Polyb. lib. i. cap. 11. Val. Maximus, lib. ii. cap. 7.

*A great
fleet and
army sent
by the Car-
thaginians
into Sicily.*

*Hanno
summons
the Romans
to leave
Sicily.*

*Messana
besieged by
the Car-
thaginians
and Syra-
cusans.*

*The consul,
Appius
Claudius,
arrives at
Rhegium.
His message
to Hiero.*

*Hiero's an-
swer.*

Africa, under the command of another Hanno, the son of Hannibal, who was charged with the whole management of the war. This fleet put in at Lilybæum, whence the land-forces marched to Selinus, and encamped, while their general went to Agrigentum, and caused the fortifications of that place to be repaired. The Carthaginians and Syracusans being now ready for action, Hanno, before he began hostilities, sent a herald to the Romans, summoning them to leave Sicily, and surrender Messana to him, or to the king of Syracuse, if they desired to live in amity with their respective republics. Claudius answered that he was determined to defend the place, and the allies of the people of Rome, to the last drop of his blood. In consequence of this declaration the Carthaginian and Syracusan armies joined, and invested Messana. The Carthaginians posted themselves near cape Pelorus, and lined the coast, whilst Hiero, with his troops, blocked up the city on the land-side, and encamped round Mount Chalcis: so that Messana was surrounded on all sides, and no succours or provisions could be conveyed into it either by sea or land *.

As soon as the tribune Claudius had refused to quit the place, Hanno, the Carthaginian general, ordered all the Italians, who served in his army, to be massacred. When the fate of these unfortunate men was heard at Rome, the consul Appius, who had not appeared yet in this dispute, immediately departed for Rhegium, with a design to cross over into Sicily. Upon his arrival he sent deputies to king Hiero, conjuring him, by his ancient friendship to the Romans, not to persist in the siege of Messana, which alone would create a quarrel, the consequences of which might prove fatal to him. But Hiero, exasperated that the Romans should undertake the defence of a city which must have otherwise fallen into his hands, broke out into invectives against the ingratitude of a republic which he had assisted in her distress. As he was himself a man of strict equity, he thought it surprising that the Romans, who had lately punished, with the utmost severity, one of their legions, for treacherously seizing on Rhegium, should now protect those, who, in the very same manner, had made themselves masters of Messana. He, therefore, answered the deputies of Claudius, that the events of war were, indeed, uncertain; but should he, in his attempt against the rebellious city, prove unsuccessful, all men would

* Zonar. lib. viii. cap. 9. Diodor. Sicul. in Eclog.

agree, that though the ambition and power of the Romans prospered, yet Hiero fell in a just and honourable cause. The Romans themselves were very sensible that his integrity was the only motive which prompted him to take up arms against the Mamertini. But, as he had joined the Carthaginians, the consul was little affected with his answer, and only said, that good king Hiero was not aware of the intention of his new allies, since their design, in seizing Messana, was only to open themselves a way to the conquest first of Sicily, and then of Italy¹.

Claudius, finding the king of Syracuse determined to carry on the siege of Messana, resolved to sail thither in person; but, as the Carthaginian fleet watched all his motions, he dissembled his design, and pretended that it was not in his power to make war upon Hiero without fresh orders from the senate; and that he must, therefore, return to Rome, and lay the matter before the senate and people. This report soon reached Messana, and the Carthaginians neglected cruising in the streights; whereupon Claudius, having first ordered his troops to repair to several ports of Italy, and lie there in readiness to sail, went on board a paltry galley, pretending only to coast along the shore, in order to return to Rome. But he soon tacked about, and, being favoured by a dark night, reached the nearest shore in the island, and landed without being observed by the enemy. The Romans, who were then unexperienced in sea affairs, thought this such a glorious action, that they gave the consul the surname of Caudex, a Latin word, signifying a *boat unskilfully built*².

The consul Claudius passes over into Sicily.

The consul, having landed his forces, resolved to advance against Hiero, who blocked up Messana on the side of Mount Chalcis, in hopes of succeeding by surprize. When the king saw the enemy marching up to attack his camp, he very imprudently left his trenches, not doubting but he should get the better of them in the open field, a step which he thought far more glorious than to fight behind a rampart. The Syracusans charged with such fury and resolution, that the Roman cavalry was put in disorder at the first onset; but the legions fought with so much bravery, that the Syracusans could not, with their utmost efforts, break through them; nay, they were themselves, after a long and obstinate dispute, forced to give way, and leave the Romans an open passage into the city. The consul, overjoyed at gaining the first victory which

and defeats Hiero.

¹ *Iidem* *ibid.*

² Zonar. *ibid.* Front. in Stratag. lib. i. cap. 4.

Rome had ever obtained out of her own continent, entered Messina in triumph, and was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy by the inhabitants, who now began to entertain hopes of being soon delivered from a siege which had already reduced them to great misery. Neither were they disappointed in their expectation; Hiero could not continue any longer before the place after his overthrow, being distressed for want of provisions: besides, he thought himself betrayed by the Carthaginians; for, if they had guarded the straits, the Romans could never have attacked him, nor even ventured out of the ports of Italy. He could not help thinking, that the Carthaginians had suffered the Romans to enter the island on purpose to destroy him; and, full of distrust, he decamped hastily in the night, and retired to Syracuse^b.

*Who retires
to Syracuse.*

*Claudius
attacks the
Carthagi-
nian camp;
but is re-
pulsed
with loss.*

Appius, having now but one enemy to contend with, sallied out of the city, and attacked the Carthaginian camp; but, as it was in a very advantageous post, and strongly fortified, he was obliged to withdraw his legions and retreat into Messina, after having sustained considerable loss. His retreat looked like a flight, and this encouraged the Carthaginians to quit their trenches and pursue him; but the legions, unexpectedly facing about, fell upon their pursuers, put them in disorder, and made a dreadful havock of the broken troops. Thus the advantages of the day were equal; but Claudius, not thinking it advisable to attempt the enemy's camp a second time, laid waste all the neighbouring country, and made excursions to the very gates of Syracuse. Hiero, finding that the Carthaginians were not in a condition to protect his dominions, began to entertain some thoughts of abandoning them, and joining with the Romans; but the sudden departure of the consul Claudius for Rome, prevented him for the present from entering into any treaty with that republic.

*Both the
consuls sent
into Sicily.*

Next year, early in the spring, both the Roman consuls, Manius Valerius Flaccus, and Manius Otacilius Crassus, transported their legions into Sicily, and carried on the war against Hiero and the Carthaginians. They both landed without meeting with the least opposition from the Carthaginian fleet, and then parted, Valerius undertaking to dislodge the Carthaginians from their advantageous post, where they kept Messina blocked up, and Otacilius advancing into the middle of the country, to spread the terror of the

^b Zonar. lib. viii. cap. 9. Eutrop. lib. ii. Polyb. lib. i.

Roman arms. What success attended the former we find no where mentioned; but the surname of Messana, which was given him on this occasion, and afterwards, by corruption, changed into that of Messala, as some writers inform us¹, is a convincing proof that he signalized himself by some gallant action. As for Otacilius, he advanced to the foot of Mount Ætna, and possessed himself of all the cities in that fruitful country: Adranum and Centuripe were taken by assault; but many other cities, and, among the rest, Alæsa submitted to the conqueror. Afterwards the two consular armies sometimes joined to fight the united forces of the Syracusans and Carthaginians, and at other times separated, in order to extend their conquests; the enemies were every where vanquished; and, as they took the cities subject both to the Syracusans and Carthaginians, without distinction, they reduced, in a few months, no less than sixty-seven places; of which number were Taurominium and Catana, two cities of great importance. As they drew great reinforcements from these cities, their armies were soon so increased, that they thought themselves in a condition to undertake the siege of Syracuse, the capital of the whole island, and at that time one of the greatest and strongest in the world. Hiero, being intimidated at the danger he was in, and now more sensible than ever that an alliance with Rome would be less disadvantageous to him than one with Carthage, lost no time in endeavouring to save his stately metropolis from impending ruin. As soon as the two consular armies appeared before it, he sent deputies to treat with the Romans about a peace, who, on their part, were not averse to it, knowing that, by keeping up a friendly correspondence with Hiero, the Carthaginians would be reduced to their own forces only, and the Roman armies plentifully supplied with all manner of provisions, for want of which they had been greatly distressed the preceding year. A treaty, therefore, was soon concluded on the following terms: that the Romans should receive Hiero into the number of friends and allies of their republic, and protect his capital and dominions, particularly the cities of Acra, Leontini, Megara, Elorum, Netum, and Taurominium, from all hostilities whatsoever; and, on the other hand, that Hiero should deliver up the prisoners he had taken without ransom, pay the republic a hundred talents of silver, and cultivate her friendship by a faithful

*Progress of
the Roman
arms in
Sicily.*

*Syracuse
invested by
two consu-
lar armies.*

*Yr. of Fl.
2087.
Ante Chr.
261.*

*Hiero con-
cludes an
alliance
with the
Romans.*

¹ Senec. de Brev. Vitæ, Macroh. Saturn. lib. i.

observance of the treaty. This agreement by the king and consuls, and afterwards ratified at Rome, first by the senate, and then by the people, at the motion of Cn. Attilius Calatinus, then a tribune of the people. It was, at first, only a truce for fifteen years; but the conditions were so faithfully performed on both sides, that it lasted as long as Hiero lived^k.

*Hiero's
constant at-
tachment
to the Ro-
mans.*

Thenceforth Hiero saw no war in his dominions, nor had any other care, but that of sending from time to time supplies of provisions to his allies the Romans, who gratefully acknowledged his generosity, and protected his dominions from the insults of their common enemy. During the space of above fifty years he lived after his accession to the throne; while the whole country around him was in flames, occasioned by the cruel wars, which the two most powerful republics in the world made upon each other, he was only a spectator, and heard the noise of the arms, which shook all the neighbouring regions, himself and his people enjoying the sweets of a profound peace and tranquility. The Romans perceived, on several occasions, during the first Punic war, and especially at the siege of Agrigentum, with which it was begun, how necessary it was for them to cultivate the friendship of Hiero; for that prince abundantly supplied them with provisions, when without his aid they would have been obliged by famine to quit the island, their convoys from Italy being often intercepted by the enemy's fleet, which guarded the freights^l.

*His happy
reign.*

The interval between the end of the first Punic war, and the beginning of the second, amounting to about twenty-five years, was to Hiero a time of tranquility; during which, his constant employment was to make his subjects happy, and to redress the many evils, which the tyrannical government of Agathocles, and the intestine divisions arising upon his death, had occasioned. Before his reign the state had been divided into two factions, one of the citizens, the other of the soldiers; and their differences, supported on both sides with great animosity, kept up the spirit of division in the republic, and gave birth to numberless disorders. But Hiero, by his prudent and impartial conduct, so rooted out all seeds of discord and misunderstanding, that, during a long reign, no revolt or sedition ever arose, or the least commotion either in

^k Polyb. lib. i. Justin. lib. xxiii. Zonar. lib. vii. cap. 6. ^l Polyb. lib. xviii.

the army or the city. Both soldiers and citizens looked upon him rather as their common father and protector, than as their lord and sovereign; and were fully convinced, that he was altogether averse from doing any thing that could in the least prejudice their fortunes or liberty. His particular care was to encourage agriculture, which he looked upon as the certain means to diffuse abundance throughout his kingdom: he did not think it unworthy of the sovereignty to study that art, and even compose a book on that subject, the loss of which is much regretted. As the chief riches of the country, and the most certain fund of the prince's revenue, consisted in corn, the tenth part of which was paid to him, Hiero made such wise and equitable regulations on this head, that they acquired the same force as the fundamental laws the country, and were always observed as sacred and inviolable, not only in his reign, but in all succeeding times. When the Romans had reduced the city and territories of Syracuse under their dominion, they imposed no new tributes, but only decreed, that all things should be regulated according to the laws of Hiero^m.

Studies the welfare of his people.

His wife and equitable regulations.

In the second Punic war Hiero gave signal proofs of his attachment to the Romans. As soon as he received advice of Hannibal's arrival in Italy, he went with his fleet well equipped to meet Tiberius Sempronius at Messina; and assured him, that, advanced in age as he was, he would shew the same zeal for the Roman people, as he had expressed in his youth, if they thought it necessary that he should put himself at the head of his troops, and cross over into Italy. He supplied the consul's legions with corn and cloaths at his own expence, and was preparing to attend him into Italy, when Sempronius, receiving the news of the advantage gained by the Romans over the Carthaginian fleet, thanked the king for his generous offers, but made no use of them at that time^a.

Gives proofs of his sincere attachment to the Romans.

Hiero's sincere affection for Rome appeared still more conspicuous after the victory gained by Hannibal at the lake Thrasymentus. The Romans had already lost three battles, and were abandoned by many of their allies. In this distressful conjuncture Hiero sent a fleet laden with provisions to the port of Ostia, having on board a thousand archers and slingers, together with the figure of Victory in massy gold, weighing three hundred pounds,

His presents to the Romans in their distress.

^m Polyb. lib. i. Cic. Orat. in Ver. de Frum. n. 15. lib. xxi.

^a Liv.

which he presented as a favourable augury of their future success. His ambassadors being admitted to the senate at Rome, assured them of his constant attachment; and he generously offered to exert himself farther in their service, in any manner they should propose. To his presents Hiero added a wholesome piece of advice, which was, that the prætor, who should be sent to command in Sicily, might cross from thence into Africa, and by that expedient divert the Carthaginians from sending any succours to Hannibal in Italy. Rome was touched with the affection which king Hiero shewed her, thanked him for his presents and advice, and sent him this grateful letter: "You have ever been a constant and generous friend. No change of times has altered your affection and generosity towards us. We received with pleasure the Victory from your hands. It is a pledge of your friendship, which we will carefully preserve; and, in order to keep her, and even prevent her from ever leaving us, we will shut her up in the strongest place of Rome. We will place her in the Capitol, our citadel, and even in the temple of Jupiter. The gods grant, that she may be as faithful and friendly to us as you have been!" All the corn on board the ships, with the archers and slingers, were sent to the consuls. They likewise conveyed, pursuant to Hiero's advice, from the ports of Italy, a reinforcement of twenty-five quinqueresmes to T. Otacilius, who commanded the armies in Sicily, empowering him to carry the war into Africa, if he thought proper.*

The letter from the senate to Hiero.

's generosity to the Indians.

Hiero's generosity was not confined to the Romans alone: Polybius informs us, that he sent a hundred talents to the Rhodians, with other rich presents, after the great earthquake, which laid waste their island, and threw down the famous colossus. He likewise caused two statues to be erected in the market-place at Rhodes, representing the people of Syracuse placing a crown on the head of the Rhodians, as if, says our historian, Hiero, after having made the people magnificent presents, believed himself indebted to them. So great was the modesty with which his presents were always attended!†

Though Hiero seemed entirely employed in maintaining the peace and tranquillity of his kingdom, yet he did not neglect matters relating to war; knowing that the surest means to preserve the public quiet, was to hold himself always ready to reduce such as should attempt to disturb

* Liv. lib. xxii. cap. 37.

† Polyb. lib. v.

To him Syracuse was indebted for those amazing warlike machines which the Syracusans made use of when besieged by the Romans, as we shall have occasion to remark. The public buildings, such as palaces, temples, and arsenals, which were erected in Syracuse by his order, and under the direction of Archimedes, were the greatest ornaments of that stately metropolis. He caused also an infinite number of ships to be built for the exportation of corn, in which the principal riches of the island consisted. We are told of a galley built by his order, which was one of the wonders of that age. Archimedes, who was the director of the work, spent a whole year in finishing it, Hiero daily animating the artificers with his presence. This ship had twenty benches of oars, three spacious apartments, and all the conveniencies of a large palace. The floors of the middle apartment were all inlaid, and represented in various colours the stories of Homer's Iliad. The cielings, windows, and all other parts, were finished with wonderful art, and embellished with all kinds of ornaments. In the uppermost apartment there was a spacious gymnasium, or place of exercise, and walks, with gardens and plants of all kinds, disposed in admirable order. Pipes, some hardened of clay, and others of lead, conveyed water to refresh them. But the finest of the apartments was that of Venus, the floors being inlaid with agate, and other precious stones, the inside lined with cypress-wood, the windows adorned with ivory, paintings, and small statues. In this apartment there was a library, and a bath with three great coppers, and a bathing-vessel made of one single stone of various colours, containing two hundred and fifty quarts. It was supplied with water from a great reservoir at the head of the ship, which held a hundred thousand quarts. The vessel was adorned with fine paintings, and had eight towers of equal dimensions, two at the head, two at the stern, and four in the middle. Round these towers were parapets, whence stones might be discharged against the enemy's vessels when they approached. Each tower was constantly guarded by four young men completely armed, and two archers. To the side of the vessel was fastened an engine made by Archimedes, which threw a stone of three hundred weight, and an arrow of eighteen feet, the distance of a stadium, or a hundred and twenty-five feet. Though the hold of this vessel was exceedingly deep, a single man could soon clear it of water with a machine invented for that purpose by Archimedes. An Athenian

His public works.

Wonderful galley built by his order.

poet

*His present
to Ptolemy,
king of
Egypt.*

poet having composed some verses on this magnificent vessel, Hiero, who understood the value of verse, rewarded him with a thousand medimni, that is, six thousand bushels of wheat, which he caused to be carried to the Pyreæus, or port of Athens. Hiero afterwards made a present of this great vessel to Ptolemy, probably Philadelphus, king of Egypt, and sent it to Alexandria. As there was at that time a great famine in Egypt, Hiero sent along with it several other ships of less burden with three hundred thousand quarters of corn, ten thousand great earthen jars of salt-fish, twenty thousand quintals of salt-meat, and an immense quantity of other provisions¹.

*His attachment
to the
Romans in
their great-
est distress.*

Hiero's fidelity to the Romans was put to a severe trial after the battle of Cannæ, which was followed by a universal defection of their allies. The Carthaginians, having landed a great number of troops in Sicily, made dreadful havock in the territories of Syracuse. But nothing could shake the king's constancy. He was only concerned to see some, even of his own family, favour the Carthaginians. He had a son named Gelon, who married Ncreis the daughter of Pyrrhus, and had by her several children, and amongst others Hieronymus, of whom we shall soon speak. Gelon, despising his father's wholesome advice, and looking upon the Romans as already subdued by Hannibal, openly declared for the Carthaginians. He had already armed the multitude, and excited the allies of Syracuse to join him; but his measures were broken by a sudden and unexpected death, which happened so seasonably, that his father was suspected to have been privy to it².

Yr. of Fl.
2137.
Ante Chr.
211.

Hiero dies.

Hiero did not long survive his son. After he had continued faithful to the Romans for fifty successive years, he died, in the ninetieth year of his age, and fifty-fourth of his reign, sincerely regretted by his subjects, and no less lamented by the Romans, who lost in him the most constant friend they had ever acquired.

*Designed to
restore the
Syracusans
to their an-
cient li-
berty.*

There was no prince to inherit Hiero's crown, except Hieronymus the son of Gelon, on whom he could not depend as to his conduct, being but fifteen but years old at his grandfather's death. The good old king therefore, who had more at heart the happiness of his people, than the aggrandizing of his family, had formed a design of abolishing monarchy, and restoring the Syracusans to their ancient form of government. He had two daughters, both married to the greatest lords of the kingdom, Dema-

¹ Athenæus, lib. v,

² Liv. lib. xxiv. cap. 4. & seqq.

rata, the elder, to Andranadorus; and Heraclea to Zoipus, a man of a quiet disposition, and who had served Hiero with great fidelity, but was in his heart a zealous republican; wherefore his wife Heraclea, whom he suffered to go but very seldom to court, never attempted to divert her father from reinstating the Syracusans in their ancient rights. But Demarata, at the instigation of her ambitious husband, used her utmost endeavours to engage Hiero not to deprive his grandson of a crown, which was due to him by right of inheritance. The private views of Demarata and her husband were to govern the kingdom, during the minority of Hieronymus, and to wait for a favourable opportunity of placing the crown upon their own heads. It was not easy for an old man of ninety to resist the caresses, tears, and entreaties of a daughter, who besieged him day and night. So that he at last gave way to the repeated instances of an ambitious woman, made a will, and bequeathed the crown to his grandson.

Is diverted from it by his daughter.

The king's obsequies were celebrated with great pomp by the citizens, to whom his memory was dearer than to his relations. A few days after Andranadorus, thinking the young prince securely seated on the throne, because he saw no open opposition, began to take such measures, as plainly discovered his intentions, and increased the number of the enemies of the monarch and monarchy. Hiero's chief aim, in appointing fifteen guardians, was to engage so many of the greatest lords in his dominions to be defenders of his grandson's crown and family. But Andranadorus, out of a selfish view, deprived Hieronymus of his chief support, by removing all the other guardians, under pretence that the king was of age to take the reins of government into his own hands. By these means that artful minister, who had gained a great ascendant over the young prince, united in his own person all the power which had been divided among them. Hieronymus, under the direction of Andranadorus, became quite the reverse of his grandfather. He seemed to take pleasure in increasing the sorrow of the people for the loss of Hiero; and they, by comparing the vices of the successor with the virtues of his predecessor, began to conceive a great aversion for the new king. Hieronymus assumed the purple and diadem, and never appeared in public but in a chariot drawn by white horses, and surrounded by a troop of guards. His whole conduct was suitable to this equipage. He was difficult of access, never gave audience but with an air of contempt, and often

His vices and cruelty.

Is universally hated by his subjects.

His favourite.

Thrafo, who favoured the Romans, unjustly accused and put to death.

ten added severe jests to his denials. Even his guardians were with great difficulty suffered to approach him. He had no confidants, but the ministers of his pleasures, giving himself up to all manner of debauchery. His cruelty was no ways inferior even to those of Agathocles, and seemed to have extinguished all sense of humanity in him. This disposition raised an universal alarm both among the people and nobles, insomuch that some of those, who had been appointed his guardians, laid violent hands on themselves, to avoid seeing the vices of their ward, and others voluntarily withdrew from their country *.

Only three men of distinction continued at court, Andranadorus, Zoippus, both Hiero's sons-in-law, and Thrafo, surnamed Charcarus. The latter was a true courtier, a cunning statesman, and one who indeed readily complied with all the inclinations of the prince, but understood better than any other his master's true interest. The king often took pleasure in engaging him in disputes with Andranadorus and Zoippus about state affairs. Thrafo was a zealous advocate for the Romans; but the two others, believing they could never recover after the dreadful overthrows they had received, openly declared for Carthage; and their arguments had the greatest weight with the young prince. However, the reasons alleged by Thrafo kept him in suspense, till a melancholy accident determined him to chuse the worst part. A person, named Solis, of a mean condition, and who had served Hieronymus from his infancy in the lowest offices, discovered a conspiracy against the king; but could name none of the conspirators, except Theodotus, who was delivered up to Andranadorus, and tortured, in order to make him discover the whole plot, and the names of the conspirators. Being in the utmost agony, he confessed the crime as to himself; but, instead of naming his accomplices, he accused all the king's best friends, though innocent, and amongst others Thrafo, as the ringleader of the whole enterprize; adding, that he should never have engaged in it, if they had not been countenanced by one in favour with the king, and who had free access to the palace. His declaration was believed, and all the interest Thrafo had at court could not save his life. As for Theodotus, he persisted to the last breath in accusing the innocent, in order to save the guilty; and his accomplices depended so much on his fortitude, that none of them left the city,

* Liv. *ibid.*

or absconded, during the whole time he was kept in prison and racked †.

Upon the death of Thraso, who was the sole support of the Roman alliance, Andranodorus and Zoippus easily brought the king into their measures, who immediately dispatched ambassadors to the Carthaginian camp in Italy. Hannibal received them with great demonstrations of kindness, and sent an embassy to the young king of Syracuse, at the head of which he placed a young officer of great distinction at Carthage, named also Hannibal, hoping that the conformity of age and inclinations would make him agreeable to Hieronymus. With him he joined two persons advanced in years, who were both great statesmen, and experienced commanders; one was called Hippocrates, and the other Epicydes; they were born at Carthage, but descended from Syracusans, their grandfathers having been banished Sicily in the time of the tyranny of Agathocles. Claudius Pulcher, the Roman prætor in Sicily, took umbrage at the arrival of these ambassadors, and immediately sent deputies to the court of Syracuse, to renew the alliance made with king Hiero. But the Carthaginians had already given the king such high notions of Hannibal's victories and reputation, that he had sent away young Hannibal to Carthage, to prepare that senate for receiving his ambassadors, when they should come to conclude a treaty of alliance with them †.

In this situation of affairs the envoys of the Roman prætor were not received at Syracuse with the respect due to their character. They began their speech with explaining the motives of their deputation: "We are come, (said they), to renew that alliance and good understanding, which the wise king Hiero maintained for so many years with Rome." But Hieronymus, who was naturally given to raillery, replied, "I will ask you but one question: who were conquerors at Cannæ, you or the Carthaginians? I am told such surprising things of that battle, that I should be glad to know all the particulars of it." This severe reproach mortified the Romans; however, they only made him this reply, that when he would please to be serious, they would desire another audience. They accordingly had one some days after, and addressed the king with as much haughtiness as if they had been conquerors, advising him not to determine upon the choice of his allies from doubtful accounts, nor change

Hieronymus proposes an alliance with the Carthaginians.

Hierocles the Roman ambassadors with contempt.

† Athenæus, lib. xxiv. cap. 5.

† Liv. lib. xxiv.

sides too rashly, lest he should soon have occasion to repent of the measures he had taken. To this advice the king replied with an insulting air: "Yes, indeed, I suppose it was out of pure friendship that the Romans, upon a false report of my grandfather's death, brought their fleet in sight of Syracuse. Did they design to make themselves masters of my dominions, or to protect them?" This reproach was founded on a malignant turn, which the enemies of Rome had given to a step of the Romans. A report being spread of king Hiero's death, the Roman fleet had advanced as far as Cape Pachynum, to assist the grandson of their faithful ally. But, as soon as they understood, that Hiero was still alive, the fleet returned to Lilybæum. Hence the friends of Carthage took occasion to persuade the king, that the design of the Romans was to seize on his dominions. The ambassadors endeavoured to undeceive him; but he, with an air of raillery, only replied, "Since, then, you could tack about, give me leave, in my turn, to take advantage of the wind, from what point soever it blows; it is now set for Carthage, and thither shall I sail." The deputies withdrew, without returning any answer; and informed the prætor, who had sent them, of every particular that had passed.

*Enters into
an alliance
with Car-
thage.*

*The condi-
tions of the
treaty.*

From this time Rome looked upon the king of Syracuse as her enemy. And indeed that prince, soon after the departure of the ambassadors, sent three deputies to Carthage, to ratify the alliance he had made with Hannibal. The conditions of this treaty were; first, that the Carthaginians should send a fleet and army, to assist Hieronymus: secondly, that after they had with their joint-forces, driven the Romans out of the island, they should divide it into two equal parts, the River Himera being the boundary of the Syracusans on one side, and of the Carthaginians on the other. Hippocrates and Epicydes as they had preferred the interest of Syracuse to that of Carthage, convinced Hieronymus of his error, and gave him to understand how prejudicial the second article might prove to him. "Your right to all Sicily, (said they), is indisputable. You are the son of Nereis, the daughter of Pyrrhus; and who does not know, that Pyrrhus was, by the unanimous consent of the Sicilians, declared king of the whole island?" Though this discourse was not conclusive, yet, the young prince's eyes being easily dazzled with discoveries that favoured his ambition, he im-

« *Liv. ibid.*

mediately

mediately dispatched a new embassy to Carthage. The former proposals he had made were just upon the point of being signed; and the Carthaginians were not a little surprised to see the king change his mind. The ambassadors, after a long harangue, wherein they endeavoured to prove their master's right to all Sicily, and to shew, that he could not divide it without wronging himself, confined the alliance with Carthage to mutual assistance. "The king of Syracuse, (said they), will assist Hannibal in Italy, and Carthage shall assist him in Sicily." As it was of the utmost importance for Carthage to separate Syracuse from the Romans, and to recover a footing in Sicily, the senate consented to the new proposals of Hieronymus, and began to raise an army, and equip a fleet, to be sent to that island. Half Sicily was at that time in the hands of the Romans, and had been a Roman province ever since the treaty, which put an end to the first Punic war; for, by that peace, the island was divided into two parts; the one was possessed by the Romans, and the other by Hiero; so that at this time the Romans were in a condition to give Hieronymus great trouble.

Hieronymus dissatisfied with them, obtains others.

The Roman prætor took the field, and began hostilities in the territory of Syracuse, before the arrival of the Carthaginians in Sicily. On the other hand, Hieronymus, leading his troops to Leontini, on the confines of his dominions, fixed his residence there. His army amounted in all to about fifteen thousand men, of which he detached two thousand, under the command of Hippocrates and Epicydes, to dislodge the Romans from some posts they possessed.

The Romans begin hostilities.

In the mean time the conspirators, whose names Theodorus had concealed even in the midst of torments, after having long waited for an opportunity of putting their design in execution, at last appointed a day for dispatching a tyrant, whose cruelties, and other vices, they could no longer endure. They posted themselves in a narrow street, through which the king, during his residence at Leontini, used to ride every day, on his return from the forum to the palace. His guards always attended him; but one of them, named Dinomanes, was in the number of the conspirators, and agreed with the rest to make the guards halt, that they might have an opportunity of falling upon the king, while he was at some distance from his attendants. Accordingly Dinomanes, who was at the head of the guards, stopped, as it were to tie the strings of his buskins: upon this signal the conspirators, rushing

Yr. of Fl: 2140.
Ante Chr: 208.

Hieronymus murdered.

out of their ambush, stabbed the king in several places, before he could receive any assistance; for Dinomanes, facing about upon his fellow-soldiers, stood their onset, and, though dangerously wounded, did not retire till the king was dead. When the guards saw their prince weltering in his blood, and the conspirators advancing to attack them, they betook themselves to flight. When the king's death was known in the army, which was encamped under the walls of Leontini, the soldiers cried out, that the traitors ought to be all sacrificed to the manes of Hieronymus; but the name of liberty, with which the conspirators filled the city and camp, soon appeased their resentment. Hopes were also given them, that the king's treasures should be divided among them; and that they should soon be headed by more able generals, than the late unexperienced young prince. They were also reminded of the public crimes, and private vices, of the late king, which, being artfully represented, and in the worst light, filled them with such horror, that they left the dead body in the public street.

Andranadorus seizes on the citadel, and the island of Ortygia.

The king was no sooner dead, than Sosias and Theodotus, two of the conspirators, hastened to Syracuse, to prevent the attempts of Andranadorus, and the others of the royal faction; but, notwithstanding their diligence, Andranadorus received notice of what had happened before their arrival, and took his precautions accordingly. He had already seized on the citadel, and the island of Ortygia, and filled them with troops and officers in whom he could confide. Some writers are of opinion, that the Roman prætor Claudius was not entirely unconcerned in a plot, which was so useful to his republic. However that be, he did not fail to give the senate immediate advice of all that had passed, and to take the necessary steps for preserving that part of Sicily which belonged to the Romans.

Disturbances in Syracuse.

While Andranadorus, supported by the king's faction, was fortifying himself in Ortygia, Sosias and Theodotus entered that quarter of Syracuse called Tyche. The sun was set before they reached the city; but still there was light enough to see the king's diadem, and bloody robes, which the conspirators carried in their hands, and shewed to the people. This sight drew crowds of the inhabitants round them, whom they invited into Acradina, which was the centre of the city, to take proper measures for the reco-

very of their liberty. All the city sided with the conspirators; lights were seen in all parts; some took to their arms, and those who had none in their houses, ran to the temple of Jupiter Olympius, where the arms of the Gauls and Illyricans were deposited, which the Romans had presented to their good ally king Hiero. Armed citizens posted themselves in all the avenues leading to the citadel, and there kept guard all night. Andranadorus attempted to possess himself of the public granaries; but his soldiers revolted, and delivered them up to the magistrates of the city. In this manner the first night was spent, after the murder of Hieronymus.

Next morning, by day-break, all the inhabitants of Syracuse crowded into Acradina, where the senate was assembled, which had not been convened, nor consulted upon any affair, since Hiero's death. Polyænus, an illustrious citizen, addressed the people with great freedom and moderation: "Syracusans, said he, I am not at all surprised to see you in arms, in order to recover your ancient liberty. The sense you have of your past slavery, and the calamities you have suffered under a tyrannical government, have inspired you with this generous resolution. But you have heard from your fathers, that civil discord is likewise attended with great evils, and that Syracuse has suffered more from domestic than foreign wars. I commend your readiness in taking arms, but should esteem you still more worthy of commendation, if you only used them in the last extremity. It is my opinion, therefore, that you send deputies to Andranadorus; and that you first try, by gentle methods, whether you can prevail upon him to open the gates of the citadel, to put the island into the hands of the magistrates, and to withdraw his garrisons. If he submits, violence is useless; but if he persists in maintaining himself upon a throne to which he has no right, his crime is greater than that of Hieronymus, and deserves a more severe punishment." This discourse had the desired effect; deputies were sent to Andranadorus, who entered into a conference with them. He was sensible that it would be very difficult to maintain himself in his usurpation, against the unanimous consent of the people. Ortygia was already partly possessed by the citizens; and the public granaries, on which he had depended, were in the power of the magistrates. These considerations gave him just apprehensions; but

*Polyænus's
speech to
the people.*

*Deputies
sent to An-
dranado-
rus.*

his wife Demarata, Hiero's daughter, a haughty and ambitious woman, reminded him of the famous saying of Dionysius the tyrant, "that no man ought to quit a throne, till he is dragged from it by the heels." She advised him to demand time to consider the proposal, and in the mean time to bring the troops from Leontini, and endeavour to gain them by promising them half the king's treasures.

His answer to them.

Andranadorus did not entirely reject this counsel, nor think proper to embrace it too precipitately. He chose a mean between both, and resolved to submit to the senate, in expectation of a more favourable opportunity to accomplish his designs. He therefore assured the deputies, that he would open the gates of Ortygia the next day, come into Acradina, and give the assembly an account of his conduct. Accordingly he threw open the gates the next morning; and repairing to the market-place of Acradina, where the people were assembled, he mounted the tribunal of harangues; and, after excusing his delay, from the apprehensions he had been under of being involved in the tyrant's punishment, declared that he was come to put his life and fortune into the hands of the senate. Then turning to Sosis and Theodotus, "As for you, said he, illustrious avengers of the public wrongs, do not imagine that the glorious work of establishing your liberty is yet accomplished. What you have done hitherto is but a sketch of what ought to follow. An unrestrained populace is as dangerous in a republic as a persecuting tyrant." Andranadorus, having spoken these words, laid down the keys of Ortygia, and of the king's treasures, at the feet of the two chiefs of the conspiracy. The whole city was greatly rejoiced on this occasion, and the rest of the day spent in feasting, and returning thanks to the gods for so happy a change.

Andranadorus submits to the senate.

He is chosen one of the chief magistrates.

Next day the people assembled to elect the chief magistrates to govern the state, when Andranadorus was one of the first chosen, and with him the chief conspirators; among the rest, Sosipater and Dinomanes, though then at Leontini. They had there seized on the money, which Hieronymus had taken with him to pay the troops, and had caused it to be removed to Syracuse, where treasurers were chosen to take charge of all the effects of the late king. And, lastly, as a sign of having entirely recovered their liberty, they caused the wall to be taken down be-

tween Acradina and the island Ortygia, which was the retreat of the kings.

In the mean time Hippocrates and Epicydes, Hannibal's agents, whom Hieronymus had placed at the head of his troops, endeavoured to conceal the king's death from them, and assassinated those who first spread the report of it in the camp. But all was to no purpose; they were abandoned by the greater part of the troops, and obliged to quit the field, and repair to Syracuse, in order to carry on the same negotiations with the republic, which they had begun with the king. But finding that the change of government had changed the dispositions of the Syracusans, when they were introduced into the senate, they only desired a free passage into Italy. The Syracusans were not sorry to part with those strangers, who were of a turbulent and factious disposition, and well experienced in military affairs. But as the senate was too dilatory in appointing the time for their departure, and guards to escort them, they found means to form a party against the senate of Syracuse, and against Rome. They had commanded the king's forces, and therefore being well known to the soldiers, they assembled as many as they could in their lodgings, and, by seditious speeches, excited them to rebellion, telling them, that the senate designed to deliver up the state to the Romans, and sacrifice the public good to their private ambition. Andranadorus was not ignorant of these plots, but favoured them, in appearance, in hopes of turning them to his own advantage. The seditious Demarata was continually spiriting him up to re-establish monarchy, and place himself on the throne.

*A plot
formed by
them.*

The discourses of Demarata made no small impression on Andranadorus; however, he did not think fit to embark in so dangerous an enterprize, till he had communicated his design to Themistus. This nobleman had married Harmonia, the late king's sister, and therefore shewed great readiness to enter into the plot, being well apprised, that, if the republican state were restored, he should be reduced to a private station. Thus the design of usurping the throne was formed, and measures were taken for the putting it in execution; but an indiscreet confidence disconcerted the whole. Themistus was very intimate with one Aristo, a man of no mean birth, but by profession an actor, which was not deemed dishonourable among the Greeks, men of distinction appearing sometimes on the stage, and acting parts in tragedies. As soon as Aristo was informed by his friend, that the

*The plot
discovered.*

*Andran-
dorus and
Themistus
put to
death.*

conspirators had resolved to put the magistrates to death; and re-establish the monarchy, he thought it his duty to prefer the interest of his country to the laws of friendship; and accordingly discovered the conspiracy to the chief magistrates, or prætors; by whom sentence of death was privately passed upon Andranadorus, and Themistus, upon his deposition alone; for Aristo was known to be a man of great honour and probity. The sentence was to be executed at the door of the senate-house, when these chiefs should come to the senate; and guards were placed at the entrance, with private orders to kill them as soon as they appeared. The guards, pursuant to their orders, attacked them as they were entering the senate, and the conspirators fell on the spot, pierced with many wounds. Their death struck the rest of the senators with terror; for they were entire strangers to the motives of that execution: but the prætors, when the tumult was quelled, introduced Aristo, who unriddled the whole mystery to them, lamented the unhappy fate of his friend Themistus, and discovered the designs of the conspirators. He told them, that the Iberian and African mercenaries, whom Hieronymus had kept in his pay, were to have been the instruments of this new revolution, and to have been employed in cutting off the chief citizens of Syracuse; that their estates were to have been the rewards of the assassins; and that due preparations were made for the seizing of Ortygia again, in the name of Andranadorus. He then entered into a detail of all the circumstances of the conspiracy, and named the persons, who were to have executed each part of that black design. As his evidence carried with it all the appearance of truth and sincerity, the senate passed a decree, declaring, that the death of Andranadorus was as just as that of Hieronymus.

In the mean time the populace, not knowing for what reason two citizens of distinction had been so unexpectedly put to death, threatened to revenge the violence offered them. But the sight of the dead bodies of the conspirators, which were dragged out into the porch, appeased the tumult; and then Sopater, appointed by the senate to harangue the people, informed them of their pernicious designs, ascribing all the misfortunes of Sicily to them, and not to Hieronymus, who, being only a youth, had been led astray by their wicked counsels. By his speech the multitude was inflamed to a savage pitch of fury, against all the individuals of the royal family. *Domarata, Hiero's daughter, and Harmonia, Gelon's daughter,*

daughter, the former married to Andranadorus, and the latter to Themistus, were killed first. The executioners went afterwards to the house of Heraclea, the wife of Zoippus. That virtuous princess was the only person of the royal family, who was not concerned in the conspiracy. Her husband, having been sent on an embassy to Ptolemy, king of Egypt, had remained at Alexandria, to avoid beholding the vices and ill conduct of Hieronymus. During his abode there, Heraclea, whom he had inspired with the most noble sentiments, spent her days in retirement, wholly employed in the education of the two young princesses, her daughters. When she heard, that the executioners, after having murdered her sister and niece, were come to her, she took refuge, with her two daughters, in the most remote part of her house, where she worshipped her gods. But the murderers discovered her. Then seeing those who were to imbrue their hands in her blood, she went to meet them, and with her hair dishevelled, her face bathed in tears, implored mercy in the most pathetic terms; which made no impression on the minds of those barbarians: they drew their swords to sacrifice those innocent victims; and then Heraclea, forgetting her own danger, interceded only for her daughters; but her entreaties and tears were to no purpose; they first stabbed her in the sight of her daughters, and then, with innumerable wounds, dispatched them, already stained and covered with the blood of their mother. They were scarce dead, when an order came from the people to suspend the execution; but when they understood that the innocent princesses were already dead, they exclaimed with the utmost rage and fury against the magistrates, who had been so ready to put that cruel sentence in execution, without allowing them time to reflect on the injustice of it. The death of Andranadorus and Themistus had occasioned two vacancies in the college of prætors, and the people made use of this pretence to proceed to a new election. The day was fixed for the assembly, and all the Syracusans met in the public market-place to give their suffrages. Compassion for the unfortunate Heraclea had greatly abated the hatred of the people to the king's party; insomuch that Hannibal's ambassadors, who had always been zealous for the late king, did not despair of being elected. They were originally Syracusans, highly esteemed by the soldiery, and, besides, had engaged in their interest such of the people as were most touched with compassion for the death of Heraclea and

*Heraclea
and her
daughters
cruelly
murdered.*

*Epicyles
and Hip-
pocrates
elected
prætors.*

and her daughters. They had also the address to disperse fame among the crowd, whom they had hired to act and speak in their favour; and these, when the people came to vote, cried out, some Epicyles, and others Hippocrates, whose names being repeated in several places, the assembly took these scattered votes for the unanimous consent of the multitude. The prætors, indeed, were for bringing the cause before the senate, but were prevented by the clamours of the people; so that Epicyles and Hippocrates were declared duly elected.

*The Roman
sends in
Sicily.*

Hannibal was the instrument of all these disturbances, and had great reason to hope, that they would both secure his conquests in Italy, and give Carthage an opportunity of recovering her ancient dominion in Sicily, where Rome would find it more difficult to maintain a war, than in her own neighbourhood. The Romans, who had been put in possession of the greatest part of this island at the end of the first Punic war, had divided their possessions into two provinces, under the government of two prætors. Appius Claudius ruled in that which bordered on the territories of Syracuse; and Cornelius Lentulus, at the head of two legions, commanded in the province which was nearest to Lilybæum. Besides, Otacilius was cruising on the coast, with a fleet of an hundred sail, ready to act according to the resolutions that should be taken at Syracuse. However, the forces of the two prætors were not thought sufficient, by the senate of Rome, to oppose the Syracusans, when supported by the numberless troops, which in all likelihood would be sent into the island from Africa. It was therefore resolved, that Marcellus should transport the army he commanded at

*Marcellus
sets out for
that island.*

Nola, into Sicily, and assist Claudius and Lentulus. The greatest part of the Syracusan prætors were still inclined to keep up a good understanding with Rome, and had sent deputies to Claudius, to renew the ancient treaties which had been violated by Hieronymus. But Claudius, who knew that the consul Marcellus would soon arrive in Sicily, came to no conclusion with them, referring the whole matter to the consul; who, upon his arrival, having received their proposals, and finding them advantageous to his republic, dispatched an embassy to Syracuse, to confirm the treaty. But the ambassadors found the state of affairs much altered. A report had been industriously spread, by the emissaries of Hannibal, that a Carthaginian fleet appeared off Cape Pachynum, and this report gave new confidence to the enemies of Rome. Besides, Hip-
pocrates,

poocrates and Epicydes omitted no artifice to inspire the populace with an aversion to the Romans. By means of the mercenaries, and Roman deserters, they spread a report, that Syracuse was to be delivered up to the Romans; and that this design was carrying on by the prætors, who had sold themselves to Rome. These suspicions were confirmed by the approach of some ships of Otacilius, which Appius had ordered to draw near to Syracuse, to encourage the party in the Roman interest. Nay, the populace, at the instigation of Hippocrates and Epicydes, had already taken up arms, to oppose the pretended descent of the Romans.

In this confusion the wisest among the prætors thought proper to assemble the people. Violent debates arose; and there being reason to fear some sedition, Apollonides, one of the principal senators, made a discourse very suitable to the occasion. He represented, that no city was nearer its destruction or preservation than Syracuse was at that time; that if they unanimously joined either the Carthaginians or Romans, they might escape the dangers that threatened them; but, if they were divided, the war would not be more cruel and bloody between the Carthaginians and Romans, than between Syracusans and Syracusans, as having different troops and commanders within the narrow compass of their own walls; that it was, therefore, absolutely necessary, in the first place, to agree among themselves, and then to consider which of the two alliances was to be preferred, since they could not possibly stand neuter, while such powerful rivals were making war under the very walls of Syracuse. "As for me, said Apollonides, if I may be allowed to declare my private opinion, the love I bear my country inclines me to the Romans, who have shewed us a steady friendship, and protected us for fifty years together". Hiero sided with that people, and how happy were we during the whole time of his long reign! Hieronymus entered into an alliance with Hannibal; and hence his untimely end and our present disturbances. In what then have the Carthaginians deserved the preference?" He added one very material consideration; which was, that if they declared against the Romans, they would have the war immediately upon their hands; whereas, on the side of Carthage, the danger was more remote. This discourse made no small impression on the minds of the people,

*Apollonides
exhorts the
Syracusans
to join the
Romans.*

The Syracusans offer to renew their alliance with Rome.

who ordered, that a certain number of military officers should be joined in commission with the prætors, and the chief men in the senate, to deliberate on the matter. Accordingly the council was held, and, after long and warm debates, it appeared that Syracuse had no just reason to break with Rome. So that it was declared, that the treaty of peace concluded with the Romans should be continued, and an embassy sent to Marcellus to renew it. But the consul would not accept of the alliance, unless Leontini, and the other cities which had been subject to the kings, were included in the treaty. Hippocrates and Epicydes were rejoiced to hear that the signing of the treaty was delayed, being resolved to embroil matters, and create a misunderstanding between Rome and Syracuse the first opportunity; and one offered in a few days. The Leontines, being harassed by their neighbours, sent to demand aid of the Syracusans, who willingly granted them their request, thinking this a favourable opportunity to discharge their city of a turbulent unruly multitude, and to remove their no less dangerous leaders. Hippocrates was, therefore, charged to march at the head of the mercenaries and Roman deserters, to the number of four thousand men, into the territory of Leontini, and cover their borders against the incursions of their troublesome neighbours. Hippocrates was not at all displeased with his new commission: he immediately left Syracuse; and, not content with defending the Leontines, and ravaging the territories of their enemies, made incursions into the Roman province, and laid waste the lands belonging to Rome, which bordered on the country of the Leontines. In this irruption he acted contrary to the orders he had received; but his only view was to provoke the Romans, and oblige them to commit hostilities in the territories of Syracuse. Accordingly Appius Claudius, then the Roman prætor in that part of Sicily, provoked by the insults of Hippocrates, advanced, with a body of troops, to the frontiers of his province, and there posted them in different places, with orders to oppose the Syracusan prætor, and repel force by force. Hippocrates, pretending that the Romans were come to attack him, fell upon one of Appius's detachments, and cut the whole body in pieces. Marcellus, upon advice of these proceedings, sent deputies to Syracuse, to declare before the senate and people, that no alliance was to be expected with Rome, so long as these two enemies to the Roman name continued in Sicily; and therefore insisted upon their being banished the island. The Syracusans shewed

Hostilities committed against the Romans by Hippocrates;

shewed great readiness to comply with the consul's request; and orders were given for apprehending Epicydes, Hippocrates being, at that time, in the territory of the Leontines at the head of an army. But Epicydes, having timely notice of the design of the Syracusans, made his escape, and took sanctuary in Leontini, where he hoped to create new troubles. He was kindly received by his colleague, and both together used their utmost endeavours to embroil the Leontines with the Syracusans, by inciting them to resume their ancient liberty. The city of Leontini had been subject to Hiero and Hieronymus, but, in more ancient times, an independent state; and was now inclined to throw off the yoke, and recover its former rights and privileges. This disposition of the people Epicydes made use of to attach them to his interest, openly declaring, that neither he, nor his colleague Hippocrates, would ever abandon them till they were as free as Syracuse herself. The name of liberty was so agreeable to the Leontines, that they declared Hippocrates and Epicydes their generals; protesting, that whatever measures Syracuse might take, they would enter into none but such as were approved of by their new commanders. Hence, when the Syracusans sent to complain of the hostilities committed against the Romans, and to demand that Epicydes and Hippocrates should be expelled Sicily, neither their complaints nor demands were heard. They received only this insolent answer, that the republic of Leontini had not impowered that of Syracuse to comprehend her in their alliance with the Romans*.

The Syracusan deputies informed the consul of the revolt of the Leontines; and not only left him at liberty to declare war against them without any infraction of the treaty made with their republic, but even offered to assist him in so just a war, on condition that the Leontines, when subdued, should again be subject to the Syracusans, their ancient masters. Marcellus immediately took upon him the command of the troops which served under Ap-pius the prætor, whom he appointed his lieutenant, and marched against the city of Leontini. The legions were so enraged at the remembrance of the massacre of their companions by Hippocrates, that they took the place at the first assault. Hippocrates and Epicydes had time to save themselves in the citadel, from whence they withdrew the night following, and retired to Erbesus, or Herbesus,

which the Syracusans resent.

Hippocrates and Epicydes stir up the Leontines against the Syracusans.

Hippocrates and Epicydes elected general of the Leontines.

Marcellus marches against the Leontines.

Leontini taken by Marcellus.

* Liv. lib. xxi. cap. 30. Plut. in Marcell.

near the frontiers of the Syracusan territories. In their retreat they were informed, that a body of eight thousand men was marching from Syracuse, under the command of Sosis and Dinomenes, to join Marcellus. Those artful partisans of Hannibal immediately hired men of their faction to meet the commanders on the road, and to pretend that they had escaped from the general slaughter at Leontini, where the Romans had put all the inhabitants to death, and burnt the city. Marcellus, indeed, had caused all the Roman deserters found in the place, to the number of two thousand, to be beheaded; but had treated both the inhabitants, and the mercenary troops, with his usual clemency; nay, he was busy at that very time in restoring to the inhabitants their effects; and scarce any thing had been taken out of their houses but what the soldiers had seized in their first fury. However, this false report made such an impression on the soldiers, that their officers could not prevail upon them to march any farther, but were forced to lead them to Megara, a city in that neighbourhood. There they had a more certain account of what had passed at Leontini; and having discovered that Hippocrates and Epicydes had deceived them, they resolved to be revenged, and pursued them to Erbesus. The two chiefs of the Carthaginian party, hearing that the Syracusans were on their march to Erbesus, and dreading the resentment of the two commanders, took this desperate step. Remembering that they had formerly acquired great reputation among the Syracusan troops, who had served under them in the time of Hieronymus, and consisted chiefly of foreigners and mercenaries, they resolved to leave their asylum, meet the army, and throw themselves upon the mercy of the soldiers. It happened fortunately for them that a body of Cretans, greatly attached to the Carthaginians, were marching at the head of the Syracusan army. These Cretans had formerly served the Romans as auxiliaries; but being taken prisoners at the battle of Thrasymenus, had been kindly treated by Hannibal, and sent home without ransom. To them, therefore, Hippocrates and Epicydes addressed themselves as suppliants; and, presenting them with olive branches, which were the symbols of peace, "Cretans, said they, we now expect you will shew us some marks of your friendship and gratitude, and not suffer the Syracusans to give us up to the fury of the Romans." The Cretans, affected with their address, immediately took them under their protection, and promised either to share their dan-

ger,

*Hippo-
crates and
Epicydes
throw
themselves
upon the
mercy of the
Syracusan
soldiers.*

*The Cretan
auxiliaries
present
olive
branches.*

ger, or effect their deliverance. Sosis and Dinomenes ordered the prisoners to be put in irons, as enemies of the state; but the soldiers refused to obey their orders, protesting that they would defend them to the last drop of their blood: so that the two generals were forced to let the criminals escape unpunished, and guard, as well as they could, against new intrigues. Hippocrates and Epicydes, seeing the disposition of the army, put in practice a stratagem worthy of Hannibal himself. They counterfeited a letter from the two generals to Marcellus, and hired a courier, who was to suffer himself to be taken in the road from Megara to Syracuse. The letter was couched in the following terms: "Sosis and Dinomenes to the consul Marcellus, greeting. We are overjoyed to hear that you have put all the Leontines to the sword, especially the mercenaries, who were commanded by Hippocrates. Our republic will never be at rest while we have any of these foreigners amongst us. Turn then your arms towards Megara, and deliver Syracuse from the mercenaries we command." It is easy to imagine what effect this letter must have had on the minds of the soldiers. They immediately cried, "To arms!" and would have fallen on their generals, if they had not fled to Syracuse, whither the calumny followed them. For Hippocrates and Epicydes, having corrupted one of the soldiers who had been shut up in Leontini, sent him away to Syracuse, that he might appear as an eye-witness of the pretended cruelties practised by Marcellus at the taking of the city. He exaggerated the inhumanity of the Romans; and declared that every thing had been destroyed by fire and sword. This report gained credit not only among the common people, but even among some of the magistrates. The informer was brought into the senate, and, being examined, his deposition raised a jealousy among the leading men of the republic, who thought it necessary to shut the gates of Syracuse, and guard the city against the Romans as an enemy, whose avarice and cruelty would spare nothing. However, this falsehood did not gain credit with all the citizens; there were but few, besides the populace and soldiery, who gave credit to it; the rest were undeceived by Sosis and Dinomenes.

In the mean time Hippocrates and Epicydes, taking advantage of the absence of Sosis and Dinomenes, made themselves masters of the army, and so incensed them

Hippocrates and Epicydes stir up the Syracusans against the Romans by a stratagem.

Hippocrates and Epicydes enter Syracuse.

Rule with an absolute sway;

and are elected prætors.

Marcellus invades Syracuse.

against their generals, that they were for cutting in pieces the few Syracusan troops that served among them, as privy to their design of destroying all the foreigners; but the two Carthaginians stopped their fury, not so much out of compassion as policy. They were sensible, that the massacre of those innocent men would provoke the citizens of Syracuse against them; whereas, by protecting them, they secured to themselves both their friendship and that of their relations. Having taken these precautions they began their march to Syracuse; and, finding the gates shut, they prevailed upon the officers of the guard to open one, declaring, that their only design was to defend the city against the Romans. Some part of the army was already entered, when the Syracusan prætors, hastening to the gate, commanded it to be shut; but the soldiers without, and the populace within, conspiring together, the few Syracusan troops, that were then under arms, could not prevent the whole army from entering the city, and possessing themselves of the quarter called Tyche. The prætors retired to Acradina; but as they had only a small force to defend it, that post was soon forced, and all the prætors who were there, massacred, except Sosis, who, escaping in the tumult, took sanctuary in the Roman camp. Thus the partisans of Carthage became masters of Syracuse; and, having the people and troops at their devotion, ruled with as absolute and arbitrary a sway as any tyrants had ever exercised in the place. And now, foreseeing that Marcellus would soon lay siege to the city, they neglected nothing that was necessary to put it in a posture of defence. They gave the slaves their liberty, and enrolled them in the troops. They set free all prisoners, assembled the people to elect new prætors, and prevailed upon the multitude to elect them only, which was confirming the sovereignty they had usurped.

Marcellus no sooner knew that Epicydes and Hippocrates were become masters of Syracuse, than he left Leontini; and, at the entreaties of the prætors, who had fled for refuge to his camp, came and invested the city. The Roman prætor Appius still endeavoured to bring about an accommodation, and with this view sent two galleys to Syracuse, with ambassadors to negotiate a reconciliation between the Romans and the citizens. But one of the galleys being by a violent storm driven into the port, the Syracusans seized it, and by that act of hostility declared war. The other galley, which had the ambassadors on board, returned without landing them, lest the law

law of nations should be violated in their persons. However, Marcellus, who was encamped near the temple of Jupiter Olympius, in order to bring the Syracusans to reason, appointed a new embassy; but Hippocrates and Epicydes, hearing of their approach, went out to receive them with a numerous attendance, to prevent their entering the city. The Roman who was at the head of the embassy, addressing himself to the Syracusans, told them, that the Roman consul was not come as an enemy to deprive them of their liberty, but to rescue them from the oppression they groaned under, and to revenge the death of their murdered prætors; and that, if they suffered their magistrates, who had sheltered themselves in the Roman camp, to return and live at home quietly, if they delivered up into the consul's hands the authors of the late slaughter, and restored the city of Syracuse to its ancient liberty, the Romans would have no occasion to make use of arms, or employ any violence; but if they did not comply with these just demands, they should be obliged to treat them as enemies, and make them feel the most dreadful effects of war. To this declaration Hippocrates haughtily replied, that, if they intended to besiege Syracuse, they should soon be made sensible of the difference between that city and Leontini; and that as for their demands, they should not grant one of them. Having made this short reply, he turned his back upon the deputies, retired into the city with his attendants, and ordered the gates to be shut. Marcellus therefore determined to besiege the place by sea and land, and made the necessary preparations for so great an undertaking.

Proposes terms for an accommodation.

which are rejected by Hippocrates.

Syracuse besieged by Marcellus.

*Yr. of Fl. 2146.
Ante Chr. 308.*

The Romans hoped to carry the city of Syracuse by assault, as they had lately succeeded at Leontini. The attack was general on the side of Acradina by sea, and of Tyche by land. Marcellus commanded the fleet, leaving the land forces to be conducted by Appius. The city was twenty-two miles in compass, nevertheless Marcellus caused machines of various sorts to be raised all round it, in hopes of finding some weak place in so vast a compass of walls; but, to his great surprise, he found all places equally defended by the wonderful industry of a single man. This was the celebrated Archimedes, who, at the request of king Hiero, to whom he was related, had framed such engines of war, as quite disconcerted the measures of the Romans. That pacific prince had no oc-

Archimedes defends Syracuse with his surprising machines.

reason to make use of those master-pieces of art, during the whole length of his reign; nor, probably, did he ever imagine, that they would be first used against his fatal allies the Romans. But Hippocrates and Eucyrtus, finding how useful both the machines and the contrivings might prove at so critical a juncture, prevailed upon that great mathematician to undertake the defence of his country; and to his genius alone it was owing that the city, though of so large a compass, held out near three years against the utmost efforts of a consular army. The immediate preparations which the consul made for taking the city by storm, could not have failed carrying it, had it not been defended by Archimedes. The Roman fleet consisted of sixty quinquereines, besides a far greater number of other ships. The decks were covered with soldiers armed with darts, slings, and bows, to drive the beleagued from the ramparts, which on the side of Acradina was washed by the sea, and to facilitate the approach to the walls. But a machine of Marcellus's own invention was what he chiefly depended on. He had fastened together, side-ways, eight galleies of different lengths, which made but one large body, and were rowed only by the oars of the innermost galleies. These eight galleies, thus joined, served only as a basis for a machine, which was raised above the highest towers of the walls, and had at the top a platform guarded with parapets in front, and on each side. This machine was called a sambuca, from its resemblance to a musical instrument of that name, not unlike a harp. The consul's design was to bring this sambuca to the foot of the walls of Acradina; but while it was at a considerable distance (and it advanced very slow, being moved only by two ranks of rowers), Archimedes discharged from one of his engines a vast stone, weighing, according to Plutarch's account (A), twelve hundred and fifty

*The sambuca is
described by
Marcellus.*

*Archimedes
described
this
machine.*

(A) It is not easy to conceive, how the machines formed by Archimedes could throw stones of ten quintals, or of ten thousand weight, at Plutarch expresses it. It is the sect of Marcellus, that it was at a considerable distance from the walls of Syracuse. It was

Plutarch affirms be true, our artillery falls short of those frightful machines. Some have therefore questioned that author's account, and adhered to Polybius, who reduces the stones that were thrown by the beliste made by Archimedes, to the weight of ten pounds.

(A) Part. in Marcell.

fifty pounds, then a second, and immediately after a third; all which falling upon the machine, broke its supports, and gave the gallees, upon which it stood, such a violent shock, that they parted, and the machine, which Marcellus had raised upon them, at vast trouble and expence, was battered to pieces. At the same time several other machines, which were not visible without the walls, and consequently did not lessen the confidence of the Romans in the assault, played incessantly upon their ships, and overwhelmed them with showers of stones, rafters, and beams pointed with iron, insomuch that Marcellus retired with all possible haste; for his land attack was not more successful, the ranks being broken, and thrown into the utmost confusion, by the stones and darts, which flew with such noise, force, and rapidity, that they struck the Romans with terror, and dashed to pieces every thing they encountered.

Marcellus repulsed in the first attack.

Marcellus, surprised, though not discouraged, at this artificial storm, which he did not expect, held a council of war, in which it was resolved, that next day, before sun-rise, they should advance close under the wall, and make a lodgement. They were in hopes, by these means, to secure themselves against this terrible storm of stones and darts, which fell on the ships when at a distance. But Archimedes had prepared engines, adapted to all distances. When the Romans therefore had brought their ships close under the wall, and thought themselves well covered, they were unexpectedly overwhelmed with a new shower of darts and stones, which fell perpendicularly on their heads, and obliged them to retire with great precipitation. In a little time most of their gallees were

Great havoc made by the engines of Archimedes.

Liv. Plut. Polyb. *ibid.*

If we suppose, that each of these stones, or rather rocks, weighed ten quintals, we cannot compute them at less than twelve hundred and fifty pounds weight each, at the rate of a hundred and twenty-five pounds each quintal or talent, according to the custom of computing received among the ancient Greeks, and here used by Plutarch. Livy seems to agree with Polybius, and only says,

that the machines of Archimedes threw stones of a great weight, on the gallees of Marcellus. If we reckon the talents mentioned by Plutarch, according to the talents used in Sicily, the stones will be reduced to the weight of twenty-five pounds only; say, some authors infer from various passages of Strabo, Pausanias, and others, that the talent of Sicily scarce weighed ten pounds.

But either

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either sunk or disabled; and this loss they sustained, without being able to revenge it in the least on the enemy. For Archimedes had placed most of his engines behind the walls, and not only out of the reach, but even out of the sight of the enemy. What most harassed the Romans in the attack by sea, was a sort of crow with iron claws, fastened to a long chain, which was let down by a kind of lever. The weight of the iron made it fall with great violence, and drove it into the planks of the galleys. Then the besieged, by a great weight of lead at the other end of the lever, weighed it down, and consequently raised up the iron of the crow in proportion, and with it the prow of the galley, to which it was fastened, sinking the poop at the same time into the water. The crow letting go its hold, suddenly, the prow of the galley fell with such force into the sea, that the whole vessel was filled with water, and sunk. At other times the machines, dragging ships to the shore by hooks, dashed them in pieces against the points of the rocks, which projected under the walls. Other vessels were fired up into the air, whirled about with incredible rapidity, and then let fall into the sea, and sunk, with all that were in them. How these stupendous works were effected, few, if any, have hitherto been able to account. Some writers are of opinion, that Plutarch and Polybius, from whom we have these accounts, had no better authority for their relations than a tradition, founded only on the ignorance of those who handed it down to them.

The wonderful effects of his machines.

The troops, under the command of Appius, suffered no less in this second attack than the fleet. In the whole space of ground, which the army, when formed, took up, the last files, as well as the first, were overwhelmed with showers of darts and stones, against which they could not possibly defend themselves. When they had with infinite trouble brought the mantelets and covered galleries, under which they were to work the rams, near the foot of the wall, Archimedes discharged such large beams and bones from his machines, as dashed them to pieces. Thus a single man opposed the Roman armies, by mere dint of genius, without having any occasion to make use of the sword. The Syracusans were no more than his instruments in moving the machines according to his directions; while he himself was the soul that presided over all their powers and operations. Marcellus, though at a loss what to do, could not however forbear expressing himself with indignity. "Shall we perish," said he to his workmen,

men), in making war upon this Briareus, upon this giant with a hundred hands!" But the soldiers were so terrified, that, if they saw upon the walls only a small cord, or the least piece of wood, they immediately turned their backs, and fled, crying out, that Archimedes was going to discharge some dreadful machine.

Marcellus and Claudius, seeing their troops thus disheartened, and having no hopes of making a breach in the walls, called a council, in which it was resolved to turn the siege into a blockade, shut up all the avenues to the place both by sea and land, and reduce it by famine. But in the mean time, that so great an army might not continue inactive before a single city, Marcellus, leaving Appius before Syracuse to intercept all convoys to it, put himself at the head of two-thirds of the Roman troops, in order to re-conquer the cities, which had deserted the Romans. Elorum and Herbesius surrendered, and were kindly treated by the conqueror; but Megara, having sustained a siege, was taken, and rased to the ground; a circumstance which struck no small terror into the Syracusans, who now began to fear the like fate. After Marcellus had reduced a great number of cities without opposition, there being no army in the field to oppose him, at last Hamilco entered the port of Heraclea with a numerous fleet from Carthage, and landed twenty thousand foot, three thousand horse, and twelve elephants. His forces were no sooner disembarked, than he marched against Agrigentum, which he retook from the Romans, with several other cities lately reduced by Marcellus. Upon the news of his arrival and progress, the garrison at Syracuse, which was yet entire, and had suffered no hardships from the siege, was very impatient to take the field, and join Hamilco. Accordingly, it was resolved, that Epicydes should command in the city, during the blockade, and Hippocrates march out at the head of ten thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse, to carry on the war in concert with Hamilco, and stop the progress of Marcellus. This design was executed in the night without difficulty. Hippocrates, at the head of his detachment, broke through the Roman lines, and encamped at Acrille, a small town to the south of Syracuse.

In the mean time Marcellus, after having made a vain attempt upon Agrigentum, which was held by Hamilco, was returning with his army to Syracuse. He did not

Marcellus reduces several cities.

Hamilco arrives with a powerful fleet and army.

Hippocrates takes the field with part of the forces.

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Hippocrates had marched out of the besieged city, and was in near-hills, but nevertheless marched in good order for a surprise. As he approached Acra, he unexpectedly discovered the enemy, busy in fortifying their camp; he therefore advanced with speed, and falling upon them before they had time to form, cut eight thousand of them in pieces. The cavalry, with a small body of infantry, made their escape, under the conduct of Hippocrates, to Acra (B), a city belonging to Syracuse, and Marcellus, after this victory, which kept several places steady in the interest of Rome, pursued his march to Syracuse, and kept it more closely blocked up than ever.

Both Carthaginians and Romans were now fugitives.

While Marcellus and Appian continued inactive before Syracuse, Bocchus were brought both to the Carthaginians and Romans, the two republics being resolved to make their utmost efforts in Sicily. Bomilcar arrived at Syracuse with fifty sail of ships, and about the same time a Roman fleet brought a whole legion to Panormus. This legion, Hamlico hoped to surprise, before they reached the Roman camp; but they fortunately kept along the coast, and arrived first at Cape Pachynum, while Hamlico, expecting they would have crossed the country, lay in wait for them at a great distance from the shore. At Pachynum, Appian met them with a large detachment, and conducted them to the army before Syracuse. As for Bomilcar, the Carthaginian admiral, soon after his arrival he put to sea again, and returned to Carthage, upon advice that the Roman fleet, which was much stronger than his, was advancing to attack him. Hamlico, being joined by Hippocrates, and the few troops that had escaped the late slaughter, advanced to Syracuse, in order to force Marcellus to a battle; but finding the Roman general kept close in his lines, which were well fortified, he left Syracuse, and, marching into the country, detached several

Several places were used by the Carthaginians.

See History, vol. 12.

(B) Acra, or Acris, according to Ptolemy (v. 1), is the Syracusan citadel. The fourth year of the eighth Olympiad, seventy years after the foundation of Syracuse. Chalcid, probably comes from the word, which Hippocrates here takes, and from the old itineraries, that this city stood near the territory, which the Sicilians call Santa Maria d'Acra, between the sides of Moro and Avula, about twenty-four miles from Syracuse.

See History, vol. 12.

citica.

cities from the Romans. Murgantia betrayed the Roman garrison into his hands, and surrendered. Enna, a city of great importance, intended to follow the example of Murgantia; but Pinarius, the commander of the garrison, being alarmed at the reports which were spread of the revolt of many cities, after having massacred the Roman garrisons, kept part of his men under arms night and day; so that all the Sicilian artifices to deceive him proved ineffectual. He himself set and relieved the guards; and was as ready against all events, as if Hamilco had been at the gates. The inhabitants therefore, finding that Pinarius could not be surprised, resolved to attempt something by open force, and, assembling in crowds, demanded the keys of their city. Pinarius calmly told them, that he had received the keys of the city, and his commission to guard it, from his general; that it was in vain to apply to him, while the consul was within reach; and lastly, that he could not disobey his orders, without drawing upon himself the severest punishments. The Ennenses replied, that if he did not comply with their request, they would deliver themselves from their present slavery by force. To which declaration Pinarius replied, that, since they would not recur to Marcellus, he desired they would at least suffer an assembly of the people to be called, that he might know whether this was the demand of a few only, or of the whole city. This request being granted, and the assembly appointed to meet the next day, Pinarius, perceiving that the multitude were determined to come to some violent resolution, took his measures accordingly. In order to secure himself against their furious attempts, he retired with his garrison into the citadel, and acquainted them with the threatened danger. "The perfidious Ennenses, (said he) design to put us all to death, and then surrender themselves up to the Carthaginians. An assembly of the people is appointed to meet to-morrow. By break of day therefore our fate, or that of the treacherous Sicilians, must be determined. If we are not by that time masters of their lives and fortunes, they will be of ours. Let us not then suffer them to prevent us. Arm yourselves, and wait for a signal from me. I shall be at the assembly, and, when I give you a signal with my robe, fall on the citizens, and put them in pieces, without giving any quarter." Having thus signified his orders, he posted some of his troops in the avenues to the market-place, and others in the theatre, where the assembly was held. As soon as it was day, Pinarius came

The city of Enna preserved by Pinarius.

The inhabitants massacred by the Roman garri-son.

to the place appointed, and represented to the multitude, that he could not surrender the keys without incurring the displeasure of his general, which would prove fatal to him, and his children. Then the whole multitude cried out, that he must deliver the keys; and that, as to the incurring the displeasure of his general, that was nothing to them. At last, they crowded round him, and began to offer violence; when Pinarius starting up; "Your blood, (said he), shall atone for the affront you offer a Roman officer;" so saying, he gave the appointed signal, and the soldiers rushing upon the unarmed multitude, began the slaughter. Some posted themselves at the doors, that none might escape; others fell upon those who had surrounded their commander. The floor and seats of the theatre were in an instant covered with blood, and as many were stifled in endeavouring to escape, as fell by the sword. The slaughter in the streets was no less dreadful, the dead and wounded lying every where in heaps; none were spared, and the city was treated, as if it had been taken by assault, and given up to the soldiers to be plundered. Thus Enna was preserved in the hands of the Romans, who excused their conduct, by saying, that they had only been beforehand with those, who designed to treat them in the same manner. Indeed Marcellus, who was a man of a very mild and humane temper, approved of this action, and even granted the soldiers all the plunder found in the city. But as the city of Enna was consecrated to Ceres, and her daughter Proserpine, the Sicilians were highly offended at the massacre of the Enneses, and their revolts became daily more frequent^a.

Marcellus retires to winter-quarters.

In the mean time, Marcellus thought it adviseable to put his men into winter-quarters in some place near the besieged city of Syracuse; and accordingly retired to Leon (C), in that neighbourhood. He sent Appius Claudius

^a Liv. *ibid*.

(C) The town of Leon stood north of Syracuse, six or seven furlongs from Hexapylum, as Thucydides informs us (). Hexapylum was a stately building, which served for an entrance into Syracuse by the quarter called Tyche. Livy (3) reckons the distance between Hexapylum and Leon to be five thousand paces. But this seems very improbable; for Marcellus encamped there with a design to continue the

(2) Thucyd. lib. vi.

(3) Liv. lib. xxiv. cap. 37.

dus to Rome, that prætor intending to stand for the consulship the next year, a dignity which he had well deserved. T. Quintius Crispinus, one of Marcellus's lieutenants, succeeded him in the command; and soon after new consuls being elected, viz. Q. Fabius Maximus, and Tib. Sempronius Gracchus, Marcellus from being consul, became pro-consul in Sicily, and commander in chief of all the Roman forces in that country.

Having been hitherto baffled in all his military attempts by the ingenuity of Archimedes, he endeavoured to set on foot a private correspondence with some of the citizens who were in the Roman interest; and a conspiracy was actually formed, for surrendering the city, but the design was detected, and all concerned in it were put to death, by order of Epicydes.

Marcellus, seeing his scheme thus defeated, found himself involved in new difficulties. While he was deliberating what conduct to pursue, an unforeseen accident revived his hopes of gaining the place at last. Epicydes had sent one Damippus, a Lacedæmonian, to demand succours of Philip, king of Macedon, who had already entered into a treaty with the Carthaginians. Damippus was taken by a Roman squadron, and brought to the camp of Marcellus. But Epicydes, extremely concerned at his detention, expressed a great desire to ransom the prisoner; and the Roman general was not averse to it, Rome having her reasons to preserve a good understanding with Lacedæmon at that time. Conferences, therefore, were appointed to be held near Syracuse, at a place called Portus Trogilorum, by the foot of a tower called Galeagra. As the deputies passed and repassed, a Roman soldier considered the wall with uncommon attention. After having counted the stones, which were all of an equal size, and examined the measure of each, he found that the wall was not so high as had been imagined, and concluded that it might be scaled with ladders of a moderate size. The soldier, therefore, without loss of time, gave the pro-consul an account of what he had observed, and Marcellus did not neglect the hint; he examined the place with his own eyes, and found that the soldier's ob-

Marcellus conceives hopes of gaining the place.

blockade of Syracuse. Interpreters, therefore, commonly take for granted, that the text of Livy is corrupted; and that we ought to read, "Mille & quingentis passibus," instead of "quinque millia passuum." By this correction, Livy's account agrees better with that of Thucydides.

servations

*Marcellus
resolves
upon a ge-
neral as-
sault.*

*Scales the
walls.*

servations were just. But the difficulty was, how to approach the place, which indeed was weak, but well defended by Archimides's machines, and guarded with extraordinary care. While Marcellus was meditating by what stratagem he might surprise the centinels on guard, a deserter informed him, that the Syracusans were on a certain day to begin the celebration of the festival of Diana (D), which lasted three days; and that Epicydes, who wanted other provisions, designed to distribute wine in great plenty among the people and soldiers. Upon this advice Marcellus resolved to attack the city in one of the nights during the festival, not confining the assault to the weak place, but making it general. For this end he held a council with some tribunes of the army, and selected a certain number of the most resolute centurions, giving them leave to name a thousand men out of the whole army. These were ordered first to take a repast, and then repose till summoned by the trumpet. In the mean time ladders were prepared with great secrecy, to prevent the enemy from being informed by their spies. The Roman general determined to make his attack, when the townsmen and soldiers, after having drank plentifully, were asleep. The scaling-ladders were committed to the management of one single manipulus, or company, consisting of a hundred and twenty men, who advanced silently to the foot of the wall, to which they applied their ladders, and made themselves masters of the tower Galeagra, without meeting with the least opposition, or even being discovered. When the first had gained the top of the ramparts without noise or tumult, the others followed, encouraged by the boldness and success of their leaders. At length the whole detachment got safe and undiscovered into the city. In the mean time another detachment, taking advantage of the enemy's negligence, beat down one of the gates of Hexapylum, and gave a free passage to a great body of Romans on that side. Other detachments scaled the walls in dif-

(D) This festival was celebrated in honour of Diana, under the name of Artemis, not only at Syracuse, but at Delphi, and in most cities of Greece. On this occasion they offered to the goddess a mullet, as being thought to bear some sort of relation to her; because it is said to hunt and kill the sea-hare (1). The bread offered to the goddess was called lochia; and the women, who performed the sacred rites, lombai (2).

(1) Athenæus, lib. viii. (2) Eusebius & Athenæus, libid.

ferent parts, and they all met at Hexapylum, which had been appointed for the place of general rendezvous. The Romans advanced in order of battle, and made themselves masters of the quarter called Epipolæ, which was encompassed with the same common wall as Ortygia, Acradina, Tyche, and Neapolis; had its own citadel, called Euryalum, on the top of a steep rock, and might be called a fifth city. Here the Romans passed the night, making a dreadful noise with their trumpets, in order to strike terror into the enemy. The sound was not heard over all this vast city, but it reached far enough to alarm all Tyche, and throw that quarter into the utmost consternation: many of the inhabitants, thinking the Romans already in possession of the whole city, leaped down from the walls into the ditch, while others, falling in with the Roman guards, were cut in pieces. Notwithstanding this confusion, Marcellus waited till day-break; and then, having destroyed the stately entrance with six gates, called Hexapylum, he entered Tyche, with his army in battalia¹.

Epipolæ taken,

and Tyche.

In the mean time Epicydes, who was quartered in the farthest part of Ortygia, at a great distance from the places possessed by the Romans, hearing that the enemy had seized on Epipolæ and Tyche, went out of the island, and crossed Acradina, at the head of a numerous body of mercenaries, with a design to drive the Romans from their posts, imagining that only a few desperate men had scaled the walls. But when he saw all Epipolæ full of legionaries, after a slight skirmish, he retired into Acradina, to allay the people's fears, and to prevent a tumult. Then Marcellus, marching from Tyche to Epipolæ, joined the detachment which had possessed themselves of that quarter in the night. Marcellus was now on the point of becoming master of one of the finest and most opulent cities in the world, and his officers did not fail to congratulate him on his success. But he, viewing from an eminence the beauty and extent of that great and stately metropolis, is said to have shed tears, touched with compassion at the miseries to which so many inhabitants, formerly rich and fortunate, were going to be reduced. He reflected on the two powerful Athenian fleets which had been sunk before this city, and the two numerous armies cut in pieces, with the illustrious generals who commanded them; the many wars sustained with so much

Epicydes attempts in vain to drive out the Romans.

Marcellus, unwilling to destroy the city, tries gentle methods with the inhabitants.

¹ Liv. Hist. Polyb. ibid.

The Syracusans reject his proposals.

Tyche and Neapolis plundered.

valour against the Carthaginians; the famous tyrants and kings, who had reigned in that ancient metropolis, Hiero particularly, who had signalized himself by the important services he had rendered the people of Rome, whose interests had been as dear to him as his own. Moved with these reflections, and his natural inclination to try gentle methods before he used violence, he thought it incumbent upon him to engage the Syracusan noblemen of his party to solicit their countrymen to surrender, that they might thereby prevent the sacking of the city. The soldiers murmured at the general's good-nature, looking upon Syracuse, and its immense riches, as a sure booty. Their wishes were but too successful; for the Syracusans would listen to no proposals, though the Romans were already masters of a considerable part of the city. Acradina, the strongest part of Syracuse, was not yet taken; and Epicydes had appointed the Roman deserters to guard it, who, as they were to die according to the Roman laws, though the town were taken by capitulation, guarded all the avenues with extreme care. Marcellus, therefore, leaving Acradina, turned his arms against the citadel of Epipolæ, called Euryalum, which was not yet reduced. This fort stood on an eminence, at some distance from the sea, and commanded the great road by which the convoys were brought into the city. The governor was an Argian, named Philodemus, and had been entrusted with the defence of the place by Epicydes. Sofis, who had formerly taken sanctuary in the Roman camp, hoped to prevail upon him to capitulate. But the artful Greek, having demanded time to consider, deferred the surrender of the citadel from day to day, not doubting but Hamilco and Hippocrates would hasten to the relief of Syracuse. Marcellus, encamping between Neapolis and Tyche, cut off all communication with Epipolæ, hoping to reduce the citadel in a very short time by famine. The inhabitants of Tyche and Neapolis sent deputies to him in this new camp, entreating him to spare their lives, and preserve their houses from being plundered. Their city had been taken by assault; so that, according to the laws of war, the conqueror was master of their lives and fortunes. However, Marcellus shewed them some clemency. The plunder of the place was due to the soldiers, as a reward of their valour, and he could not deprive them of it without injustice; but he commanded them, under pain of death, not to kill or abuse the inhabitants; and even posted guards in all the avenues,

to see that his orders should be observed. No city was ever plundered with so much order, or less cruelty. The soldiers, breaking open the houses, seized indeed every thing they found, money, moveables, and provisions; but did not offer the least violence to the vanquished. The booty was immense; but it only raised their expectations of a greater, when Acradina and Ortygia should be taken. During this military execution, Philodemus, governor of the citadel of Epipolæ, came to terms with the pro-consul; and, being allowed to march out with his men, and join Epicydes, put the citadel into the hands of the Romans. Then Marcellus, turning all his efforts against Acradina, blocked it up so close, that it could not hold out long without fresh supplies of men and provisions*.

The citadel of Epipolæ surrenders.

During these transactions, Hamilco and Hippocrates appeared before Syracuse, and their arrival gave the Romans no small apprehension. Marcellus, as we have seen, was shut up within the walls, being encamped between Neapolis, or the New City, and Tyche, in a place almost destitute of inhabitants; Crispinus had not yet entered Syracuse, but still continued in the old post of the Romans. The two Carthaginian generals, after having taken a view of both camps, resolved to divide the attacks between them. Hamilco was to fall upon Marcellus's camp, while Hippocrates endeavoured to force the trenches of Crispinus. The Carthaginian fleet at the same time was drawn up in line of battle along the coast, within reach of Acradina, so as to cut off all communication between the forces of Marcellus, which surrounded Acradina and Crispinus. Hippocrates began the attack, and fell with the utmost fury upon the camp of Crispinus; but was three times repulsed with incredible bravery. At the same time Hamilco without, and Epicydes within the walls, attacked the posts of Marcellus; but were attended with no better success. Epicydes was forced to retreat to Acradina with great loss, and narrowly escaped being taken prisoner by Marcellus, who commanded there in person. After these advantages, the Roman general pitched three camps round Acradina, and invested it closer than ever; but durst not draw too near, for fear of the machines of Archimedes. The unfortunate Syracusans were now in the utmost distress, through want of provisions; and, to complete their misfortunes, a plague broke

The Carthaginians attack at the same time the Roman camp, and Marcellus in the city.

But are repulsed with great loss.

* Liv. lib. xlv. cap. 23. Plut. in Vita Marcell.

The History of Sicily.

*A plague
breaks out
in Syracuse.*

out among them. The infection began in the country, occasioned by the excessive heat of the season, and the unwholesome exhalations of the neighbouring marshes. The two camps of Hamilco and Crispinus were first infected with it, and from the latter it spread to Marcellus's army, by his communication with Crispinus. Soon after it began to rage in Acradina; so that, within and without the city, nothing was seen but persons dead or dying. None durst relieve or assist the sick, for fear of being infected by them; and the bodies of the dead were, for the same reason, left without burial, to poison the air with their stench and corruption. Nothing was heard but groans of dying men; and the heaps of dead bodies continually presented mournful objects to the living, who expected every moment the same fate. However, the distemper made less ravage in the two Roman armies, than in those of Hamilco and Hippocrates. As the latter had no place to retire to, and were not insured to the climate, and air of the country, they died daily in great numbers; and at length Hamilco and Hippocrates themselves were carried off. Upon their death, most of the Sicilian troops, which had joined the Carthaginians, disbanded, and returned to their respective cities. Thus Marcellus was delivered from a great army, which had besieged him as close as he had blocked up Acradina. He had now only a small body of Sicilians to contend with; for the Carthaginians, officers and soldiers, were nearly swept off by the plague. The Sicilians retired to two small towns, strong by situation, and at a small distance from Syracuse; and there waited for a new reinforcement from Carthage, whither Bomilcar had sailed, to inform the senate of the death of Hamilco, and the utter ruin of his army. He allayed the grief which this news occasioned, by representing, that the Romans had imprudently shut themselves up in one city, to besiege another; that their troops were greatly diminished by the plague; and that it would be no difficult matter to besiege them, and bring them into the same straits to which they had reduced Acradina. His speech revived the hopes of the senate, who gave him the command of a hundred and thirty gallees, with seven hundred transports, which formed a fleet considerably stronger than that which the Romans had on the coasts of Sicily. With this squadron Bomilcar sailed from Carthage, and had a quick passage. The news of his return raised the courage of the besieged, and greatly disheartened the Romans, who were quite exhausted with

*Hamilco
and Hippo-
crates die
of it.*

*Bomilcar
sails to
Carthage;*

*in Sicily
with a
strong
fleet.*

so

so tedious a siege. But as Bomilcar was for several days prevented, by contrary winds, from doubling cape Pachynum, Marcellus had time to recollect himself, and cause his fleet to be got ready, with a design to engage that of the Carthaginians. In the mean time Epicydes, fearing lest the Carthaginians should be surpris'd by the Romans, left Syracuse, and went to the fleet, which was designed for his relief. On his arrival, he found Bomilcar uneasy about the event of a battle, and very backward to engage the Romans, of whose preparations he had been already informed. But nevertheless he was prevail'd upon by Epicydes to risk an engagement, and advanced in sight of the Roman fleet. Marcellus, who took on himself the command, as soon as the high winds abated, began to prepare for a battle, when Bomilcar, precipitately doubling cape Pachynum, stood out to sea, and steer'd his course towards Tarentum, after having dispatched expresses to Heraclea, with orders to the transports, which lay there, to return to Africa. What induced him to take so sudden and unexpected a resolution, was never known. Epicydes, being thus disappointed in the great hopes he had entertained, was afraid to return into the city; and therefore fled for refuge to Agrigentum.

*But unexpectedly
sails again for
Africa.*

*Epicydes
retires to
Agrigentum.*

The Syracusians propose to capitulate.

When it was known in the camp of the Sicilians, that Epicydes had quitted Syracuse, and the Carthaginians left Sicily, they sent to Marcellus, after having sound'd the disposition of the besieged, to treat of a surrender. It was unanimously agreed, both by the Sicilians in the camp, and the Syracusians in Acradina, to surrender on the following terms: that all the demesnes of the kings of Syracuse should be deliver'd up to the Romans; and that Rome should suffer the Syracusians to live according to their own laws, and enjoy their estates and liberties. Marcellus was willing to grant them the terms they demanded, in order to prevent bloodshed, and the ruin of so stately a city. But those whom Epicydes had entrusted with the government during his absence, oppos'd the prudent measures of the inhabitants. As these were all strangers, they were little concern'd for the welfare of Syracuse, and still retain'd some hopes of relief, either from Epicydes or Bomilcar. But the magistrates, seeing the city nearly reduced for want of provisions, resolv'd to get rid of their governors, and accordingly assassinated them all; and then, having assembled the people in the market-place, introduc'd the deputies from the camp, who had hitherto treat'd only for themselves. These, in

*Assassinate
the govern-
ors left by
Epicydes*

a speech

The magistrates exhort the people to submit to Marcellus.

a speech well calculated for the occasion, represented to the people, that they ought not to impute the calamities they groaned under to fortune, since it was in their power to deliver themselves from them when they pleased; that the Romans had not undertaken the siege of Syracuse through hatred, but out of affection to the inhabitants, having no other view but to rescue them from the hands of the tyrants; that Hippocrates and Epicydes had brought all their misfortunes upon them; but, since one of them was carried off by the plague, and the other had deserted them out of fear, what remained but to have recourse to the clemency of the conqueror? "The services, said they, of Hiero, and his faithful adherence to the Romans, are not entirely blotted out of their memories. Only consent to be reconciled to Rome, and you will be free and happy. Marcellus generously offers you advantageous terms, which if you do not accept, all subsequent calamities will be entirely chargeable on ourselves. Seize therefore the present opportunity, and, since you are delivered from your tyrants, let the first use you make of your liberty be to return to the Romans!"

Deputies sent to Marcellus.

This discourse was received with general applause; and the assembly created new magistrates, before the nomination of the deputies, to make the embassy to Marcellus more solemn and authentic.

Disturbances raised in Syracuse by the Roman deserters.

The suppliants were graciously received by Marcellus, who was very willing to grant them their demands; but the greatest difficulty was to preserve tranquility and union in the city. The garrison consisted of Roman deserters and mercenaries; and the former, looking upon all proposals of a surrender as so many sentences of death, used their utmost efforts to prevent the citizens from complying with the terms offered by Marcellus; but, finding all their endeavours unsuccessful, they applied themselves to the mercenaries, and persuaded them that Marcellus would give them no quarter. The mercenaries, being inspired with the same fear, joined the deserters; and both taking up arms, while the deputies were still in the camp of Marcellus, ran to the houses of the new prætors, whom they massacred; then, dispersing themselves on every side, put to the sword all they met, without distinction, plundered the houses, and filled the city with blood and slaughter. That they might not be without leaders, they appointed six officers of their own body, three to com-

mand in Acradina, and three in Ortygia. The tumult being at length appeased, the mercenaries were made sensible that they had been imposed upon by the Roman deserters; and the deputies, returning at the same time from the camp of Marcellus, assured them, that the Romans had not decreed any punishment against the foreign troops.

Among the six new governors, chosen by the seditious to command in Syracuse, was a Spaniard, named Mericus, a man of great integrity, and who did not approve of the measures taken by his colleagues. This man Marcellus undertook to gain over to the Romans; and with this view sent into the city a young man lately come from Spain, charging him to make great offers in his name to his countryman. The Spaniard got safe into the city among the attendants of the Syracusan ambassadors, and discharged his commission so well, that Mericus sent his brother privately to Marcellus with the Spanish soldier, who agreed with Marcellus, in the name of Mericus, to deliver up one of the gates to the Romans. As soon as the two Spaniards were returned into Acradina, Mericus did not neglect to perform his promise. He first feigned an extraordinary zeal for the defence of the city, pretending that the deputies of Marcellus were allowed too much liberty; and that it was dangerous to admit them into Acradina, or to send ambassies to the Romans. He then proposed, that, as they had to deal with so artful an enemy as Marcellus, each governor should have his distinct quarter of the city assigned him, and should be responsible for any neglect of duty in it. His advice was followed, and in this division that part was assigned him, which lay between the fountain of Arethusa and the great port, not far from the island Ortygia. Marcellus, being informed in what part Mericus commanded, resolved to make an attempt on that side. Accordingly, having filled a transport with soldiers, he ordered them to land at the gate of Arethusa, where they were received within the walls by Mericus, and put in possession of the gate. A false attack was carried on at the same time in another quarter, which drew all the enemy's forces out of the island, and diverted them from observing what happened at the gate Arethusa. The island of Ortygia being thus abandoned, Marcellus sent several transports, with a strong detachment, to take possession of it; and they succeeded without opposition, the gate being left open by the garrison, while they hastened to repulse the enemy,

at the place where the false attack was carried on. When Marcellus was informed that his men were in possession of the island, which was reckoned impregnable, and also of a quarter in Acradina, he immediately caused the retreat to be sounded, lest the soldiers should, in the heat of the action, plunder the treasures of the kings of Syracuse, which were much magnified by fame^m.

The clemency of Marcellus towards the conquered.

Marcellus, after a three years siege, being at length become master of this perfidious city, gave signal proofs of his clemency. The place was taken by assault, and had greatly provoked the Romans, by joining their most avowed enemies, while they were engaged in a war that was likely to prove fatal to the republic. But, notwithstanding their infidelity, he would not use all the rights of a conqueror, nor practise that severity which the city perhaps deserved. The first instance he gave of his humanity, was ordering that the Roman deserters should be suffered to escape, being unwilling to shed the blood even of traitors. Accordingly a gate was left open for them, and all the Roman forces withdrawn from thence, till they had made their escape. The inhabitants of the two conquered cities sent deputies to him, demanding nothing else but their own lives, and the lives of their children. These Marcellus received with great kindness; but he ordered the quaestor of his army to take possession of the king's treasures for the use of the republic, and gave the rest of the booty up to his troops, without reserving any part of the plunder for himself.

Archimedes killed by a Roman soldier.

During the sacking of Acradina, Archimedes was shut up in his closet, and so intent on the demonstration of a geometrical problem, that neither the noise of the soldiers, nor the cries of the people, drew off his attention. He was very calmly drawing his lines, when he saw a soldier enter his room, and clap a sword to his throat: "Hold, friend, said Archimedes, one moment, and my demonstration will be finished." The soldier, surprised at his unconcern in such imminent danger, resolved to carry him to the pro-consul; but Archimedes taking under his arm a small box full of spheres, sun-dials, &c. the soldier thought it contained gold and silver, and not being able to resist the temptation, killed him upon the spot. Marcellus was exceedingly concerned for his death; but not being able to repair that misfortune, he resolved to honour his memory to the utmost of his power. He made a di-

^m Liv. *ibid.* cap. 30. Plut. in Marcell.

ligent search after his relations, treated them with great distinction, and granted them peculiar privileges. He likewise caused his funeral to be performed with pomp and solemnity, and a monument to be erected to his memory among the illustrious men, who had distinguished themselves in Syracuse.

This philosopher's strong passion for mathematics gave room for the report, that he was so continually charmed with the soothing songs of a domestic syren, that he neglected the common concerns of life; devoting himself entirely to the pleasures arising from study. For the sake of this, he despised every thing else. Not to interrupt his pursuits, he often denied himself the necessaries of life, and was dragged from his contemplations, to take a frugal repast. Sensible only to the pleasures of the mind, he so neglected his person, that his friends were obliged, in a manner, to force him to the public baths, to make him preserve a decency suitable to his rank; and even then he employed himself, for the most part, in drawing mathematical figures on the walls of the stoves with the water in which he bathed. In short, the contemplation of the heavens, and the earth, engaged his attention so completely, as to render all other pleasures tasteless and insipid. King Hiero had sufficient influence to make him descend from those sublime speculations to practice; and to convince him, that no man could, without ingratitude, deprive the public of the fruits of his private studies. One day, when Archimedes was explaining to the king the wonderful effects of the motive powers, he told him, that he had invented, but not made, a machine, by which he could draw the whole globe of the earth to him, provided he could find another globe or earth to stand on. The king, surprised at the proposal, desired him to give a proof of so bold an assertion, by removing some great weight with a small force. Archimedes complied with the king's request, and, having caused one of the heaviest galleys in the port to be drawn ashore by a great number of men, he built his machine; and then, sitting down at a proper distance from the galley, without trouble drew the vessel to him, though she had her full lading on board, and was crowded with men. The experiment convinced the king what use he might make of the wonderful talents of this great man, if he could only persuade him to put his inventions in practice. By many intreaties he

A wonderful machine of Archimedes' invention.

*His Sphere
of glass.*

prevailed upon the speculative geometrician to descend to mechanics, and construct those wonderful machines for the defending of cities, the effect of which we have already seen: Besides the warlike machines, among his masterpieces was reckoned a sphere of glass, the circles of which represented the periodical and synodical motions of the stars and planets. Those who have the least knowledge of mathematics, understand what kind of demonstration Archimedes made use of against a dishonest goldsmith, who, having agreed with king Hiero for a certain quantity of gold, which was to be formed into a crown for one of the gods, kept some of the gold for himself; and, putting silver in the room of it, restored to the king a crown as heavy as the gold he had received. The discovery of this fraud, which Archimedes made in a bath, gave him such pleasure, that he ran home, without reflecting he was naked, crying out aloud, "I have found it! I have found it!" But the force of his genius shewed itself to far greater advantage in the direction of the formidable batteries he employed against the Roman armies and fleets. It is a great misfortune, that neither he, nor any after him, have given us an account of the manner of constructing and working those machines. Upon his tomb, as he had ordered in his life-time, were placed a cylinder, and a sphere, with an inscription shewing the proportion between them, which he first discovered. An invention of so little use as this may seem, pleased that great artist better than the dividing of those machines which made him so famous. The Syracusans, who had been in former times so fond of the sciences, did not long retain the esteem and gratitude they owed a man who had done so much honour to their city. In less than a hundred and forty years after, Archimedes was so entirely forgot by his countrymen, notwithstanding the eminent services he had done them, that they did not even know he had been buried at Syracuse. It is from Cicero we have this circumstance, who, being led by curiosity, while he was questor in Sicily, to make a search after the tomb of Archimedes, was assured by the Syracusans, that his search would be to no purpose, there being no such monument among them. After many fruitless attempts, he at last observed, without the gate of the city leading to Agrigentum, a pillar almost entirely covered with thorns and brambles, through which he could discern the figure of a sphere and cylinder. Those who have any taste for antiquity, may easily conceive the joy of Cicero on this occasion.

*Tomb of
Archimedes
discovered
by Cicero.*

sion. He cried out in the words of Archimedes, "I have found it! I have found it!" The place was immediately cleared, when the inscription appeared still legible. "So that, (says Cicero), in concluding this account, the greatest city of Greece, formerly the mother of sciences, would not have known the treasure it possessed, if a man born in Arpinum had not discovered the tomb of one of its citizens, so highly distinguished by the greatness of his genius."

After the reduction of Syracuse, most of the cities of Sicily voluntarily submitted to Marcellus; and those which had continued faithful to Rome, or had renewed their alliance with the republic, without waiting till Syracuse was taken, were maintained in possession of their ancient privileges. Nevertheless Sicily was not entirely settled in peace. Epicydes, and Hanno the commander of the Carthaginian forces in the island, fled to Agrigentum for refuge. Mutines, who had been sent by Hannibal to supply the place of Hippocrates, kept the field at the head of a detachment of Numidians. This general was a Phœnician by descent, and a native of Hippos, a city of Africa, which the Greeks called Diarrhytos, to distinguish it from another city bearing the same name of Hippos, in Numidia. This officer, who was trained under Hannibal himself, had acquired great reputation in the army by his valour and conduct. Epicydes and Hanno, well acquainted with his merit, had given him the command of a body of Numidian horse; and this brave man answered their expectations. He soon made himself dreaded through all Sicily, by the many advantages he gained over the cities in alliance with Rome. After he had, with surprising expedition, ravaged the enemy's lands, he flew to all the places that still adhered to Carthage, and, by his presence, kept the wavering people in awe, even after the reduction of Syracuse. He secured the fidelity of some, by sending them the provisions and succours they wanted; others he encouraged with his presence to hold out resolutely against Marcellus, and raised their dejected spirits. He seemed to be in all places where the interest of his republic required his presence. Epicydes and Hanno had hitherto shut themselves up in Agrigentum; but being encouraged by the successful expeditions of Mutines, they ventured to take the field; and, advancing to the river Himæra, formed a camp there. Marcellus, being

Mutines maintains the Carthaginian interest in Sicily.

*Marcellus
attacks his
camp, but
is repulsed.*

of the enemy's march, immediately put himself at the head of his army, and encamped about four miles from the Carthaginian troops, with a design to watch their motions. Mutines did not give him time to deliberate; for that brave general, who only wanted an opportunity of signifying himself, immediately passed the river, and, falling on the advanced guard, spread an alarm in the whole Roman army. Next day Marcellus marched out of his lines, and attacked the camp of Mutines, but was repulsed with great loss. Mutines was preparing to assault the Romans in their entrenchments, when news were brought him, that the Numidian cavalry, quarrelling among themselves, had raised great disturbances in the neighbouring country, and that a body of three hundred of them had retired to Heraclea. This defection obliged the general to drop, or rather postpone, his enterprize. He instantly flew to suppress a revolt, the consequences of which might defeat his designs; and at the same time ordered Epicydes and Hanno not to venture an engagement, till he returned. This command was disagreeable to the two generals. Hanno, who had been long jealous of the glory and reputation of Mutines, could not brook his seeming to impose laws upon him, as if he had been a soubaltern. "What, (said he), am I sent into Sicily with a commission by the senate and people of Carthage, only to be subject to the caprice of a man of no birth or family?" Hanno found it no difficult matter to instil the same uneasiness into the mind of Epicydes. So that they both resolved to pass the river, and give battle, without waiting for Mutines. Their rage and jealousy made them look upon this brave African only as a troublesome rival, who would assume to himself all the honour of a victory, which they might gain without him. Marcellus, seeing the Carthaginians form their army, drew up his likewise in battalia. This great general had, four years before, defeated Hannibal near Nola; and therefore thought it shameful to retire before two commanders, who were much inferior to him, and who had already felt so often the effects of the Roman valour: so that the Roman accepted the challenge; and, while he was preparing for battle, ten Numidians came from the Carthaginian army to inform him, that their countrymen were determined to continue inactive during the engagement. They were persuaded, that Epicydes and Hanno had sent away Mutines their commander, on purpose to rob him of the glory of conquering the Romans. The report of the revolt

volt of the Numidians was soon spread among the legions, who looked upon it as a happy preface of victory. The most cowardly took courage, when they were no longer to contend with those squadrons which had been to that time so formidable to them. The enemy were seized with a sudden terror upon the first report of the revolt. Besides, Epicydes and Hanno could no longer depend on the Numidian cavalry, which was the main strength of their army; and were under no small apprehension, lest, in the heat of the engagement, they should turn their arms against the Carthaginians. While they were in this perplexity, the Roman army advanced; and attacking the affrighted troops with the utmost fury, put them to flight at the first onset. The fugitives took the road to Agrigentum, whither they were pursued by the Romans, who killed many thousands, and took eight elephants. The Numidians, after having been idle spectators of the battle, refused to follow the others to Agrigentum, for fear of being besieged by the Romans, and retired to the neighbouring cities. This great advantage raised Marcellus to the highest pitch of glory; he returned victorious to Syracuse, and soon after to Rome, having delivered up his army, and the government of Sicily, to Marcus Cornelius Cethegus. In a short time after his departure, a Carthaginian fleet landed eight thousand foot, and three thousand Numidian horse, in Sicily. By the help of these new forces the Carthaginians began to recover their power in several parts of the island. Murgantia, Hibla, and Macella, joined them; and, after their example, some less considerable places fell off from the Romans. Mutines, at the head of his Numidians, destroyed the country with fire and sword, daily returned to the cities of his allies loaded with booty, and laid the whole country waste even in sight of the Roman army. The Roman soldiers were enraged, that they had not been allowed to follow their general to Rome, to share the honours of a triumph with him. Their murmurs increased, when they were forbid to take up their winter-quarters in the cities; and they only wanted a leader to break out into open rebellion. All the address of Marcus Cornelius was required to appease their resentment: some he gained by caresses, and kindness; others he intimidated by menaces; and, having brought them to submit again to the laws of military discipline, he soon repaired the

*Epicydes
and Hanno
defeated by
Marcellus.*

*New forces
arrive
from Car-
thage in
Sicily.*

less the republic had sustained since the departure of Marcellus. He forced all the rebellious cities to return to their duty, and particularly Murgantia, which, with its territory, was bestowed by the senate on the Spaniards, as a reward for their zeal in the service of the republic.

ans com-
lain of
Marcellus.

But the total reduction of Sicily was reserved for Marcus Valerius Laevinus, who, being appointed consul with Marcellus, was sent into Sicily to settle the affairs of that island. It still continued customary at Rome for the two consuls to choose their provinces by lot; and it now happened, that Italy fell to Laevinus, and Sicily to Marcellus. But, as soon as this decision was declared, the Sicilians, who were present, expressed as much terror and consternation as they had done at Syracuse when Marcellus surprised it. They dressed themselves in mourning, crowded to the houses of the senators, and protested, that it would be better for Sicily to perish in the flames of Mount *Ætna*, or be swallowed up by the sea, than to fall again under the government of her conqueror and tyrant. These accusers had been suborned by M. Cornelius Cethegus, who, being prætor in Sicily, sent them to Rome with a design to form an accusation against Marcellus, and raise his own glory on the ruins of this great man's reputation. With this view he wrote many letters to the senate, wherein he declared, that there was much to do in the island before it could be entirely reduced; and thereby prevented Marcellus from enjoying the honour of a triumph, which was seldom granted till an expedition was completed. The *Syracusans*, who were to accuse Marcellus, concealed themselves in the villages round Rome, till they heard that Sicily had fallen to his lot; and then they appeared as suppliants before the senate to demand justice against him. Marcellus, who was no stranger to the secret plots of his enemies, and knew that some of the senators out of compassion, and others from jealousy, listened to the complaints of the *Syracusans*, declared, that if his colleague was willing to change provinces, he would not be against it. Laevinus consented to the change, and, accordingly, orders were sent into Sicily, enjoining the prætor, Cornelius Cethegus, to deliver up the troops under his command to the consul. But before either Laevinus or Marcellus departed for their respective provinces, the Sicilians were heard in the senate, and Marcellus

Plin. in Marcell.

cleared.

cleared. His proceedings in Sicily were declared regular, the willage of Syracuse approved of, and his regulations ratified. Nevertheless it was decreed, that Rome should, for the future, consult the interest of Syracuse; and Lævinus was commanded to shew the Syracusans all the lenity that was consistent with the welfare of the republic. When the decree was passed, the Sicilians were brought to the senate to hear it; and Marcellus, who had retired, that the debates of the senators might be more free, came in after them, and took his place as consul. Then the Sicilians, confounded at what they had done, threw themselves at his feet, bathed them with tears, and begged him to pardon the attempts which they had made against his honour. Marcellus received them very graciously, promised them his protection, and, in consequence of this promise, obtained of the senate, that the Syracusans should be reinstated in their ancient liberties, and treated as allies of Rome. Hence proceeded the lasting gratitude of the Syracusans to Marcellus and his posterity. They enacted a decree; wherein it was ordered, that whenever any of his family arrived in Sicily, the people should walk before him crowned with garlands, and celebrate that happy day with sacrifices. From thenceforth the whole island remained under the patronage of the Marcelli, the Sicilians becoming clients of that illustrious family (E).

Marcellus cleared.

Honours decreed him by the Sicilians.

The

* Plut. in Marcell.

(E) The conduct of Marcellus on this occasion was not entirely approved of at Rome. Some of the senators, remembering the attachment which king Hiero had on all occasions shewn to their republic, could not help condemning their general for giving up their city to be plundered. The citizens were not in a condition to oppose an army of mercenaries; and therefore were obliged to yield to the times, and obey the ministers of Hannibal, who commanded the army. But they were no sooner their own masters, by the death of Hieronymus, and afterwards by the flight of Epicydes, than they declared for the Romans, and put to death such as favoured the Carthaginian party; so that they were never willingly unfaithful to Rome. Marcellus, nevertheless, plundered the city, and stripped it of all its valuable monuments, as if the citizens had been enemies to Rome, not by force, to use Livy's expression, but by inclination. The same writer imputes to Marcellus the custom which prevailed among the Romans, of pillaging the conquered cities of their richest ornaments, and embellishing their capital with them.

The cause of the Sicilians being thus determined, Lævinus set out for his province; and, on his arrival, found the

them. "It is true, said he, these spoils belonged, by right of war, to the conqueror; but it must be owned, that this custom gave rise to many evils. From that time the people began to be very inquisitive after these master-pieces of art which have been the admiration of all ages. And hence arose that unbounded licentiousness which prevails among us to this day, of sparing nothing, either sacred or prophane, to gratify our ostentation and curiosity. Religion itself could no longer set bounds to the avarice of a greedy conqueror. He laid his hands on sacred things. The most venerable deities were torn from the places where they had fixed their abode; and even the temple, which was built by Marcellus, has met with the same fate. The monuments with which he enriched it, are now become the prey of an unjust usurper; and there are but few remains of the fine statues, and valuable paintings, which the conqueror of Syracuse reserved for embellishing it." Thus far Livy (1). Till the age in which this general lived; Rome had entertained her citizens with no sight but what suited her martial genius; viz. triumphs, trophies, and the military ensigns and arms of conquered nations. This was suitable to the taste of men who were enemies to luxury, and had been brought up in

the noise and hurry of war. The old Romans, therefore, who were fond of the ancient customs, thought the conduct of Fabius, at the taking of Tarentum, preferable to that of Marcellus at the taking of Syracuse. The former was content with the gold, and other spoils, that might fill Rome with plenty; and did not touch the famous statues and pictures which adorned the temples and public places, saying, "Let us leave the Tarentines their angry gods." Marcellus, on the contrary, emboldened, by his example, the triumphant victors to lead both men and gods in chains after their chariots. "From his time, says Plutarch (2), the citizens were no longer employed, as in earlier ages, in forming great designs, and conspiring to promote the glory of their country. The public places were filled with idle people, who spent great part of the day in discoursing on statues of exquisite workmanship, valuable pictures, and those who had excelled in painting and sculpture." Polybius is no less severe on the Romans, on this account, than Livy or Plutarch. "These statues, says he (3), pictures, bas-reliefs, and other rich spoils of the conquered nations, were, indeed, a proof of the conquests of Rome, and, at the same time, of the injustice of those who seized them. When these

(1) Liv. lib. xxv. cap. 40.
lib. ix.

(2) Plut. in Marcell.

(3) Polybius.
monu-

the whole island reduced by the prætor Cornelius, except Agrigentum and its territory. Having therefore settled the government of Syracuse, and its dependencies, to the advantage of the Romans, and the satisfaction of the inhabitants, he turned his arms against the only place that was left to Carthage in the whole island. The city of Agrigentum was defended by a numerous garrison, under the command of Hanno; but the consul made himself master of it more by the good fortune of Rome than his own valour. Hanno, growing daily more jealous of the great reputation which Mutines acquired, at length deprived that brave officer of his commission, and put his son in his room. But his having no command did not lessen his credit among the soldiers, especially the Numidians, who were more attached to him than ever; so that all the odium of this removal fell on the general. On the other hand Mutines, not being able to brook the affront put upon him, resolved, at all events, to be revenged on Hanno; and accordingly began to maintain a private correspondence with the consul, advising him to bring his army before Agrigentum. Upon the first news of the march of the Romans, Mutines conspired with the Numidians against Hanno, placed himself at their head, and, having seized one of the gates, put the Romans in possession of it. The Carthaginian guard was cut to pieces, and the legionaries, mixed with the Numidians, advanced into the center of the city; so that the place was taken before Hanno knew that the Romans were before it. He flew to the market-place, imagining that the Numidians, who often opposed the orders of their generals, had raised some new commotion; but perceiving, while he was at some distance, that the Romans were mixed with the Numidians, and not doubting but he was betrayed, he turned short, and made his escape out of the city; arriving at the port, he embarked with Epicydes, and a small number of officers, on a vessel which was

Mutines delivers up Agrigentum to the Romans.

monuments were shewn to strangers they perpetuated their hatred to the Roman name, and reminded the conquered people of their misfortunes. This inspired the spectators with indignation against the conquerors, and with compassion for

the oppressed nations. The rich spoils which Marcellus brought out of Sicily were placed by him in the temples of Virtue and Honour, which he had built in discharge of a vow made in the war with the Gauls (4).

(4) Plut. in Marcell. Corn. Nepos.

ready to set sail. The rest of his army betook themselves to flight; but Lævinus having posted guards in all the avenues and passages, they were killed to a man. All the chiefs of the Agrigentines were, by Lævinus's order, first scourged with rods, and then beheaded. The common people were reduced to slavery, and sold to the best bidder. The spoils of the pillaged city were put up to sale, and the money returned to the public treasury¹. After the reduction of Agrigentum, and flight of Hanno and Epycydes, most of the Sicilian cities voluntarily submitted to the Romans, and others were either betrayed or taken by force. Thus the Romans became masters of the whole island. Lævinus, having now no enemies to contend with, restored the public tranquility, and took upon himself the government of it in the name of his republic, making it all but one province. This fruitful country, the cultivating of which had been long interrupted by wars, produced corn a hundredfold; hence, from this time, it became the granary of Rome, and her constant refuge in distress².

Yr. of Fl.
2150.
Ante Chr.
298.

*And all
Sicily re-
duced to a
Roman
province.*

Lævinus, having restored peace to Sicily, was recalled to Rome to preside in the comitia, which were to be held for electing new magistrates. Upon his departure he left the command of his army, and the government of Sicily, to the prætor Cincius. When he arrived at Rome, he gave the senate an account of his expedition, and of the present state of the island: Then he introduced to the conscript fathers Mutines, and all those who deserted Hannibal to adhere to the republic. They had many honours conferred upon them; and the advantageous terms, which the consul had promised them, were confirmed by a decree of the senate. Mutines himself was admitted to enjoy the rights of a Roman citizen, at the motion of one of the tribunes of the people; and by the authority of the senate.

*But distin-
guished
above
other pro-
vinces.*

Sicily being now become a province of the Roman republic, it was not treated as the other countries which Rome subdued afterwards, upon which a certain tribute was imposed; but suffered to enjoy its ancient privileges, and retain all its former rights. This distinction, as Tully observes, Sicily well deserved, since that island was the first of all foreign nations that had entered into alliance and amity with Rome, and the first conquest the

¹ Liv. lib. xxvi. cap. 40
cap. 3.

² Liv. ubi supra. Zonar. lib. ix.

republic made out of Italy. This island was afterwards a kind of pass for their troops into Africa; and Rome would not have so easily reduced the formidable power of Carthage, had not Sicily served her as a magazine, to supply her armies with provisions, and been a secure retreat to her fleets. Hence Scipio Africanus, after having taken and destroyed Carthage, thought himself obliged to adorn the cities of Sicily with some of the richest spoils he had brought from Africa, that the Sicilians might have some monuments among them of those victories to which they had greatly contributedⁿ.

Besides Syracuse, there were several other free cities in Sicily, namely, Leontini, Agrigentum, Gela, Messana, Himera, Catana, Ætna, Apollonia, Selinus, Taurominium, Agiris, and Centuripe. These underwent the same vicissitudes as Syracuse, being sometimes governed by their own laws, and at others enslaved by their domestic tyrants, till they were at last all brought under subjection by the Romans. Phalaris, tyrant of Agrigentum, is one of the most infamous for his cruelty among the Sicilian tyrants. He usurped the sovereignty of that city in the second year of the fifty-second Olympiad, and maintained it for sixteen years. Perillus, the Athenian, to flatter the cruelty of Phalaris, made the famous brazen bull for tormenting criminals; and was the first that suffered in it, having demanded too great a reward for his contrivance. The people of Agrigentum, unable to bear any longer with his enormous cruelties, made a general insurrection, seized on the tyrant, and put him to death, some say, by shutting him up in his own brazen bull^v. The most material transactions relating to the other cities of Sicily we have delivered in the history of Syracuse, with which their respective histories are inseparably interwoven; and therefore shall now proceed to the history of the other islands, beginning with that of Rhodes, which though small in extent, yet makes a very considerable figure in history, perhaps the first after Sicily.

*The other
free cities
of Sicily.
Their various
fortune.*

ⁿ Cic. in Verr. Act. 3.
in Chron. Cic. lib. ii. Offic.

^v Lucian. Dial. iii. de Poet. Euseb.

S E C T. IV.

*The History of Rhodes.**Its names.*

THIS island was formerly known by the names of Ophiussa, Asteria, Æthraea, Trinacria, Corymbia, Poëssa, Atabyria, Marcia, Oloëssa, Stadia, Telchinis, Pelagia, and Rhodus. In latter ages the name of Rhodus, or Rhodes, prevailed, which authors commonly derive from the Greek word rhodon, signifying *a rose*, that island abounding, above any other, with this sort of flower. And indeed several Rhodian coins are still to be seen, representing the sun, and on the reverse a rose. But Diodorus Siculus² affirmed it was so called from one Rhoda, the daughter of Apollo by Venus. It lies in the Mediterranean, opposite the coast of Lycia and Caria, from which it is distant about twenty miles. This island is about a hundred and twenty miles in compass, and blessed with a most fruitful soil, which gave occasion to the fable of those golden showers that were once said to have fallen upon it. It formerly produced, in great plenty, all sorts of delicious fruits, and wines of so exquisite a flavour, that they were used by the Romans chiefly in their sacrifices, and thought, as Virgil informs us¹, too good for mortals. The air is so serene, that no day ever passes without sunshine; whence the poets feigned Phœbus to be in love with this island, which, they say, was a mere marsh, altogether uninhabitable, till loved by Phœbus, and raised out of the waters by his powerful influence.

Soil, climate, &c.

*Cities of
Rhodes.
Lindus.*

The island of Rhodes had in Homer's time three cities, viz. Lindus, Camirus, Ialysus; to which in after-ages was added a fourth, bearing the name of the island. Lindus, now Lindo, stood on the east coast of the island, and was famous in ancient times for a temple dedicated to Minerva, whence that goddess had the surname of Lindia. This temple is said to have been built by Danaus, king of Egypt, who landed here in his flight from his own kingdom. A certain festival was celebrated annually in this city, not with blessings and prayers, as Lactantius informs us², but with curses and imprecations; insomuch that, if one good word escaped any of those that were present, it was deemed a very bad omen, and the whole ceremony begun anew. Lindus gave birth to Chares, the architect

² Diodor. Sicul. lib. 7. cap. 3.¹ Virgil. Geogr. lib. ii.² Lactant. hb. i. cap. 31.

of the colossus, and to Cleobulus, one of the seven wise men of Greece. Camirus, or Cameiros, situate on the western coast of the island, is barely mentioned by the ancients. Ialysus, in the north, opposite the coast of Lycia, was the most ancient city in the whole island; but we find nothing relating to it worth mentioning. These three cities were, according to Diodorus^a, built by Tlepolemus, the son of Hercules, before the Trojan war. But Strabo^b and Cicero^c tell us, that they were founded by the Heliades, or grandsons of Phœbus, Ialysus, Camirus, and Lindus, who imparted their names each to the city he built (F). But the city of Rhodes,

Camirus.

Ialysus.

^a Diod. Sic. lib. iv. cap. 60. ^b Strabo, lib. xiv. p. 450. ^c Cic. de Nat. Deor. lib. iii. cap. 21.

(F) Some writers tell us, that these three cities were built by the Dorians not long after their migration; whence they are counted by Athenæus among the Dorian colonies (5). Herodotus says they were founded by the daughters of Danaus, who landed in this island, after having put to death the sons of Ægyptus, their husbands (6). In the city of Lindus was a magnificent temple, said by Plutarch (7) to have been built by them in honour of the Lindian Minerva. Zosimus tells us, that in this time were still to be seen at Constantinople two statues of exquisite workmanship, the one of Jupiter Dodonæus, the other of the Lindian Minerva; and adds, that the magnificent temple of that goddess in the city of Lindus having been accidentally reduced to ashes, these two statues were found in the rubbish not defaced

(8). Cadmus, according to Diodorus Siculus (9), presented the Lindian Minerva with a kettle made after the ancient fashion, on which was an inscription in Phœnician letters. Amasis, king of Egypt, consecrated, as Herodotus informs us (1), to the same goddess two statues, and a linen vest of an extraordinary texture; each thread of this vest consisting of three hundred and sixty smaller threads; three hundred and fifty says Pliny; and adds, that the consul Mutianus, having had the curiosity to untwist several threads both of the woof and warp, found that each of them contained exactly the above mentioned number of other threads so fine, that they were hardly discernible by the naked eye (2). The same author tells us, that Helena offered to the same goddess a cup of amber of exquisite workmanship, and speaks of se-

(5) Athenæus, lib. iii. (6) Herodot. lib. ii. cap. 182.
(7) Plut. de Soler. Animal. (8) Zosimus, lib. v. (9) Diod. Sic. lib. ii. (1) Herodot. lib. ii. cap. 47. (2) Plin. lib. v. cap. 6.

Rhodes.

Rhodes (G), built during the Peloponnesian war, soon eclipsed the other three, and became the metropolis of

veral pictures in this temple by Parrhasius, Zeuxis, and other great masters. The other two cities, Camiros and Ialysus, contained nothing remarkable: the latter was commanded by a citadel built on a neighbouring hill, and called by Strabo (3) Ochyroma. Lindus and Ialysus were both well fortified in the time of the Peloponnesian war, as appears from Thucydides (4); but Camiros, or, as some write it, Cameiros, was then without walls. Diodorus (5) speaks of another town, which he calls Achaia, and supposes to have been built by Ochimus and Cercaphus, two of the sons of Apollo, at a small distance from Ialysus; but as no other writer makes mention of this city, we are inclined to believe, that Diodorus by Achaia meant the castle of Ochyroma, which, perhaps, in his time, was known by that name. The cities of Lindus, Ialysus, and Camiros, were, as Strabo informs us (6), three different republics, independent of each other, governed by their own laws, till the inhabitants abandoned their ancient habitations, and went to settle in the city of Rhodes, which was built in the time of the Peloponnesian war, that is, many centuries after the other three.

(G) This stately city was built by the same architect,

whom the Athenians had employed in building the Piræus or port of Athens, viz. Hippodamus, a native of Miletus, and esteemed one of the best architects Greece ever produced (7). It was built, according to Strabo (8) and Aristides (9), in the form of an amphitheatre, surrounded with walls like those of Munichia, embellished with most stately buildings, strait and broad streets, pleasant avenues, fine groves, large squares, &c. Dio Chrysostomus (1) tells us, that most of the pagan deities had temples in this city; among which that of the Sun, called by the Dorians Haleium, was one of the most noble structures of antiquity. Strabo mentions the temple of Bacchus, or, as the Rhodians styled him, Thyonidas, which, as he says, was enriched with a prodigious number of pictures, by the celebrated painter Protogenes. Hefychius, Apian, and Suetonius, speak of the temples of Isis, of Ocridion, and Diana, as master-pieces of art. Each of these temples contained immense treasures, the offerings of votaries from all parts of Greece, Asia, and Italy. In the Dionysium, or temple of Bacchus, was a statue of Pluto of massy gold, and an incredible number of other statues and pictures. Pliny tells us (2), that in his

(3) Strabo, lib. xiv. p. 450.
od. Sic. lib. v.

(6) Strabo, *ibid.*

(4) Thucyd. lib. viii.

(7) Strabo, lib. xiv.

(8) Strabo, *ubi supra.*

(9) Aristid. in Rhodiæ.

(1) Dio

Chrysostom. in Rhodiæ.

(2) Plin. lib. iv. cap. 7.

of the whole island. It was situate on the east coast, at the foot of a hill of a gentle ascent, and in an agreeable plain, environed at some distance with several hills full of springs, and covered with all kinds of fruit-trees. No city, if we believe Strabo^c, was in ancient times preferable to it, whether we consider the stateliness of its buildings, or the excellent laws by which it was governed. In the Roman times it was famous for the study of all sciences, and resorted to by such of the Romans as were desirous of improving themselves in literature, being by some of the ancients equalled to Athens itself^d. It had a very convenient haven, at the entrance of which were two rocks; and on those rocks, though fifty feet asunder, the famous colossus is supposed to have stood (1). It was a huge statue of brass, erected in honour of the sun, or Apollo, the tutelary god of the island, and for its size accounted one of the seven wonders of the world, being seventy cubits, or a hundred and five feet high; inasmuch that ships, in entering the harbour, sailed between its legs. Demetrius Poliorcetes, having for a whole year besieged the city of Rhodes without being able to take it; at last, fatigued with so long a siege, was reconciled to the Rhodians, and on his departure presented them with all the engines of war he had employed against

The colossus.

^c Strab. lib. xiv. p. 450.

^d Suet. in Tiber.

time there were in the city of Rhodes above three thousand statues, most of them executed with great taste; nay, according to Aristides (3), there were more valuable statues and pictures in the city of Rhodes alone, than in all the other cities of Greece. The pictures of Menander king of Caria, and of Anæus the son of Neptune by Apelles, and those of Perseus, Hercules, and Meleager, by Xeuxis, are greatly extolled by Pliny, and other ancient writers. That of Meleager was thrice scorched by lightning, as Pliny informs us; but that accident did not

in the least deaden the lustre and brightness of its colours.

(1) Pliny describes it in the following terms: of all things that are deservedly admired, the colossus of Rhodes, done by Chares of Lindus, the disciple of Lyfippus, is the most worthy of admiration. It was seventy cubits high, and is still, though lying on the ground, a great prodigy. Its thumb is a fathom in compass, and its fingers larger than most statues. It was hollow, and had in its cavities vast stones, employed by the artificer to counterbalance its weight, and render it steady on its pedestal.

(3) Aristid. in Rhodiæ.

their city. These the Rhodians sold for three hundred talents, and with that money, and other additional sums of their own, raised this famous colossus. The artificer they employed was Chares of Lindus, who was twelve years in completing the work. After it had stood sixty years, it was thrown down by an earthquake, which did great damage in the East, especially in Caria and Rhodes ^c. On this occasion the Rhodians sent ambassadors to all the princes and states of Greek origin, to represent the losses they had sustained; and solicit sums for repairing them, especially from the kings of Egypt, Macedon, Syria, Pontus, and Bithynia. The money they collected is said to have exceeded the value of the damages five times; but they, instead of setting up the colossus again, for which end most of it was given, pretended that the oracle of Delphi forbade it, and converted the money to other purposes ^f. The colossus lay where it fell for the space of eight hundred and ninety-four years, till at length Moawias, the sixth caliph or emperor of the Saracens, having taken Rhodes, sold the brass to a Jew, who loaded with it nine hundred camels; so that, allowing eight hundred pounds weight to every camel's load, the brass of the colossus, after the waste of so many years, amounted to seven hundred and twenty thousand pounds weight ^g.

The city of Rhodes is still a place of considerable note, being pleasantly situated on the side of a hill, three miles in compass, and well fortified with a treble wall. The streets are wide, strait, and well paved, and the houses built after the Italian taste. The chief haven is convenient, safe, and well fortified. The city is well peopled, and the inhabitants as wealthy as the Turkish tyranny permits any to be.

Diodorus Siculus tells us this island was first peopled by the Telchiniæ from Crete; but these foreseeing it would be overwhelmed by a deluge, abandoned their habitations, making way for the Heliades, or grand-children of Phœbus, who took possession of it, after their grandfire Apollo had cleared it of the mud with which it was covered by the deluge.

In after-ages the descendants of the Heliades, who had remained in Rhodes, being infested by great serpents, which bred in the island, had recourse to an oracle in

^c Euseb. Chron. Oros. lib. iv. cap. 13. Polyb. lib. v. p. 428, 429. Plin. lib. xxxiv. cap. 7. Strab. lib. xiv. p. 652. ^f Plin. Polyb. & Strab. *ibid.* ^g Zonar. Cadrew. sub regno Constantis Hæc. Nepot.

Delos, which advised them to admit Phorbas, and his followers, to share with them the lands in the island, if they wished to be delivered from their present calamity. Phorbas was the son of Lapithas, and was at that time with many of his friends in Thessaly seeking for a convenient place to settle. The Rhodians, according to the direction of the oracle, sent for Phorbas, who, being admitted as a proprietor with them in the island, destroyed the serpents, and freed the inhabitants from their former fears. He continued with his followers, who were all Thessalians, in Rhodes, where, after his death, he was honoured as a demi-god ¹.

Phorbas and his followers settle in the island of Rhodes.

Afterwards Althæmenes, the son of Catreus king of Crete, consulting the oracle, was answered, that it would be his fate to kill his own father. To avoid this misfortune he abandoned Crete; and with a colony of his countrymen, passed over into Rhodes, and settled at Camirus. There he built a temple on the top of Mount Atamirus, in honour of Jupiter. He chose that place, because he had from thence a prospect of Crete, his native island. He was greatly honoured by the inhabitants of Camirus, and admitted with his followers to enjoy all the rights and privileges of the ancient proprietors; but his father Catreus, having no other son, undertook a voyage to Rhodes, in order to bring Althæmenes back to Crete. He landed at Rhodes, in the night, with a numerous attendance, which alarming the Rhodians, they fell upon him, and in the conflict he was killed by his own son. Althæmenes was so concerned for his death, that he afterwards avoided company, wandering in the deserts till he died of grief; but by the direction of the oracle, he was honoured as a hero or demi-god ².

Some Cretans settle in the island.

Not long before the Trojan war, Tlepolemus, the son of Hercules, having accidentally killed one Licymnius, fled from Argos; and, having consulted an oracle about planting a colony, was advised to pass over into Rhodes, and settle there. He was afterwards created king of the whole island, which he governed with great justice and equity. These were, according to Diodorus, the first inhabitants of Rhodes ¹.

And likewise Tlepolemus the son of Hercules.

After the Trojan war the Dorians took possession of the best part of this island, after having driven out the ancient proprietors; and hence it is, that both Strabo ² and Pau-

The ancient inhabitants driven out by the Dorians.

¹ Diodor. Sicul. ibid.
² Strab. lib. xiv.

² Idem ibid.

¹ Idem ibid.

ians call the Rhodians Dorians, and also Peloponnesians, the Dorians being properly the inhabitants of Peloponnesus. Certain it is, that the Rhodians after the Trojan war consisted chiefly of Dorians; and that the Doric dialect was commonly used throughout the whole island.

*Their trade
navigation.*

The Rhodians applied themselves very early to trade and navigation, and, for many ages, were sovereigns of the sea, their laws, being the standard whereby all controversies relating to maritime affairs were decided. These laws and constitutions were so just, that they were afterwards incorporated into the Roman pandects, and followed in all the provinces of the Roman empire.

Government.

The government of Rhodes was originally monarchical, and several kings are said to have reigned there long before the Trojan war^a; but, as the authors, who have written of Rhodes, have not reached our times, we can give no account of those ancient kings (K). The names of the princes,

^a Paulan. lib. ix.

^b Vide Pindar. Olymp. od. vii. Diodor. Sicul. lib. v. cap. 23. Strab. lib. xiv. &c.

(K) It would be too tedious to insert here a catalogue of the many eminent writers, whom this island has produced. However, we shall give a succinct account of those, whom we find to have been most admired by the best judges of antiquity. These are, Aristophanes, a native of Lindos, whose comedies met with such applause at Athens, that he was declared free of that city, and honoured with a crown made of the branches of its olive-tree, which grew in the Citadel, and was sacred to Minerva. Eudemus, counted by Strabo among the illustrious philosophers of antiquity: he is said to have written a learned treatise of geometry, astronomy, and the power and influence of the sun. Hieronymus, commended by Strabo, Athenæus, and Tully, as the chief Peripatetic philosopher of his time. Leonidas, rank-

ed by Strabo, Hesychius, and Vitruvius, among the men who gained more reputation to their country by the arts of peace, than the greatest captains by those of war. Pisander, a native of Camiros, mentioned by Strabo and Macrobius as the author of a poem styled Heracles, which comprehended in two books all the exploits of Hercules: he is said by Suidas to have been the first that represented Hercules with a club. Panetius, who was preceptor to Scipio Africanus the younger, and attended him, together with Polybius, in all his expeditions. Upon Scipio's death he retired to Athens, where he was highly esteemed, and admitted into the number of Athenian citizens. Cicero acknowledges, that he followed him in his Book of Offices. Molon, or Apollonius Molon, who taught rhetoric first at Rome, afterwards at Rhodes,

princes, who reigned in the time of the Trojan war, and after that epoch, are Tlepolemus, Doricus, Damagetus, Diagoras, Evagoras, Cleobulus, Erastides, Damagetus II. Diagoras II.

Kings of Rhodes.

Tlepolemus, the son of Hercules, accompanied Agamemnon to the Trojan war, leaving the government of his kingdom to Butas, who had attended him in his flight from Argos. Some affirm, that he was killed before Troy by Sarpedon; others, that he returned loaded with the spoils of the plundered city^p. Doricus is only mentioned by Pausanias, and supposed to have reigned, as his son Damagetus enjoyed the royal dignity. All we know of Damagetus is, that he was commanded by an oracle to marry the daughter of the best man among the Greeks; and that, in compliance with the injunction of the god, he wedded the third daughter of Aristomenes the Messenian^q, by whom he had Diagoras, who became so famous on account of his equity and justice, that the princes who succeeded him were all called Diagoridæ, as if he had been the head and first of the family^r. Evagoras is mentioned only by Laertius, who gives us no particulars of his reign^s. Cleobulus travelled into Egypt, where he studied philosophy; and, on his return to Rhodes, was highly esteemed, not only by his countrymen, but by all

Tlepolemus.

Doricus.

Damagetus.

Diagoras.

Evagoras.

Cleobulus.

^p Diodor. *ibid.* Diſtys, Philoſtratus, &c. ^q Pauſan. lib. iv.
^r Pauſan. *ibid.* ^s Laertius in *Vita* Cleobul.

Rhodes, and had, in both places, a great many disciples of distinction; among others, Cicero, who followed him from Rome to Rhodes. Timocreon, a famous poet and wrestler, who, in the Olympic games, was victor in five different sorts of combats. Athenæus tells us, that his epitaph was written by Simonides, and conceived in the following terms: "Here lies Timocreon the Rhodian, who, of all things, liked good eating and drinking, and never spoke well of any body." Praxiphanes, a native of Lindus, wrote a most learned comment on the obscure passages of Sophocles; and is

often mentioned by Strabo, Clemens Alexandrinus, and Hesychius. Anthreas, born likewise in Lindus, was the first inventor, as Suidas informs us, of the Adonic verse, so called from Adonis, that poet having first made them to bewail his death. Many other writers of great note have formerly flourished in this island; but, as we cannot pretend to give an account of them all in this place, we must refer our readers to Meursius, in his learned treatise on the island of Rhodes, printed at Amsterdam in 1675, and published with those on Crete and Cyprus by the same author.

Erastides

Diagoras

and his
sons
were in
public
vita.

the Greeks, and counted among the seven wise men of Greece. His daughter, Cleobulina, was a woman of great learning, well versed in philosophy, astrology, poetry, &c. and to have an admirable talent in making enigmas. Cleobulus died in the seventieth year of his age, leaving the kingdom, as he had no male issue, to his daughter, who resigned it to Erastides, one of the descendants of Diagoras. Erastides, it seems, performed nothing worth recording; he is called by Pindar a pacific prince. After him reigned several other princes of the same family, as we gather from the scholiast of Pindar; but the only one we find particularly mentioned by the ancients, is Diagoras II. who was contemporary with Pindar. He proved conqueror in the Olympic, Isthmian, Nemean, and Argian games; and is, on that account, celebrated by the poet. He had two daughters, Calipateras and Pherenice, and three sons, Acusilaus, Damagetus, and Dorieus. These sons were all three victors, at the same time, in the Olympic sports, Acusilaus in boxing, Dorieus in wrestling, and Damagetus in the exercise called pancration, which consisted of the two former. After the judges had passed sentence, and the public herald proclaimed their names, they flew to embrace their father, who was present, and, placing their crowns on his head, carried him in triumph through the croud; all Greece extolling, with loud acclamations, their piety, which made that numerous assembly, for a time, forget their victory. The father, overcome with excess of joy, died in their arms, envied more for his death, as our author expresses it, than for the many victories which, during his life, had equalled him to the gods. Dorieus was three times successively victor in the Olympic games, eight times in the Isthmian, seven times in the Nemean, and once in the Pythic, no one afterwards daring to contend with him. Being driven from Rhodes, he retired, with his nephew Pisidorus, to Thurium in Italy. We are ignorant of the crime laid to his charge; but Thucydides informs us, that he was soon recalled; and that, on his return, he not only openly declared for the Lacedæmonians, but served in their fleet with gallics equipped at his own expense, till he was taken prisoner in an engagement by the Athenians, who at first designed to put him to death, but afterwards sent him home without ransom,

from *ibid.* * Scholiast. Pind. p. 59.
ibid. * *Aul. Gell. lib. iii. cap. xv.* * *Passianr*

in consideration of the many victories he had gained in the public sports^a. His sister Pherenice, after the death of her husband, privately instructed her son Pisidorus in the exercises used at Olympia, and attended him herself in disguise to the sports; for women were not allowed to be present at those games; nay, so severe were the laws in this particular, that if any woman was found to have passed the river Alpheus, during the time of the solemnity, she was to be thrown headlong from a rock on the top of Mount Timæus. Pherenice, after her son had won the prize, discovered herself; and, being brought before the judges, they acquitted her, out of respect to her father, brothers, and son^r. From Diagoras I. to Diagoras II. chronologers count two hundred and fifty years; whence it is manifest, that neither the actions, nor even the names, of several intermediate kings have reached us. Upon the death of Diagoras II. some great revolution must have happened; for we find another family on the throne, viz. that of the Asclepiadæ, while his children were still alive^s. But we are totally ignorant of their names and actions. All we know is, that they did not long enjoy the sovereignty, the Rhodians having no king at the time of Xerxes' expedition into Greece, which, according to Diodorus^t, happened a few years after the death of Diagoras. After the death or expulsion of the last king, the republican government prevailed all over the island, during which the Rhodians engaged in trade and navigation, became very powerful by sea, and planted several colonies in distant countries; namely, Rhodus in Spain, and Parthenope in the country of the Opici. They were, at this time, masters of the Balearic islands, then called the Gymnasian islands. During the Peloponnesian war the Rhodians first joined the Athenians; but, after their great overthrow in Sicily, revolted from them, and united with the Lacedæmonians, whom they likewise abandoned, and renewed their ancient alliance with the Athenians, after the former had been defeated by Conon, admiral of the Persian fleet. In the time of the Peloponnesian war the republic of Rhodes was rent into two factions, the people favouring the Athenians, and the nobles the Lacedæmonians; but the latter at last prevailed, the

The republican form of government introduced.

^a Thucyd. lib. iii. & viii. Xenoph. lib. i. Diod. Sic. lib. xlii. Pausan. lib. vi. ^r Pausan. in Æliac. p. 457. Ælian. Varr. Hist. lib. x. cap. 1. Val. Max. lib. viii. Plin. lib. vii. cap. 41. ^s Aristid. Orat. in Asclepiad. & ad Rhodios de Concordia. ^t Diodor. Sicul. lib. xi.

*Democracy
abolished,
and aristocracy
introduced.*

The Rhodians oppressed by Mausolus, king of Caria.

Yr. of Fl.
1997.
Ante Chr.
851.

*Artemisia
besieging
the city of
Rhodes.*

Democracy was abolished, and an aristocracy introduced in its room. Under this form of government the state enjoyed a profound tranquillity, till the third year of the hundred and fifth Olympiad, which was the third year of the reign of Philip the son of Amyntas, when the Social war broke out, which, after it had lasted five years, was concluded by a treaty, very little to the honour of Athens. By this treaty Rhodes, Chios, Cos, and Byzantium, were to enjoy full liberty, and be quite independent of Athens.

The peace, which terminated the war of the allies, did not procure for all of them the tranquillity they had reason to expect. The people of Cos and Rhodes, who had been declared free by the treaty, seemed only to have changed their master. Mausolus, king of Caria, who had assisted them in throwing off the Athenian yoke, declared for an aristocracy; and, by these means, having oppressed the people, came by degrees to be absolute master of both islands, the nobility not daring, as they were hated by the people, to oppose him. But Mausolus dying two years after the treaty of peace with Athens, the people and nobility uniting, drove out the garrisons of Mausolus, and recovered their ancient liberties. Having thus cleared their respective islands of foreign forces, the Rhodians, to revenge the injuries they had suffered from Mausolus, equipped a fleet, and invaded Caria with a design to possess themselves of that country, which lay very convenient for them. The famous queen Artemisia, who had succeeded her husband in the kingdom of Caria, being acquainted with their design, ordered the inhabitants of Halicarnassus to keep within the walls; and, when the enemy arrived, to express by shouts and clapping of hands, a readiness to surrender. The inhabitants followed her directions; whereupon the Rhodians, not suspecting the least treachery, left their fleet without a proper guard, and entered the city. In the mean time Artemisia came with her galleys out of a little port, through a small canal, which she had caused to be cut on purpose, entered the great port, and, seizing the enemy's fleet without resistance, set sail for Rhodes. The Rhodians, who had entered the city, unable to make their escape, were all cut in pieces; but before this melancholy account reached Rhodes, Artemisia had got possession of that city. When the inhabitants saw their vessels approach, adorned with wreaths of laurel, they admitted them into the port with extraordinary marks of joy, not doubting but they had taken Halicarnassus. Then Artemisia, landing her troops, fell

fell upon the unarmed multitude, dispersed them, and, having got possession of the city, put the chief citizens, who had promoted the Carian expedition, to death. Being now mistress of the metropolis, she caused a noble trophy to be erected in the market-place, and two statues of brass; one of which represented the city of Rhodes, and the other Artemisia, branding it with a hot iron. The Rhodians afterwards surrounded that trophy with a building, which prevented it entirely from being seen, religion forbidding them to demolish any monuments, which had once been consecrated^b. The Rhodians, being thus reduced by a woman, and unable to bear any longer so shameful a servitude, had recourse to the Athenians, and privately sent ambassadors to implore their protection. They had but lately provoked the Athenians by their revolt, and the many mischiefs which they had brought upon their republic during the Social war. However, Demosthenes took upon him to support their ambassadors, and harangue the people in their favour. What impression his speech made on the minds of the Athenians, we know not. All we can advance with certainty is, that the Rhodians were soon after delivered from the yoke under which they groaned. Some writers tell us, that they were indebted to the Athenians for their liberty; while others affirm, that Artemisia dying the same year she possessed herself of the island, the Rhodians reinstated themselves in their former condition with their own forces^c.

The Rhodians recur to the Athenians.

Rhodians restored to their ancient liberty.

From this period the Rhodians enjoyed profound tranquility till the reign of Alexander the Great, to whom they peaceably delivered up their cities and harbours, and were on that account highly favoured by that prince^d. Diodorus tells us, that Alexander deposited his last will in the archives of the city of Rhodes, and shewed, on all occasions, a greater value for the Rhodians than for any other of the Greek nations. However, they no sooner heard the news of his death, than, taking up arms, they drove out the Macedonian garrison, and once more became a free people^e. About this time happened a dreadful inundation at Rhodes, which, being accompanied with violent storms of rain, and hail-stones of an extraordinary size, demolished many houses, and killed great numbers of the inhabitants. As the city was built in the form of an amphitheatre, and no care had been taken to

They surrender to Alexander.

Arimundation at Rhodes.

^b Vitruvius, lib. ii. cap. 10.
Strabo, lib. xiv.

^d Curt. lib. iv.

^c Aul. Gell. lib. x. cap. 18.
^e Diodor. lib. xviii.

clear the pipes and conduits which conveyed the water into the sea, the lower parts of the town were in an instant laid under water, several houses quite covered, and the inhabitants drowned before they could reach the higher places. As the deluge increased, and the violent showers continued, some of the people retired to their ships, and abandoned the place, while others, attempting to avoid the evil, miserably perished in the waters. The city being thus threatened with utter destruction, the wall suddenly burst asunder, and the water, discharging itself with a violent current into the sea, unexpectedly delivered the inhabitants from all danger¹.

The Rhodians courted by all the neighbouring princes.

The Rhodians suffered greatly by this misfortune, but soon repaired their losses by applying themselves more closely than ever to trade and navigation, the only sources of their wealth and power. As the city of Rhodes was, at this time, very powerful at sea², and the best governed of any city among the Greeks, all the princes, who were at variance with each other, courted her friendship. But the Rhodians carefully declined favouring one against another; and by thus observing a strict neutrality in the wars that were kindled in those times, became one of the most opulent states of all Asia; insomuch that, for the common good of Greece, they undertook to suppress the pirates, who had for any years infested the coasts both of Europe and Asia. Though they were in amity with the neighbouring princes, yet their inclination, as well as interest, secretly attached them to Ptolemy; for the most advantageous branches of their commerce sprung from Egypt. Wherefore, when Antigonus engaged in a war against Ptolemy for the island of Cyprus, and demanded succours of them, they earnestly intreated him not to compel them to declare against their ancient friend and ally. This answer drew upon them the displeasure of Antigonus, who immediately ordered one of his admirals to sail with his fleet to Rhodes, and seize all the ships that sailed out of the harbour for Egypt. The Rhodians, finding their harbour blocked up by the fleet of Antigonus, equipped a great number of galleys, attacked the enemy, and obliged him, with the loss of many ships, to quit his station. Antigonus, now charging them as the aggressors, and beginners of an unjust war, threatened to besiege their city with the strength of his whole army. The Rhodians endeavoured to appease his wrath, representing to

Yr. of Fl.
204.
Ante Chr.
304.

Antigonus resolves to make war on the Rhodians.

¹ Diodor. Sicul. lib. xix. ² Diodor. Sicul. lib. xx. cap. 4.

him, that not they, but his admiral, had begun hostilities, by seizing their trading vessels, and interrupting their navigation. But all their remonstrances served rather to exasperate than allay his resentment; and the only terms upon which he would listen to any accommodation, were, that the Rhodians should declare war against Ptolemy; that they should admit his fleet into their harbour; and that a hundred of the chief citizens should be delivered up to him as hostages for the performance of these articles. The Rhodians, foreseeing the storm which was then impending, sent ambassadors to all their allies, and to Ptolemy in particular, imploring their assistance, and representing to the latter, that their attachment to his interest had drawn upon them the danger to which they were exposed. The preparations on both sides were immense. As Antigonus was near eighty years of age at that time, he committed the whole management of the expedition to his son Demetrius, who appeared before the city of Rhodes with two hundred ships of war, a hundred and seventy transports, having on board forty thousand men, and a thousand other vessels laden with provisions and all sorts of warlike engines. As Rhodes had enjoyed, for many years, a profound tranquility, and been free from all devastations, the expectation of booty, in the plunder of so wealthy a city, allured multitudes of pirates and mercenaries to join Demetrius in this expedition; insomuch that the whole sea, between the continent and the island, was covered with ships. Demetrius, having landed his troops without the reach of the enemy's machines, detached several small bodies to lay waste the country round the city, and cut down the trees and groves, employing the timber and materials of the houses without the walls, to fortify his camp with strong ramparts, and a triple pallisade^b.

Great preparations on both sides.

Demetrius arrives before the city of Rhodes with a great fleet.

The Rhodians, on their part, prepared for a vigorous defence. Many commanders, who had signalized themselves on other occasions, threw themselves into the city, desirous to try their skill in military affairs against Demetrius, who was reputed one of the most experienced captains, in the conduct of sieges, that antiquity had produced. The besieged dismissed from the city all such persons as were useless; and then taking an account of those who were capable of bearing arms, they found that the citizens amounted to six thousand, and the foreigners to a thousand. Liberty was promised to all the slaves who should

Wise measures taken by the Rhodians for the defence of their city.

^b Idem ibid. & Phot. in Demetr.

distinguished themselves by any glorious action, and the public engaged to pay the masters their full ransom. A proclamation was likewise made, declaring, that whoever died in the defence of his country, should be buried at the charge of the public; and that his parents and children should be maintained out of the treasury; that fortunes should be given to his daughters; and his sons, when they were grown up, should be crowned, and presented with a complete suit of armour, at the great solemnity of Bacchus. This decree kindled an incredible ardour in all ranks of men. The rich came in crouds with money to defray the expence of the war, and the artificers applied themselves, with indefatigable industry, to the forging of arms, making of engines, and contriving new sorts of warlike machines, which did great execution against the enemy.

They intercept a conveyance of the enemy.

The besieged first sent out three light vessels against a small fleet of merchant-ships that supplied the enemy with provisions. These falling upon them, sunk some, took others, and burnt the greatest part of them, carrying back to Rhodes a great number of prisoners. By this first expedition the Rhodians gained a considerable sum of money; for it had been mutually agreed between them and Demetrius, that a thousand drachmas should be paid for the ransom of every freeman, and five hundred for each slave.

Demetrius begins to batter the city.

Demetrius, having constructed his engines, began to batter with incredible fury; the walls on the side of the harbour; but was for eight days successively repulsed by the besieged, who set fire to most of his warlike machines, and thereby obtained some respite, which they employed in repairing the breaches, and building new walls, where the old ones were either weak or low. When Demetrius had repaired his engines, he ordered a general assault to be made, commanding his troops to advance with loud shouts, thinking by this noise to strike terror into the enemy, and drive them from the walls. But the besieged were so far from being intimidated, that they repulsed the assailants with great slaughter, and performed the most astonishing feats of bravery. Demetrius returned to the assault the next day; but was in the same manner forced to retire, after having lost a great number of men, and several officers of distinction. He had seized, at his first landing, an eminence at a small distance from the city; and, having fortified this advantageous post, he caused several batteries to be erected there, with engines, which incessantly discharged against the walls stones of a
hun-

His men repulsed in two attacks.

hundred and fifty pounds weight. The towers, being thus furiously battered night and day, began to give way, and several breaches were made in the walls. Then the Rhodians, unexpectedly falling out, drove the enemy from their post, overturned their machines, and made a most dreadful havoc; insomuch that some of them retired on board their vessels, and were not without much difficulty prevailed upon to return to the siege.

His war-like machines overturned.

The ardor of Demetrius was not diminished by this loss; he ordered a scalade by sea and land at the same time, and so employed the besieged, that they were at a loss what place they should chiefly defend. The attack was carried on with the utmost fury on all sides, and the besieged defended themselves with the greatest intrepidity. Such of the enemy as had advanced first were thrown down from the ladders, and miserably bruised. Several of the chief officers having mounted the walls, to encourage the soldiers by their example, were either killed, or taken prisoners. After the combat had continued many hours, with great slaughter on both sides, Demetrius, notwithstanding all his valour, thought it necessary to retire, in order to repair his engines, and give his men some days rest^a.

Demetrius repulsed anew with great slaughter.

Demetrius, being sensible that he could not reduce the city till he was master of the port, after having refreshed his men, returned with new vigour against the fortifications, which defended the mouth of the harbour. He caused a vast quantity of burning torches and fire-brands to be thrown into the Rhodian ships, which were riding there; and at the same time galled, with dreadful showers of darts, arrows, and stones, such as endeavoured to extinguish the flames. However, notwithstanding their utmost efforts, the Rhodians put a stop to the fire; and, having with great expedition manned three of their strongest ships, drove with such violence against the vessels on which the enemy's machines were planted, that they were shattered in pieces, and the engines dismounted, and thrown into the sea. Excestus, the Rhodian admiral, being encouraged by this success, attacked the enemy's fleet with his three ships, and sunk a great many vessels; but was himself at last taken prisoner: the other two vessels made their escape, and regained the port.

Endeavours to make himself master of the port.

But in vain.

As unfortunate as this last attack had proved to Demetrius, he determined to hazard another; and, in order to

Machines of a new invention.

^a Diodor. & Plutarch *ibid.*

succeed

The Rhodians drive Demetrius from an advantageous post he had taken.

succeed in his attempt, he ordered a machine of a new invention to be built, which was thrice the height and breadth of those he had lately lost. When the work was finished, he caused the engine to be placed near the port, which he was resolved, at all hazards, to force. But as it was upon the point of entering the harbour, a dreadful storm arising, drove it against the shore, with the vessels on which it had been reared. The besieged, who were attentive to improve every favourable conjuncture, while the tempest was still raging, made a sally against those who defended the eminence mentioned above; and, though repulsed several times, carried it at last, obliging the Demetrians, to the number of four hundred, to throw down their arms, and submit. After this victory gained by the Rhodians, there arrived to their assistance a hundred and fifty Gnosians, and five hundred men sent by Ptolemy from Egypt, most of them natives of Rhodes, who had served among that king's troops^k.

The famous engine called helepolis.

Demetrius, being extremely mortified to see all his batteries against the harbour rendered ineffectual, resolved to employ them by land, in hopes of carrying the city by assault, or at least reducing it to the necessity of capitulating. With this view, having got together a great quantity of timber, and other materials, he framed the famous engine called helepolis, which was by many degrees larger than any that had ever been invented before. Its basis was square, each side being in length near fifty cubits, made up of square pieces of timber, fastened together with plates of iron. In the middle he placed thick planks, about a cubit distance from each other; and on these the men were to stand, who forced the engine forward. The whole was moved upon eight strong and large wheels, strengthened with strong iron plates. In order to facilitate and vary the movements of the helepolis, casters were placed under it, whereby it was turned in an instant to what side the workmen and engineers pleased. From each of the four angles a large pillar of wood was carried to about the height of an hundred cubits, and inclining to each other; the whole machine consisting of nine stories, whose dimensions gradually lessened in the ascent. The first story was supported by forty-three beams, and the last by no more than nine. Three sides of the machine were plated over with iron, to prevent its being damaged by the fire that might be thrown from the city. In the front

^k Idem ibid, & Plut. in Demetr.

of each story were windows of the same size and shape as the engines that were to be discharged from thence. To each window were shutters, to draw up for the defence of those who managed the machines, and to lessen the force of the stones thrown by the enemy, the shutters being covered with skins stuffed with wool. Every story was furnished with two large stair-cases, that what was wanting might be brought up by one, while the people employed descended by the other: by this method the necessary dispatch was made without confusion. This huge machine was moved forwards by three thousand of the strongest men of the whole army; but the art with which it was built greatly facilitated the motion. Demetrius caused likewise several testudoes or pent-houses to be erected, covering his men while they advanced to fill up the trenches and ditches, and invented a new sort of gallery, through which those, who were employed at the siege, might pass and repass at their pleasure, without the least danger. He employed all his seamen in levelling the ground, over which the machines were to be brought up, to the space of four furlongs. The number of workmen, who were employed on this occasion, amounted to thirty thousand.

In the mean time the Rhodians, observing these formidable preparations, were busy in raising a new wall within that which the enemy intended to batter with the helempolis. In order to accomplish this work, they pulled down the wall, which surrounded the theatre, some neighbouring houses, and even some temples, after having solemnly vowed to build more magnificent structures in honour of the gods, if the city should be preserved. At the same time they sent out nine of their largest ships to seize such of the enemy's vessels as they could meet with, and thereby distress them for want of provisions. As these vessels were commanded by their bravest sea-officers, they soon returned with an immense booty, and a great many prisoners. Among others, they took a galley richly laden, on board of which they found great variety of valuable furniture, and a royal robe, which Phila herself had wrought, and sent as a present to her husband Demetrius, accompanied with a letter written with her own hand. The Rhodians sent the furniture, the royal robe, and even the letter, to Ptolemy; a circumstance which exasperated Demetrius to a great degree.

*The be-
ed rasi
new wall.*

While Demetrius was preparing to attack the city, the Rhodians having assembled the people and magistrates, to consult

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*The walls
under-
mined,*

confult about the meafures they fhould take, fome propofed, in the affembly, deftroying the ftatues of Antigonus and his fon Demetrius, which till then had been held in the utmoft veneration. But this propofal was rejected with indignation, and their prudent conduct greatly allayed the wrath both of Antigonus and Demetrius. However, the latter continued to carry on the fieg with the utmoft rigour, thinking it would reflect no fmall difhonour on him, were he obliged to quit the place, without making himfelf mafter of it. He caufed the walls to be fecretly undermined; but when they were ready to fall, a defertor gave notice of the whole to the townfmen, who having with the greateft expedition drawn a deep trench all along the wall, began to countermine, and, meeting the enemy under-ground, obliged them to abandon the work. While both parties guarded the mines, one Athenagoras, a Milefian, who had been fent to the affiftance of the Rhodians by Ptolemy, with a body of mercenaries, promifed to betray the city to the Demetrians, and admit them through the mines in the night-time. But this offer was made only in order to epinare them; for Alexander, a noble Macedonian, whom Demetrius had fent, with a choice body of troops, to take poffeffion of a poft agreed on, no fooner appeared, than he was taken prifoner by the Rhodians, who were waiting to furprife him. Athenagoras was crowned by the fenate with a crown of gold, and prefented with five talents of filver.

*and forti-
fied the
city.*

Demetrius now abandoned all thoughts of undermining the walls, and placed all his hopes of reducing the city in the battering-engines which he had contrived. Having therefore levelled the ground under the walls, he brought up his hehopolis, with four teftadoes on each fide of it. Two other teftadoes of an extraordinary fize, bearing battering-rams, were likewife moved forwards by a thoufand men. Each ftory of the hehopolis was filled with all forts of engines for difcharging ftones, arrows, and darts. When things were thus prepared, Demetrius ordered the fignal to be given, when his men, fetting up a loud fhout, affaulted the city on all fides, both by fea and land. But, in the heat of the attack, when the walls were ready to fall by the repeated ftrokes of the battering-rams, a fleet of fhips arrived from Rhodes, earnestly follicitous to prevent further hoftilities, and at the fame time giving him hopes, that they could prevail upon the Rhodians to grant to him honourable capitulation. On this propofition, he and his army were immediately agreed to, and

ambassadors sent from both sides. But the Rhodians refusing to capitulate on the conditions offered them, the attack was renewed with so much fury, and the machines played off with such effect, that a large tower, built with square stones; and the wall that flanked it, were battered down. The besieged nevertheless fought in the breach with such intrepidity, that the enemy, after various unsuccessful attempts, were forced to abandon the enterprise, and retire.

In this conjuncture a fleet, which Ptolemy had freighted with three hundred thousand measures of corn, and different kinds of pulse for the Rhodians, arrived very seasonably in the port, notwithstanding the vigilance of the enemy's ships, which cruized on the coasts of the island. A few days after two other fleets arrived in safety, one sent by Cassander, with a hundred thousand bushels of barley; the other by Lyſimachus, with four hundred thousand bushels of wheat, and as many of barley. This seasonable and plentiful supply arriving when the city began to be distressed for want of provisions, inspired the besieged with new courage, and raised their drooping spirits. Thus animated, they formed a design of setting the enemy's engines on fire. For this purpose a body of men sallied out the night ensuing, about the second watch, with torches and fire-brands, having first placed on the walls an incredible number of engines to discharge stones, arrows, darts, and fire-balls, against those who should attempt to oppose the detachment. Advancing, against all opposition, to the batteries, they set them on fire, while the engines from the walls played incessantly on those who endeavoured to extinguish the flames. The Demetrians, on this occasion, fell in great numbers, being incapable, in the darkness of the night, either to see the engines that continually discharged showers of stones and arrows upon them, or to join in one body, and repulse the enemy. The conflagration was so great, that several plates of iron falling from the hecopolis, that vast engine would have been entirely consumed, had not the troops, that were stationed in it, with all possible speed quenched the fire with water prepared on purpose, and ready in the apartments of the engine, against such accidents. Demetrius, fearing lest all his machines should be consumed, assembled, by sound of trumpet, those whose

A seasonable supply of provisions arrives safe at Rhodes.

The besieged set fire to the engines.

1 Diodor. Sicul. & Plut. libid.

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perceive it was to move them; and, by their assistance, brought them off.

*They build
a third
wall.*

The besieged, improving the respite allowed them by the removal of the machines, built a third wall, in form of a crescent, which took in all that part most exposed to the enemy's batteries; and drew a deep trench behind the breach, to prevent the enemy from entering the city that way. At the same time they detached a squadron of their best ships, under the command of Amyntas, who sailed over to the continent of Asia; and there meeting with some cruisers, commissioned by Demetrius, took both the ships and the men, among whom were Timochus, the chief of the pirates, and several officers of distinction belonging to the fleet of Demetrius. On their return they fell in with several vessels laden with corn for the enemy's camp, which they likewise brought into the port. These were soon followed by a numerous fleet of small vessels, loaded with corn and provisions, sent by Ptolemy, together with fifteen hundred men, commanded by Antigonus, a Macedonian of great experience in military affairs. Demetrius, in the mean time, having repaired his machines, brought them up again to the walls, which he incessantly battered till he effected a large breach, and threw down several towers. But when he came to the assault, the Rhodians, under the command of Aminias, defended themselves with such resolution, that he was, in three successive attacks, repulsed with great slaughter, and at last forced to retire. The Rhodians likewise, on this occasion, lost several officers of rank; and, amongst others, the brave Aminias, their commander.

*Ambassadors sent by
the cities of
Greece to
mediate a
peace; but
the terms
offered by
Demetrius
rejected.*

While the Rhodians were thus signaling themselves in the defence of their country, a second embassy arrived at the camp of Demetrius from Athens, and the other cities of Greece, soliciting him to make peace with the Rhodians. At the request of the ambassadors, who amounted to more than fifty, a cessation of arms was agreed upon; but the terms offered by Demetrius being rejected by the Rhodians, the envoys returned home without being able to bring the contending parties to an agreement. Hostilities were therefore renewed. Demetrius, whose imagination was fertile in expedients, formed a detachment of fifteen hundred of his best troops, under the conduct of Alcimus and Mancius, two officers of great resolution and experience, ordering them to enter the breach at midnight, and forcing the entrenchment behind it, to possess

possess themselves of the posts about the theatre, where it would be no difficult matter to maintain themselves against any efforts of the enemy. In order to facilitate the execution of so important and dangerous an undertaking, and amuse the Rhodians with false attacks, he at the same time, upon a signal given, ordered the rest of the army to attack the city on all sides, both by sea and land. This feat had all the success the prince could expect; for the troops having set up a shout from all quarters, as if they were advancing to a general assault, the detachment commanded by Alcimus and Mancius entered the breach, and attacked those who defended the ditch, and the wall that covered it, with such vigour, that having slain the most part of them, and put the rest in confusion, they advanced to the theatre, and seized on the post adjoining to it. This event occasioned a general confusion in the city, as if it had been already taken: but the commanding officers dispatched orders to the soldiers on the ramparts not to quit their posts, nor stir from their respective stations. Having thus secured the walls, they put themselves at the head of a chosen body of their own troops, and of those lately come from Egypt, and with these charged the enemy's detachment. But the darkness of the night prevented them from dislodging the enemy, and regaining the advantageous posts they had seized. But day no sooner appeared, than they renewed their attack with determined bravery. The Demetrians without the walls endeavoured to animate those who had entered the place, and inspire them with a resolution to maintain their ground till they were relieved with fresh forces. The Rhodians, being sensible that their fortunes, liberties, and all that was dear to them, lay at stake, fought like men in the utmost despair, the enemy defending their posts for several hours, without giving way in the least. At length the Rhodians, encouraging each other to exert themselves in defence of their country, and animated by the example of their leaders, made a last effort, and breaking into the very centre of the enemy's battalion, killed both their commanders. After their death, the rest were easily put in disorder, and all to a man either killed, or taken prisoners. The Rhodians likewise on this occasion lost many of their bravest commanders, and, among the rest, Damotetis, their chief magistrate, a man of extraordinary valour, who had signalized himself during the whole course of the siege.

Demetrius's men enter the breach.

But are all killed or taken.

^a *Idiodor, Sicul. & Plut, Ibi.*

Demetrius, not discouraged by this check, was preparing for a fresh assault, when he received letters from his father Antigonus, enjoining him to conclude a peace with the Rhodians upon the best terms he could procure, lest he should lose his whole army in the siege of a single town. From this time Demetrius wanted only some plausible pretence for raising the siege. The Rhodians likewise were now more inclined to come to an agreement than formerly, Ptolemy having acquainted them, that he intended to send a great quantity of corn, and three thousand men, to their assistance; but that he would first have them try whether they could not treat with Demetrius upon reasonable terms. At the same time ambassadors arrived from the Ætolian republic, soliciting the contending parties to terminate a war which might involve all the East in endless calamities.

*Each party
thought
it a point
to be won.*

*The he-
lepolis ren-
dered use-
less.*

An accident which happened to Demetrius in this conjuncture, did not a little contribute towards the wished-for pacification. This prince was preparing to advance his helepolis against the city, when a Rhodian engineer found means to render it entirely useless. He undermined the tract of ground over which the helepolis was to pass the next day, in order to approach the walls. Demetrius, not suspecting any stratagem of this nature, caused the engine to be moved forward, which, coming to the place that was undermined, sunk so deep into the ground that it was impossible to draw it out again. This misfortune, if we believe Vegetius and Vitruvius, determined Demetrius to conclude a peace upon the following conditions: that the republic of Rhodes should be maintained in the full enjoyment of their ancient rights, privileges, and liberties, without any foreign garrison; that they should renew their ancient alliance with Antigonus, and assist him in his wars against all kings and princes, except Ptolemy, king of Egypt; and that, for the effectual performance of the articles stipulated between them, they should deliver a hundred hostages, such as Demetrius should make choice of, except those who bore any public employment^a.

*A peace
concluded.*

Yr. of Fl.
5045.
Ante Chr.
307.

*The siege of
Rhodes
raised.*

Thus the siege was raised, after it had continued a whole year; and the Rhodians amply rewarded all those who had distinguished themselves in the defence of their country: the slaves were set free, and admitted to the rights and privileges of citizens; and many of the free men received crowns of gold, and were honoured with rich pre-

^a Diodor. Sicul. ibid. Veget. de Re Milit.

sents out, of the public treasury. They likewise erected statues to Ptolemy, Cassander, and Lyfimachus, who had greatly contributed to the preservation of the place. But, to express their gratitude to Ptolemy above the rest, they deputed some of their priests to consult the oracle of Ammon, whether they should worship him as a god; and being answered that they might pay him divine honours, they consecrated a square grove in the city, inclosing it with a sumptuous portico, which was a furlong in length, and from him called *Ptolemeum*, or *Ptolemy's portico*; and, in order to perpetuate the memory of their deliverer in this war by another method, they gave him the appellation of *Soter*, that is, *Saviour*. By this surname he is distinguished by historians from the other Ptolemies who succeeded him in the kingdom of Egypt*. Some writers have imagined, that the surname of *Soter* was given him for having saved Alexander in the city of the Oxydracans†; but in this particular we choose, with the learned Usher, to follow Diodorus.

Honour paid to Ptolemy by the Rhodians.

Demetrius, being now reconciled to the Rhodians, at his departure presented them with the helepolis, and all the other machines he had employed in the siege; which they selling, erected, with the money accruing from the sale, and with some additional sums of their own, the famous colossus, as we have hinted above. We cannot help recording one circumstance, which greatly redounds to the honour of Demetrius: Rhodes was, at the time of the siege, the residence of a celebrated painter named Protogenes, who was a native of Caunus, a city of Caria. The house, in which he resided, was in the suburbs, without the city, when Demetrius first besieged it. But neither the presence of the enemy, who surrounded him, nor the noise of the arms that perpetually rung in his ears, could induce him to quit his habitation, or interrupt his work. The prince, surprised at this resolution, asked him, "Why he did not, like the other inhabitants, save himself within the walls." Protogenes replied, that he was under no apprehension, since he was sensible that Demetrius had declared war against the Rhodians, and not against the arts. The prince was so pleased with this answer, that from that time he took him under his protection, and placed a guard round his house, to protect him from the insults of the soldiery. The master-

The commendable conduct of Demetrius towards Protogenes, a celebrated painter.

* Diodor. Sicul. ibid.
verbum Oxydrac, & Pausan. in Attic. p. 7.

† Arrian. lib. vi. p. 131. Steph. ad

piece of Protogenes was the picture of one Ialysus, supposed, by the Rhodians, to have founded their city. Pliny pretends, that the city was saved by this piece: it was lodged, as he informs us, in that quarter by which alone it was possible for Demetrius to storm the place; but he chose rather to retire from before the city, than expose so valuable a monument of art to the danger of being consumed in the flames.

The Rhodians having concluded a peace upon very honourable and advantageous terms, applied themselves entirely to trade and navigation; by which they not only became masters of the sea, but the most opulent and flourishing state of all Greece. They endeavoured to maintain, as much as possible, a strict neutrality in the wars that broke out in the East, especially after the death of Antigonus; but they, however could not help being involved in one with the Byzantines, which lasted but a short time, and did not prove very expensive. The ground of this war is thus related by Polybius: the Byzantines, being obliged to pay a yearly tribute of eighty talents to the Gauls, in order to raise this sum, levied a toll on all the ships that traded to the Pontic sea. This imposition provoked the Rhodians above other nations. Wherefore they immediately dispatched ambassadors to the Byzantines, complaining of this new tax; but as the Byzantines had no other means of raising money in order to satisfy the avarice of the Gauls, and redeem their country from the rapines of those Barbarians, they persisted in their former resolution. Whereupon the Rhodians declared war against them, and solicited Prusias, king of Bithynia, to join them; being well assured, that Prusias wanted only a favourable opportunity of venting his resentment upon the Byzantines, for having endeavoured to reconcile Attalus and Achæus, who were both declared enemies to the king of Bithynia. The Byzantines, likewise, dispatched ambassadors to Attalus and Achæus, soliciting aid from them. They found Attalus disposed to assist them; but he was not then in a condition to give them proof of his friendship, having been lately confined by Achæus to the ancient limits of his father's kingdom. As for Achæus, who was in possession of all Asia on this side Mount Taurus, and had lately assumed the title of king, he readily espoused the cause of the Byzantines, whom he promised to assist with the whole power of his kingdom.

Yr. of E.

2164.
Anno Chr.

734.

War between the
Rhodians
and Byzantines.

• Plin. lib. vi. cap. 4.

• Polyb. lib. iv.

• Polyb. lib. i.

p. 258. & lib. iv. p. 305, 306.

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In the same time Prusias, taking the field, possessed himself of Hieron, which town formerly belonged in common to the merchants trading to the Pontic sea, but had been lately purchased by the Byzantines, on account of its convenient situation for protecting their trade. He likewise seized on that portion of Mysia, in Asia, which they had enjoyed for many ages: whilst the Rhodians, with their fleet, ravaged the coasts of the Byzantine territories, and seized all their ships trading to the Pontic sea. But these losses were not sufficient to make them comply with the request of the Rhodians, or to accede to the terms proposed by Xenophon, the Rhodian admiral. They chiefly depended upon the promises made them by Achæus, who had a powerful army on foot. The Rhodians, therefore, to detach Achæus from the Byzantines, sent ambassadors to Ptolemy, king of Egypt, intreating him to deliver up Andromachus, the father of Achæus, who was at that time a prisoner in Alexandria. They hoped, that by restoring him to his son without ransom, they should gain so far upon Achæus, as to prevent him, at least, from sending any succours to their enemies. Ptolemy did not readily yield to the request of the Rhodians; for Andromachus being both father to Achæus, and brother to Laodice, the wife of Seleucus, he proposed to make a better bargain of him for himself. For the disputes between him and Antiochus were not yet composed; and Achæus was become very powerful by his extensive conquests. However Ptolemy was at length prevailed upon to deliver up Andromachus to the Rhodians, who immediately restored him, without ransom, to his son; and, by that grateful office, and other honours decreed to Achæus, not only gained him over to their party, but deprived the enemy of their chief support. Another misfortune, at the same time, befel the Byzantines, which proved no less prejudicial to their affairs. They had sent for Tibites, who was then in Macedon, and had as just a claim to the kingdom of Bithynia as Prusias, who was his nephew. Tibites immediately departed from Macedon, in hopes of raising disturbances in Bithynia, and making good his title to that kingdom, when supported by the power of the Byzantines. But he died on his journey; which so disheartened the Byzantines, that they began to deliberate how they might extricate themselves out of their present difficulties. Cavarus, king of the Thracian Gauls, was at that time in Byzantium; and, being desirous to have the glory of putting an end to the war, offered his mediation;

Prusias, king of Bithynia, offers the Rhodians.

Who gain over Achæus to their party.

Peace concluded between the Rhodians and Byzantines.

which being readily accepted by the contending parties, a peace was concluded between the Rhodians and Byzantines, on condition that the Byzantines should forbear exacting toll on ships trading to the Pontic sea; which was all the Rhodians had in view in declaring war. The articles of the treaty with king Prusias were, that there should be perpetual peace between him and the Byzantines; that Prusias should restore to the Byzantines all the lands, towns, &c. which he had taken during the war; and that he should repair all the damages suffered by the Byzantines and Mysians subject to them. Thus a period was put to the war between the Byzantines on one side, and king Prusias, surnamed Cholos, or *the lame*, and the Rhodians on the other.

The colossus, and several public buildings, thrown down by an earthquake.

About this time a dreadful earthquake threw down the famous Colossus, the arsenal, and great part of the walls of the city of Rhodes; which calamity the Rhodians improved to their advantage, sending ambassadors to all the princes and states of the Greek name, who, exaggerating their losses, procured immense sums for repairing them. Hiero, king of Syracuse, presented them with a hundred talents, and, besides, exempted such as traded to Rhodes, from all duties and taxes. Ptolemy, king of Egypt, gave them a hundred talents, a million measures of wheat, materials for building twenty quinqueremes, and the like number of triremes; and, besides, sent them a hundred architects, three hundred workmen, and materials, for repairing their public buildings, to a great value, paying them fourteen talents a year for the maintenance of the workmen he supplied. Antigonus bestowed on them a hundred talents of silver, ten thousand pieces of timber, each piece being sixteen cubits long, seven thousand planks, three thousand pounds of iron, as many of pitch and resin, and a thousand measures of tar. Chryseis, a woman of distinction, sent a hundred thousand measures of wheat, and three thousand pounds of lead. Antiochus exempted the Rhodian ships, trading to his dominions, from all taxes and duties; presented them with ten gallees, and two hundred thousand measures of corn, with many other things of great value. Prusias, Mithridates, Lysanias, Olympicus, Limneus, and all the princes then reigning in Asia, made them proportionable presents. In short, all the Greek towns, all the princes of Europe and Asia, contributed, according to their ability, to the relief of the Rhodians on

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that occasion; inſomuch that their city not only ſoon roſe from its ruins, but attained to a higher pitch of riches and ſplendor than ever.

A few years after, the Rhodians were forced into a war againſt Philip king of Macedon, which coſt them imenſe treaſures. Philip, without the leaſt provocation, had invaded the territories of Attalus king of Pergamus; and, becauſe the Rhodians ſeemed to favour their ancient friend and ally, the king of Macedon ſent one Heraclides, by birth a Tarentine, to ſet fire to their fleet. At the ſame time he diſpatched ambaffadors into Crete, in order to ſtir up the Cretans againſt the Rhodians, and thereby prevent them from giving any aſſiſtance to Attalus. Theſe proceedings ſo provoked the Rhodians, that they entered into an alliance with Attalus, and declared war againſt Philip. That prince at firſt gained an inconfiderable advantage over the Rhodians in a naval engagement, fought near the iſland of Lada, oppoſite the city of Miletus, having taken two of their quinqueremes, and diſperſed the reſt. Next year he ventured a ſecond battle off the iſland of Chios, againſt the united fleets of Attalus and the Rhodians; but was defeated, with the loſs of three thouſand Macedonians, and fix thouſand allies; beſides two thouſand Macedonians, who ſerved on board his fleet, were taken priſoners, the Rhodians having loſt in all but ſixty men, and Attalus ſeventy. Notwithſtanding this loſs, which was the greateſt he had ever ſuſtained, either by ſea or land, he proclaimed, that he had been victorious, becauſe he took the ſhip which carried Attalus, after it had been driven aſhore. However, he afterwards carefully avoided coming to a ſea-engagement either with Attalus, or the Rhodians. After this victory, the two fleets ſteered their courſe towards the iſland of Ægina, where they came to an anchor, with a view to intercept Philip as he returned on board his fleet into Macedon. But failing in their attempt, they failed to Pyræum the port of Athens, and there renewed their alliance with the Athenians; who, having been lately inſulted by Philip, paid them extraordinary honours, adding to their ten tribes, each of which bore the name of one of their heroes, an eleventh, which they call Attalis, in honour of Attalus, and preſenting the Rhodians with a crown of gold, after having made all the inhabitants of Rhodes free

Yr. of M.
644.
Ante Chr.
203.

The Rhodians join Attalus againſt Philip king of Macedon.

Philip defeated at ſea.

Honours paid by the Athenians to Attalus and the Rhodians.

* Polyb. lib. v. * Polyb. lib. xiii. p. 672, 673. & in Excerpt. Valeſ. p. 70, & 73. ex Zeno. & Antiſt. Rhodiæ Hiſtoriæ.

Philip reduces several cities.

of Athens. The king of Pergamus, and the Rhodians better pleased with the treaty than the honours bestowed upon them, returned on board their galleys, and set sail Attalus to the island of Ægina, and the Rhodians to their own island. In their passage they engaged in their confederacy all the Cyclades, except Andros, Paros, and Cythnos, where Philip kept Macedonian garrisons. Nevertheless, this separation of Attalus and the Rhodians proved a very bad consequence to the common cause. Had they remained united, and pursued Philip in his retreat, or at least shut up all the entrances into Greece, they would have re-established its liberty, and deprived the Roman of that glory. But while the Rhodians and Attalus were losing time in negotiating with the inhabitants of the Cyclades and Ægina, Philip, who knew how to improve the faults of his enemies to his own advantage, having divided his forces into two bodies, sent one under the command of Philotas to ravage the territory of Athens; the other he embarked on board his fleet, with orders to sail to Meroë, a city on the north coast of Thrace. As for himself, he marched by land to the same place, at the head of two thousand foot and two hundred horse. The city, being attacked at the same time by sea and land, was taken at the first assault. The city of Enos, which stood on the same coast, was betrayed to the Macedonians by the governor of the place; and then all the castles along the shore submitted without resistance to the conqueror, who passed on from thence to the Thracian Chersonesus, where he took Eleus, Alopeconnesus, Callipolis, and Madytos. From the Chersonesus the king passed over the Hellespont, and laid siege to Abydos; which city stopped the rapidity of his conquests, but was at last taken by assault.

Before Philip undertook the siege of Abydos, the Rhodians and Attalus had sent ambassadors to Rome, to complain of him, and inform the senate, that he was exciting several states in Asia to take up arms, with a design to enslave the Greek cities that refused to join him, and then pursue his conquests both in Europe and Asia. The Rhodians had, in the beginning of this war, entered into an alliance with Rome; and on that consideration their envoys were received with marks of great distinction by the senate, who promised to employ their good offices with Philip in behalf of the Greeks in Asia and Europe. They

were faithful to their word ; but Philip dismissed their deputies without shewing any inclination to treat of a peace. Whereupon the Romans, Attalus, and the Rhodians, having renewed the alliance, war was denounced at Rome against Philip ; and P. Sulpitius the consul sent with an army into Macedon. On his arrival he found Athens besieged by part of the king's troops, and the king himself engaged in making the necessary preparations for invading the kingdom of Pergamus. Sulpitius immediately detached a squadron of twenty gallees to the relief of Athens, under the conduct of Claudius Centho, who forced the Macedonians to raise the siege, and performed such exploits in Greece as were worthy of the consul himself. Sulpitius was not in a condition to undertake any other expedition the rest of the year ; he had left Rome too late, and did not arrive in Epirus before the end of autumn, when the season did not allow him to keep the sea, or take the field ^r.

Early in the spring the Rhodians sent twenty gallees, under the command of Agesimbrotus, to join Attalus, and Apustius the Roman admiral ; and these three fleets struck such terror into the Macedonians, that they durst not venture out of their harbours ; so that the confederates, laying siege to Oreos, a strong city subject to Philip, on the eastern coast of Eubœa, mastered that important place, and afterwards laid waste the neighbouring countries which adhered to Philip. The ensuing year the Rhodians, in conjunction with Attalus and L. Quintius, brother to Titus Quintius Flaminius, after having ravaged the country of the Carystii, besieged Eretria, a city near the Euripus, which they took by assault ; and then, returning to Carystus, carried that place likewise. From Carystus they entered the Saronic gulf, and appeared before Cenchrea, one of the ports of Corinth, which they likewise reduced. But Corinth itself being garrisoned by some of the choicest of the Macedonian troops, and the Roman deserters, the consul, who attacked the place by land, while his brother, with the Rhodians, invested it by sea, was forced to raise the siege, even after he had made a breach in the walls ^s.

These exploits the Rhodians performed in conjunction with the Romans, and king Attalus ; but the province of Perœa they recovered from Philip with their own forces alone. Perœa was a small province of Caria, separated

Yr. of Fl.
2747.
Ante Chr.
201.

War pre-
claimed at
Rome a-
gainst
Philip.

The Rhodi-
ans and
Attalus
take several strong
towns.

Yr. of Fl.
2751.
Ante Chr.
197.

^r Polyb. & Liv. *ibid.*

^s Liv. lib. xxii. cap. 16, 17, & seqq.

The Rhodians remove the pyramids of Mausolus from Rhodes.

by the Carpathian Sea from the island of Rhodes, to which it had been formerly subject. This province the Rhodians undertook to reduce, while Philip's forces were engaged with Attalus and the Romans; committing the whole conduct of this expedition to Pausistratus, who was then their prætor or chief magistrate. Pausistratus put to sea with his fleet, and landed in Caria, at the head of two thousand nine hundred men. With this small army he encamped in the plain which led to Stratonice, one of the richest cities in Caria, and anciently peopled, according to Strabo, by a colony from Macedon. Here being reinforced by a body of Achæans, he gave battle to Dinoerates, the Macedonian general, whom he defeated, and obliged to retire, with the remains of his forces, into Stratonice, which, however, he defended against all their repeated attacks.

The Rhodians give a signal proof of their attachment to the Romans, and of their zeal for the common interest of Greece.

About this time Antiochus, surnamed the Great, having subdued in one campaign Cœleſyria, Phœnicie, and Judæa, was making great preparations in order to conquer Cilicia and Caria, and then pass into Europe, and join his old ally Philip. With this view having raised a powerful army, he sent it, under the command of his two sons Arduus and Mithridates, to wait for him at Sardis; while he, with a strong fleet, consisting of a hundred large ships of war, and two hundred other vessels, reduced the cities on the coasts of Caria and Cilicia, which were subject to the king of Egypt. On this occasion the Rhodians gave a signal proof of their attachment to Rome, and zeal for the common interests of Greece. Antiochus had already taken Zephyrium, Soli, Aphrodisias, Selinus, and several other castles along the coast; and was actually besieging Coracesium, an important place in Cilicia, when the Rhodians sent an embassy, requiring him not to extend his conquests beyond Nephelis, a famous promontory of Cilicia, and threatening him with war, in case he did not comply with their request. The ambassadors were ordered to declare, that the Rhodians were not inclined to take up arms against him through hatred to his person, but because they would not suffer him to join Philip, and interrupt the progress of the Romans, in restoring Greece to its ancient liberty. When the messengers were brought into his tent (for he was then encamped before Coracesium), and had acquainted him with their business, the proud monarch, who was used to give law to others, was highly provoked; but however had command enough over his temper not to express any

resentment. He only answered, that he would take care not to quarrel with the Rhodians, or the Romans, with whom he designed always to keep up a good understanding; that he would renew the ancient treaties, which his ancestors had made with Rhodes; and that he had been always desirous to live in amity with the Romans. In proof of the friendship then subsisting between him and that republic, he informed them of the ambassadors he had lately sent to Rome, and of the great honours which had been bestowed upon them by the senate. Soon after Antiochus sent an embassy to Rhodes, who there heard the news of the entire defeat of Philip at Cyncephalæ. This event emboldened the Romans, and most of them were for sending a fleet to sea, and engaging Antiochus; but the Rhodians advised them rather to secure the liberty of the cities in alliance with the king of Egypt, which were not yet subdued by Antiochus. Their advice was followed; and the cities of Caunus, Myndus, Halicarnassus, and the island of Samos, were preserved from the Syrian yoke. However, Antiochus reduced Coraceum, Coricus, Andriace, Limyra, Patara, Xanthus, all which cities belonged to Ptolemy, and, lastly, Ephesus itself.

In the mean time, a peace being concluded between Philip and the Romans, the Rhodians were, by the articles of the treaty, put in possession of Stratonice, and the greatest part of Caria. This regard shewn them by the Romans engaged them to assist the republic, to the utmost of their power, in the war which was soon after waged against Antiochus. They sent Pauisistratus, with thirty ships of war, to join Livius, the Roman admiral, and act in conjunction with him against Antiochus; but the best part of his fleet was, by the artifice of Polyxenidas, Antiochus's admiral, surpris'd and destroyed. Polyxenidas was by birth a Rhodian; but having been banished his country, had entered into the service of the king of Syria, and was now commander in chief of the Syrian fleet. Pauisistratus had advanced with his fleet as far as the island of Samos, where he received an express from Polyxenidas, informing him, that, being now master of the Syrian fleet, it was in his power to do Pauisistratus, and his country, signal service, provided Pauisistratus would engage, in the name of his republic, to restore him to his native country, and to the honours he enjoyed before his banishment. Pauisistratus, thinking that such a proposal

Yr. of M.
1138.
Ante Chr.
190.

The Rhodian fleet surpris'd by the artifice of Polyxenidas.

The History of Rhodes.

ought neither to be implicitly adopted, nor absolutely neglected, desired Polyxenidas to explain himself more fully, and promised secrecy. Then the latter sent a second express, acquainting him, that he was ready to deliver up Antiochus's fleet, provided he might be permitted to return to his country, and be reinstated in his former condition. This Pausistratus thought a proposal of too much importance to be rejected; and, in order to give Polyxenidas time to follow him, he retired with his squadron to a port of Samos, called Panormus, and there waited the conclusion of the affair. From thence he sent to Polyxenidas, offering him whatever he demanded; and Polyxenidas, on his side, dispatched him a letter, written with his own hand, wherein he promised to deliver up the whole Syrian fleet. Upon this declaration, Pausistratus was no longer in suspense. Nothing therefore remained, but to take the proper measures for putting the design in execution. To this end, Polyxenidas promised to cause all duty to be neglected on board the Syrian fleet; to separate the soldiers and seamen under several pretences; to send them away from the port of Ephesus, where his fleet was then at anchor, and by these means expose them to be taken without the least difficulty. This method pleased Pausistratus, who affected the same negligence, which he was assured he should find in the enemy's fleet; and quietly waited for notice when he should attack them in the port of Ephesus. In the mean time Polyxenidas, the better to cover his real design, sent away some of his galleys, ordered the harbour to be cleansed, and seemed in no haste to put to sea. While Pausistratus was daily expecting to be called to Ephesus, a private person happened to come from that city to Samos, who, being examined by Pausistratus concerning the proceedings of Polyxenidas, and the condition of his fleet, ingenuously told him, that the port of Ephesus was full of ships; that the soldiers and mariners were all assembled at a place within reach of it; and that the Syrian admiral was making great preparations, as if he had some vast enterprize in view. Notwithstanding this material intelligence, Pausistratus was so deluded by the promise of an artful enemy, that he still continued at Samos, in hopes of being soon sent for to take the Syrian fleet. But Polyxenidas took quite different measures. He sailed from Ephesus with seventy ships of war, steering his course to Pygela, a city on the coast of Ionia, whence the Asiatic fleets generally departed for Greece. But, before he weighed

weighed anchor, he ordered Nicander, commander of a squadron of privateers, to make a descent in the island of Samos, and conceal his men there, till the rest of the fleet arrived. From Pygela, Polyxenidas set sail for the port of Panormus, where arriving in the night, he discovered the Rhodians lying on the shore, without any apprehension of an enemy. But the noise of a fleet entering the port soon roused them. As they were all veteran troops, Pausistratus, at last convinced of the treachery, thought it more advisable to make use of them in a fight at land than at sea; and accordingly ranged them in order of battle, to the right and left, upon two promontories, which formed the mouth of the harbour. They were scarce drawn up, when they were, to their great surprize, attacked in the rear by Nicander, who had followed the directions of Polyxenidas. The Rhodians, fearing lest they should be surrounded, retired with precipitation to their ships; but the mouth of the harbour being blocked up by the Syrian fleet, they found it necessary to force a way through it, in order to gain the high seas. The galley commanded by Pausistratus, was the first that faced the enemy at the mouth of the port, and broke through their fleet, notwithstanding all opposition; but being immediately surrounded by five quinqueremes, commanded by Polyxenidas in person, she was overpowered and sunk. Thus perished Pausistratus, who had on many occasions distinguished himself by his courage and prudent conduct, but was at last overcome by a base stratagem. After the death of the admiral, the Rhodian fleet was soon destroyed; some of the gallies were taken in sight of the port, others in the port itself, while they attempted to force their way out; insomuch that, of this great armament, only seven ships escaped, viz. five belonging to Rhodes, and two to the island of Cos. These, in order to break through the enemy's fleet, lighted great fires in their prows, and from thence suspended long poles with kettles full of burning bitumen, which, by the terror they gave the enemy, favoured their escape. In their flight they were met by some Egyptian gallies, that were coming to their assistance; and, with them, they steered towards the Hellespont, where they joined the Roman fleet, which, under the command of Livius, was carrying on the siege of Abydos.

The Rhodian fleet destroyed.

The Rhodians, notwithstanding this loss, did not renounce their alliance with Rome, or their engagement to

They set out another fleet.

^b Liv. lib. xxxvii. Appian. p. 101.

assist her with all their forces. They immediately fitted out twenty new galleys, under the command of Eudamus, a man indeed less brave and experienced than Pauisistratus, but more distrustful and circumspect. Eudamus having joined the Roman admiral at Samos, the confederates sailed from thence to Ephesus, where they not only insulted the Syrian fleet under the command of Polyxenidas, but even challenged them to an engagement at land. But the defiance not being accepted, they returned to Samos, whence Livius, after he had resigned his command to his successor Æmilius, was detached with part of the fleet to reduce Patara in Lycia, which place was a great check upon the Rhodians, while in the enemy's hands. Livius failed in his attempt; whereupon the Roman and Rhodian fleets sailed to Adramyttium, where Antiochus was encamped, obliged him to retire to Sardis; and then the confederate fleets returned to Samos, where they parted. Eumenes sailed for the Hellespont, in order to transport the Scipios, who were appointed to carry on the war against Antiochus; Eudamus sailed for Rhodes with his galleys, to receive new reinforcements; and Æmilius continued at Samos, to watch the motions of Polyxenidas, who was still blockaded in the port of Ephesus.

In the mean time news being brought, that a formidable fleet was coming from Syria, under the command of the famous Hannibal, Eudamus, the Rhodian admiral, having reinforced his squadron with seventeen other ships, sailed out to meet him, in order to prevent his joining Polyxenidas in the port of Ephesus. Eudamus first advanced to the island of Megiste, near the coasts of Lycia, with a design to wait for him there. But the heat being excessive, and the air very unwholesome, he proceeded from thence to the mouth of the Eurymedon, a river of Pamphylia; where he was informed by the inhabitants of Aspendus, that Hannibal's fleet appeared off Sida, a maritime city on the borders of Pamphylia. It consisted of thirty-seven large ships, among which were three septiremes, four hexaremes, and ten triremes; whereas the Rhodian fleet consisted only of thirty-two quadrigemes, and four triremes. When the Syrian fleet discovered the Rhodians advancing to attack them, they made a large front, and faced the enemy. An obstinate battle ensued, in which the Syrians were defeated; and Hannibal, notwithstanding all his ef-

forts, was obliged to bear away, in order to save from destruction the squadron on the right, which he commanded in person. The Rhodians, after having pursued him some time, and taken one of his hexaremes, returned to Rhodes, with the glory indeed of having conquered, but reproaching one another for not having utterly destroyed the Syrian fleet. However, they had at least the advantage of blocking him up in the ports of Pamphylia so closely, that it was impossible for him to do the king the least service. Chariclitus lay at anchor with twenty ships of war off Patara, and the island of Megiste, in order to intercept him in his passage, if he attempted to join Polyxenidas. As for Eudamus, he returned with only seven great ships to join the prætor Æmilius at Samos⁴.

While the Rhodians kept Hannibal thus blocked up, Æmilius, being joined by another Rhodian squadron, entirely defeated the fleet of Antiochus off the island of Teos. In this engagement the Syrians lost forty-two ships, and the Romans only two. The news of this victory so dejected Antiochus, that he raised the siege of Colophon, and retired into Cappadocia to his son-in-law Ariarathes. He was soon after totally vanquished by land, in the famous battle which was fought near Magnesia, and determined that unhappy prince to accept a peace upon such conditions as the conqueror pleased to impose. On this occasion king Eumenes went in person to Rome, to congratulate the republic on the success of her arms in the Levant; and was received by the senate with all possible marks of honour and gratitude for his services, and pressed to declare what recompence would be most agreeable to him. The king for a long time modestly declined saying any thing in his own praise, or asking any particular reward, referring that matter wholly to the determination of the conscript fathers. But they still insisting that he should recite his exploits, and declare what Rome could do to shew her gratitude in the most acceptable manner, he at length complied. Having enumerated his father's services and his own, he expressed a desire of having the countries extending from Mount Taurus to the sea, subjected to his dominion; but the Rhodian deputies, when they were admitted to audience, pleaded strenuously for the liberty of the Greek cities in Asia; and their remonstrances were not ineffectual. The conscript fathers at length determined to send ten commissioners into the

The fleet of Antiochus utterly defeated.

The Rhodian deputies oppose at Rome the pretensions of king Eumenes.

⁴ Liv. *ibid.* Appian, p. 104. Æmil. Prob. in Hannib.

The Rhodians rewarded by the Romans.

Levant, to settle all disputes there; but nevertheless declared that Lycæonia, the two Phrygias, and Mysia, should for the future be subject to Eumenes. Lyeia, that part of Caria which was next to Rhodes, and part of Pisidia, were bestowed on the Rhodians as a reward for their eminent services during the war. However, in both these dispositions those cities were excepted, which enjoyed their liberty before the war. The disposal of Soli raised a dispute between the Rhodians and the ambassadors of king Antiochus. Soli was a city of Cilicia beyond Mount Taurus, and had been founded by a Greek colony from Argos. The Rhodians therefore thought it should be declared free, as well as the other Greek cities; but the king claiming it in virtue of the treaty concluded with the Romans, the Rhodians acquiesced, and Soli was allotted to king Antiochus.

The Lycians complain to the senate of the Rhodians.

The Rhodians, though such zealous assertors of liberty, yet oppressed in a most cruel manner the Lycians, who had been subjected to them by the Roman senate. The Lycians, unable to bear the oppressions they groaned under, sent deputies to Rome, to complain of their new masters, and procure some redress for their calamities. When they were introduced to the senate, they addressed the fathers thus: "We were formerly subject to the king of Syria, and found his government very mild, in comparison of the oppressions we endure under the Rhodians. We now undergo all the hardships of slavery. All kinds of severity are used, not only against particular persons, but against the whole nation. The honour of our wives and daughters is not safe; our estates are at the mercy of our masters; our lands are pillaged; in short, we are treated like slaves bought in the market." The senate, touched with compassion, wrote a letter to the Rhodians, which was carried by the Lycian envoys themselves, to this effect: "We never intended to enslave the countries we gave you. None of those people, who were born free, have been reduced to a state of slavery by us. Remember, therefore, that the Lycians are allies of the people of Rome, at the same time that they are your subjects." The Rhodians, highly offended, that their subjects should dare to have recourse to any foreign power treated them with more severity than ever. Whereupon the Lycians, at the instigation of Eumenes, taking up

* Polyb. Legat. 25. 26. Diod. Sic. Legat. 10. Liv. lib. xxxvii. xviii. Appian. in Syriac. p. 116.

arms, attempted to shake off the yoke. But the Rhodians soon reduced them, and used them in so cruel a manner, that they had recourse again to Rome, where they found many patrons, the Rhodians having incensed the Romans, by conveying with their fleet Laodice, the daughter of Seleucus, whom Perſes had lately married, into Macedon. The ſenate therefore appointed new commissioners to redreſs the grievances complained of by the Lycians, with orders to favour them as much as they could; without wronging the Rhodians. The Romans were not received at Rhodes with the uſual marks of friendſhip and affection; but however the Rhodians complied with their injunctions, and treated the Lycians from that time more like allies than ſubjects^f.

In the mean time Eumenes, arriving at Rome, acquainted the ſenate with the vaſt preparations which Perſes, the ſon of Philip, was making, with a deſign, as he rightly ſuppoſed, to kindle a new war in the Eaſt, and recover the countries which had been taken from his father by the Romans. The Rhodians, ſuſpecting that Eumenes had included their republic in the informations he had given againſt the king of Macedon, ſent to Rome one of their chief men, named Satyrus, to clear them from all ſuſpicion of favouring Perſes. Satyrus was a man of a violent temper; and therefore being, by the help of his friends and patrons, admitted to an audience of the ſenate together with Eumenes, he broke out into reproaches againſt him. "It is you (ſaid he), who have ſtirred up Lycia againſt the Rhodian government. You have done more miſchief in Aſia, than ever Antiochus the Great did." Theſe inveſtives were agreeable to the Aſiatics, who now began to favour Perſes; but the only effect they had at Rome, was to render the Rhodians ſuſpected, and encreaſe the affection of the Romans for Eumenes. As the Romans were then on the point of engaging in a war with Perſes, three commissioners were ſent to the coaſts of Aſia, to watch the motions and inclinations of the Rhodians. Rhodes thought herſelf injured by the Romans in her diſputes with the Lycians, and had given ſome plain proofs of her affection to Perſes. She actually had at this time a fleet of forty ſail in her ports, and it was not known for what expedition they were deſigned; but when the commissioners arrived at Rhodes, they found the inhabitants better diſpoſed than they expected. Hegeſi-

Yr. of M.

376.

Ante Chr.

373.

King Eumenes at Rome.

The Rhodians ſuſpected by the Romans.

^f Liv. lib. xlii. Polyb. Legat. 60, 61, 62. Appian Legat.

lochus, a man entirely attached to the Romans was then prytanis, or chief magistrate. He had no sooner discovered that Rome intended to carry the war into Macedonia, than he assembled the people, and prevailed upon them to equip forty galleys for her service; so that upon the arrival of the Roman deputies, the Rhodians declared themselves ready to serve them, and engage in the war whenever the republic thought fit to call upon them.

Yr. of Fl. The Roman envoys were scarce re-imbarked, highly
2178. satisfied with the zeal of the Rhodians, when ambassadors
Ante Chr. arrived at Rhodes from Perſes. They brought from the
170. king a letter to the ſenate, wherein he gave them an account

Perſes endeavours to perſuade the Rhodians to ſtand neuter.

of his negotiations with the Romans, and added, that he hoped all differences would be ſoon compoſed in an amicable manner; but that, at all events, he depended on their affection. The ſenate of Rhodes gave audience to the Macedonians; who employed all their eloquence to perſuade the Rhodians to ſtand neuter till war was openly declared. But the ſenators were already prepoſſeſſed in favour of the Romans, ſo that the answer they received was not agreeable to the king.

Yr. of Fl. Not long after this application, war being declared
2181. againſt Perſes, the Rhodians ſent ſome of their galleys to
Ante Chr. join Caius Lucretius the Roman admiral; but the greateſt
167. number of their ſhips of war they kept in their own harbours,

The haughty embaiſſy of the Rhodians to the Roman ſenate.

expecting the iſſue of the firſt battle between Perſes and the Romans; for though many of the leading men favoured Rome, yet the people were generally inclined to Perſes. Hence no ſooner were news brought of the defeat of the conſul Licinius in Theſſaly, but the Rhodians entered into negotiations with Perſes; and, taking upon them to be mediators between the contending powers, ſent an embaiſſy to Rome, commanding, rather than entreating, the ſenate to put an end to the war.

It is eaſy to judge in what manner ſo vain and preſumptuous an injunction was received. Some hiſtorians tell us, that the only answer the ſenate returned, was to order a decree to be read in their preſence, whereby the Lycians and Carians were declared free. This was touching them in the moſt ſenſible part. The intrepid chief of the embaiſſy was ſo ſtruck with this decree, that he fell into a ſwoon. Others ſay the ſenate answered in few words, that the diſpoſition of the Rhodians, and their ſecret intrigues with Perſes, had been long known at Rome;

that when they should have conquered Perses, they would find means to reward or punish the good or ill offices they had received during the war.

The ambassadors, upon their return to Rhodes, found deputies from Perses, and Gentius king of Illyrium, sent by their respective masters, to conclude an alliance with the Rhodians, and engage them to turn their arms against Rome. The advantages, which the Macedonian fleet had lately gained over the allies of Rome, inclined the Rhodians to give a favourable reception to the proposals of the confederate kings. They made harangues in the senate, and before the people, and were heard with attention. Notwithstanding all the opposition they met with from Theætetes, and a few others, who still adhered to the Romans, the Rhodian senate promised not to lend the Romans ships or men, so that they would be obliged to finish the war with Macedon, by a peace which should be advantageous to the East. Pursuant to this engagement, they recalled the ships which they had sent to the assistance of the Romans, and soon after sent other ambassadors to Rome in favour of Perses. But they, unfortunately for the republic of Rhodes, arrived at Rome just when the news of the entire defeat of Perses was published; and the senate maliciously chose that very time to give them audience. But the chief of the embassy turned the haughty demands he was ordered to make in favour of the king of Macedon into congratulations. "I came hither, conscript fathers, (said he), to represent to you how burdensome the war in the Levant was to you, and how prejudicial to us; but your prosperity has prevented my representations, and left nothing for me to do, but to rejoice with you upon your splendid success." The senate ordered such an answer to be given, as was suitable to the suspicions they entertained of the Rhodians. "Neither the interests of Greece, (said they), nor your own safety, brought you hither. It was your attachment to the Macedonian party that induced you to cross the seas, in order to intimidate us. Had your concern been only for Greece, or yourselves, you would have come and implored the assistance of Rome, when Perses entered Thessaly, and threatened both the continent, and your island, with a sudden invasion. On the contrary, you knew, that Paulus Æmilius had opened a way into Macedon; your fears were for that kingdom; and therefore you came to treat of peace. Go, perfidious men; and tell your republic, that her care for the interests of Perses is now out of season."

The Rhodians engage with Perses to stand neutral.

The Rhodians
were under-
taken to ap-
pease the
wrath of
the senate.

§ 7. This answer so terrified the Rhodians, that on their return, they exhorted their countrymen to regain the good-will of the senate by every kind of submission¹.

Envoys were accordingly sent to appease the wrath of the senate, who, on their arrival at Rome, were not only refused audience, but, even threatened with war. The senate first decreed, that the Rhodians should not be treated with the usual hospitality, nor considered as friends. Junius the consul was charged to acquaint them with this decree. As soon as the consul appeared, the ambassadors, who were waiting in the curia for an answer, advancing some paces towards him, assured him, that they were come only to congratulate the Romans on their late victory, and efface the suspicions which the fathers might entertain of their republic. But, Junius, putting on a grave air, replied, "We desire no congratulations from a people whose fidelity we suspect. Go, and converse with Perseus. We admit none within the walls of Rome, or into the senate, but those who are our friends: and are you so? Did you even preserve the appearances of friendship during the war?" The Rhodians were thunderstruck at these words, fell prostrate with tears in their eyes, and entreated the consul to have more regard to the services they had formerly done Rome, than to the ill conduct into which they had been lately seduced. Then they changed their habits, and, going from house to house in the attire of criminals, endeavoured to raise the compassion of the Roman citizens. But Juventius Thalna the prætor moved the tribes to declare war against Rhodes, and to send one of the present magistrates to begin hostilities. This motion being opposed by some of the tribunes, and the contest growing warm, the senate was at last obliged to admit the Rhodian ambassadors to an audience, and allow them to speak in their own vindication. Astymedes, who was at the head of the embassy, made a long harangue, wherein he confessed, that vanity was indeed the vice of his countrymen, and that they were very apt to talk arrogantly; but he hoped, that the Romans would not think any instance of this national weakness such a crime, as to be punished with the total ruin of their country. He urged the many important services which Rhodes had formerly rendered the republic; and that though she had agreed to assist the Romans, yet she had never committed hostilities against them. He concluded with declaring the

¹ Polyb. l. 22. l. 4. Liv. lib. xiv.

entire submission of the Rhodians to the pleasure of Rome, and their resolution to make no resistance to her arms in case of an attack. As soon as Astymedus had done speaking, the ambassadors and their retinue fell prostrate, and held out branches of olive in their hands, as a token of their suing for peace. Then they withdrew, and the matter was discussed in the senate. Such of the senators, as had served in the Macedonian war, voted warmly against the Rhodians, and were for engaging Rome in a new war. But Cato put an end to the debate, by a speech full of spirit and good sense. He reproached the senators with being blinded by prosperity, since nothing else could have made them deliberate, whether they should destroy a republic, against which the only charge was secret thoughts, and haughty expressions.

Cato speaks in their favour.

The advice and representations of Cato were of such weight with the senate, that war was not declared against the Rhodians. The senate only renewed the decree they had formerly made, whereby the Rhodians were ordered to withdraw their garrisons from Lycia and Caria, and restore the inhabitants to their ancient liberty. After the publication of this decree, Philocrates, one of the ambassadors, returned to Rhodes; where they were all in the utmost consternation, and under great apprehensions of a war with Rome. His tidings, therefore, were received with inexpressible joy; inasmuch that the loss of Lycia and Caria seemed to them but a slight punishment. They now made it their entire business to regain the affection of the Romans. In order to ingratiate themselves with that republic, they caused a crown of gold to be made at Rhodes, of great value, which Theodotus, their admiral, was ordered to carry to Rome, and there negotiate a new alliance. Nevertheless, as the Rhodians were vain-glorious, they enjoined Theodotus not to offer his petition in writing, lest, in case his request should not be granted, it might be conveyed down to posterity, as a standing monument of reproach. The admiral set sail, arrived at Rome, and made his presents; which were accepted: but with respect to the alliance, Rome made his republic solicit it a long time, taking pleasure in humbling the Rhodian pride. They were ordered first to evacuate Caria and Lycia, and also to withdraw their garrisons from the two cities of Caunus and Stratonice; the first of which they had purchased of one of Ptolemy's generals with two hundred talents; and the second had been given them by Antiochus and Seleucus. However, they not only re-

Yr. of Fl.
2181.
Ante Chr.
167.

Lycia and Caria taken from the Rhodians.

Yr. of Fl.
118.
Ante Chr.
165.

The Rhodians
did not submit
till to an
alliance
with
Rome.

And fa-
voured by
the senate.

Yr. of Fl.
118.
Ante Chr.
165.

did give up both places, but either punishment, or banished, all those, who, during the course of the war, had favoured Perseus: then the senate complied with their request, and admitted them into an alliance with Rome¹.

Some years after, the Rhodians gave a signal instance of the great deference they paid to Rome. Calynda, a famous city of Caria, being besieged by the inhabitants of Caunus, sent to the Rhodians, imploring assistance, and offering to surrender to them. Notwithstanding this advantageous offer, the Rhodians deliberated some time, whether they should relieve the Calyndians, without the consent of the Roman senate; but as the siege was pursued with vigour, and an answer from Rome would come too late, they at last sent succours to the besieged city, and forced the Caunians to retire. However, before they took possession of the place, they dispatched two of their principal citizens, Lydamis and Cleagoras, to Rome, to lay their laurels at the feet of the senate, and to draw what advantages they could from their submission. Indeed nothing could be more agreeable to the haughty senators, than to behold those Rhodians, who, a few years before, pretended to give law to Rome, now reduced so low, as not to dare to take possession of a city without their concurrence. The deputies were graciously received, and their reception encouraged them to intreat of the fathers, that the private subjects of Rhodes might be restored to the enjoyment of all the lands they had formerly possessed in Caria and Lycia. Their request was granted; and the Rhodians, out of gratitude, erected, in the temple of Minerva at Rome, a statue of that goddess, thirty cubits high. Thus all jealousies between the two republics were removed, and the good understanding, which had long subsisted between them, was entirely restored².

From this period to the breaking out of the Mithridatic war in Asia, the Rhodians performed nothing which historians have thought worth transmitting to posterity. They enjoyed their liberties, while all the other states and colonies of Greece were brought under the Roman yoke, and became provinces of that republic. They continued to maintain an inviolable attachment to Rome, and gave a remarkable instance of their fidelity in the above mentioned war; for the Rhodians, and the little country of Lydia, near Mount Sipylus, were the only allies, who re-

¹ Polyb. Legat. 93, & 140. Appian. Syriac. p. 116. * Polyb. Legat. 120, 121. Diodor. Sicul. in Excerpt. Valef. p. 400.

maintained faithful to the Romans, on all the coasts of Asia, after Mithridates had declared war against the republic: Rhodes, especially, served as a retreat for all the Romans, whom the Asiatics drove, in great numbers, out of their countries; and Cassius himself, formerly governor of the province of Pergamus, fled thither for refuge. The king of Pontus, therefore, resolved to turn all his forces, by sea and land, against that island; and the inhabitants chose rather to sustain a siege than renounce their alliance with Rome. They put their ports in a state of defence, and covered their ramparts with all sorts of military machines. The Romans, who had fled thither, composed the best part of the Rhodian army; and the inhabitants, relying upon the Roman valour, and their own skill in maritime affairs, were not dismayed at the vast fleets and land-forces which Mithridates was bringing against them. They divided their fleet into three squadrons; one, drawn up in a line, covered the entrance of the port; and the other two were placed, like wings, to prevent the enemy's approach. Mithridates appeared on board a quinqueremis, at the head of a fleet much more numerous than that of the enemy. He divided it into three squadrons, ordering two of them to invest the wings of the Rhodians, while he himself attacked the squadron that defended the port. The Rhodians, therefore, lest they should be overpowered with numbers, retired by degrees, till they came to the mouth of the harbour, which they entirely blocked up; and, after this transaction, the several engagements that followed turned to their advantage. Mithridates lost many ships, and narrowly escaped himself being made prisoner in his quinqueremis, which was taken.

During these actions Mithridates embarked his numerous army in transports, which being dispersed by a violent storm, and driven to the right and left of the island, the Rhodians, with their fleet, attacked the vessels which the storm had put in disorder, sunk some, burnt others, and took four hundred men prisoners. Provoked by this disaster, Mithridates resolved to attack the city by sea in the night, and ordered a sambuca, built on two gallees, to advance to the walls. The wall of the city was but of a moderate height on the side of the temple of Jupiter Asabyrius, and he resolved to storm it there. He embarked his troops silently, furnished them with scaling-ladders, and ordered them to wait till a signal was given them by a person from the top of the temple. In the mean time, the king himself made a false attack, on the side of the port,

Yr. of FL
2260.
Ante Chr.
38.

Rhodes besieged by Mithridates.

The Siege
raised.

with great shouts, which induced the besieged to kindle many fires in the city. Those who were to wait for the signal, before they began the attack on the side of the temple, mistaking these fires for it, were too hasty for the attempt, and miscarried. Early in the morning the Rhodians made a vigorous sally, and repulsed the enemy. The sambuca, after having done some damage, sunk with its own weight; and Mithridates, disheartened at these disappointments, raised the siege, having lost a great number of men, and the best part of his navy¹. The behaviour of the Rhodians on this occasion was highly applauded at Rome, and orders were sent to Sylla to return them thanks in the name of the senate, and renew the ancient alliance between the two republics. In the war which Pompey made upon the Cilician pirates, the Rhodians assisted him with their whole naval force, and had a great share in all the victories which he gained, though that proud Roman assumed to himself the whole glory of suppressing these robbers².

In the civil war between Caesar and Pompey, they assisted the latter with a numerous fleet, under the command of Sphrancor, who distinguished himself above all the commanders of Pompey's navy, and gained very considerable advantages over Caesar's fleets³. After the death of Pompey, they sided with Caesar; a change which drew upon them the resentment of C. Cassius, who advanced to the island of Rhodes with a powerful fleet, after having reduced the greatest part of the continent. The Rhodians, alarmed at his approach, offered to come to an accommodation, promising to remain neuter, and recall the ships which they had sent to the assistance of the triumviri. Cassius insisted upon their delivering up their fleet to him, and putting him in possession both of their harbour and city. This demand the Rhodians would not comply with, and therefore began to put themselves in a condition to stand a siege; but first sent Archelaus, who had taught Cassius the Greek tongue, while he studied at Rhodes, to intercede with his disciple in their behalf. Archelaus could not, with all his interest, prevail upon him to moderate his demands; wherefore the Rhodians, having created one Alexander, a bold and enterprising man, their pretor in prytaeis, equipped a fleet of thirty-three sail, and sent it out under the command of Mnaseus,

¹ Appian. in Mithridat. Diodor. Sicul. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 408.
² Appian. in Mithridat.
³ Appian. in Mithridat.

an experienced sea-officer, to offer Cassius battle. Both fleets fought with incredible bravery, and the victory was long doubtful; but the Rhodians, being at length overpowered with numbers, were forced to retreat to Rhodes, two of their ships being sunk, and the rest very much damaged by the heavy ships of the Romans. This was the first time that the Rhodians were fairly overcome in a sea-fight°.

The Rhodians defeated in a sea-fight by Cassius.

Cassius, who had beheld this fight from a neighbouring hill, having refitted his fleet, which had been no less damaged than that of the Rhodians, repaired to Loryma, a fortress on the continent, belonging to the Rhodians. This castle he took by assault, and from hence conveyed his land-forces, under the conduct of Fannius and Lentulus, over into the island. His fleet consisted of eighty ships of war, and above two hundred transports. The Rhodians no sooner saw this great fleet appear, than they advanced to meet the enemy. This second engagement was far more bloody than the first; many ships were sunk, and great numbers of men killed on both sides. But victory again declared for the Romans, who immediately blocked up the city of Rhodes both by sea and land. As the Rhodians had not had time to furnish the city with sufficient store of provisions, some of the inhabitants, fearing that if it were taken either by assault or by famine, Cassius would put all the inhabitants to the sword, as Brutus had lately done at Xanthus, opened the gates to him, and put him in possession of the town, which he nevertheless treated as if it had been taken by assault. He commanded fifty of the chief citizens, who were suspected to favour the adverse party, to be brought before him, and sentenced them all to die; others, to the number of twenty-five, who had commanded in the fleet or army, because they did not appear when summoned, he proscribed. Having thus punished such as had either acted or spoken against him, or his party, he commanded the Rhodians to deliver up all their ships, and whatever money they had in the public treasury. He then plundered the temples, stripping them of all their valuable furniture, vessels, and statues. He left not one statue in the whole city, except that of the sun, boasting, at his departure, that he had stripped the Rhodians of all they had, leaving them nothing but the sun. As to private persons, he commanded them, under severe penalties, to bring to him all the gold and silver they had, promising,

Yr. of Pl.
306.
Ante Chr.
42.

Rhodes taken by Cassius, and plundered.

the public crier, a tenth part to such as should discover any hidden treasures. The Rhodians, at first, concealed some part of their wealth, imagining that Cassius intended, by this proclamation, only to terrify them; but when they found he put several wealthy citizens to death for concealing only a small portion of their riches, they desired, that the time ordered for bringing in their gold and silver might be prolonged. Cassius willingly granted them their request, and then, through fear, they dug up the treasure they had concealed under-ground, and laid all their wealth at his feet. By these means he extorted from private persons above eight thousand talents. He then fined the city in five hundred more, and, leaving L. Varus, with a strong garrison, to exact the fine without any abatement, he returned to the continent^p.

After the death of Cassius, Marc Antony restored the Rhodians to their ancient rights and privileges, bestowing upon them the islands of Andros, Naxos, Tenos, and the city of Myndus. But these the Rhodians so oppressed and loaded with taxes, that Antony, though a great friend to the Rhodian republic, was obliged to divert her of the sovereignty over those places, which he had, a little before, so liberally bestowed upon her^q. From this time, to the reign of the emperor Claudius, we find no mention made of the Rhodians. That prince deprived them of their liberty for having crucified some Roman citizens. However, he soon restored them to their former condition, as we read in Suetonius^r and Tacitus^s. The latter adds, that they had been as often deprived of, as restored to, their liberty, by way of punishment or reward for their different behaviour, as they had obliged the Romans with their assistance in foreign wars, or provoked them with their seditions at home. Pliny, who wrote in the beginning of Vespasian's reign, styles Rhodes a beautiful and free town. But this liberty they did not long enjoy, the island being soon after reduced, by the same Vespasian, to a Roman province, and obliged to pay a yearly tribute to their new masters^t. This province was called the province of the islands. The Roman prætor, who governed it, resided at Rhodes, as the chief city under his jurisdiction; and Rome, notwithstanding the eminent services rendered her by this republic, thenceforth treated the Rhodians not as allies but vassals.

*The island
of Rhodes
was added to
as a Roman
province.*

^p Plut. in Bruto. Appian. p. 631, &c. Oros. lib. vi. cap. 18. Dio, p. 346.

^q Appian. lib. iii. de Bell. Civit.

^r Dio, lib. xl.

^s p. 681.

^t Sueton. in Claud.

^u Tacit. Annal. xii.

^v Sueton.

in Vespas. de Bell. Civit. Oros. lib. vii. cap. 9.

S E C T. V.

The History of Crete.

THE island of Crete, now called Candia, from its *Names.* capital, was known to the ancients by the names of Aeria, Chthonia, Idæa, Curete, and Macaris. It is one of the largest islands in the Mediterranean, being two hundred eighty-seven miles in length; but as to its breadth, it is not above fifty-five where widest; whence it is styled the Long Island. It lies between the Archipelago to the north, the African sea to the south, the Carpathian to the east, and the Ionian to the west. The name of Crete, which generally prevailed among the ancients, some derive from Curetes, who are said to have been the first inhabitants of the island; others from the nymph Crete, daughter of Hesperus; or from Cretus, the son of Jupiter, who is supposed to have reigned here.

This island, which lies between the 34th and 35th degrees of north latitude, was, in ancient times, greatly *Climate, soil, &c.* celebrated for its fertility. It abounded in all sorts of grain, its plains being covered with a deep rich soil, and plentifully watered by small rivers. The fruits it produced infinitely surpassed, as Pliny observed, all of the same kind that were raised in other countries. The wines of this island are greatly commended by the ancient and modern writers. The air was anciently deemed most pure and wholesome, and is so to this day, though great part of the country lies uncultivated; a misfortune too common in such regions as groan under the Mahomedan yoke. From the fruitfulness of its soil, and purity of its air, it had the appellation of Macaris, or the *Fortunate Island.*

In former times there were reckoned in this island an *Cities.* hundred cities, ninety before the Trojan war, and ten more after the Dorians settled there; hence sprung the name of Hecatompolis. Of these hundred cities, forty only were remaining in the time of Ptolemy; for so many he enumerates. Those of most note were Gnosus, *Gnosus.* anciently called Ceratus, where king Minos is said to have fixed his residence. This city was once the capital of the island, and, according to Strabo, a wealthy and populous place, being thirty furlongs in compass, and full

• Strab. lib. x. p. 327. • Elin. lib. iv. cap. 12. • Plin. lib. xxv. cap. 9. • Strabo, ubi supra.

of inhabitants. This writer places it twenty furlongs off the *Ægean* or Archipelago, and ninety from the African sea. Some of our modern travellers think it stood near the present town of Castel Peditada; while others pretend to discover some of its ruins at a small distance from the village of Cynosa. From this city Ariadne, the daughter of *Minos*, so much celebrated by the poets, derived the name of *Gnosia*. The river *Ceratus* washed its walls; whence it is by some ancient writers called by the same name. *Cydonia* stood, according to *Strabo*^a, *Pliny*^b, and *Diodorus Siculus*^c, on the coast opposite to the *Lacedæmonian* territories in *Peloponnesus*, and was the most powerful and wealthy city of all *Crete*, since, in the civil wars of that island, it withstood the united forces of *Gnosus* and *Gortyna*, after they had reduced the greater part of the island. *Cydonia* was deemed the strongest place in the whole island. It had been often besieged, but never taken till the time of *Metellus*, to whom that glory was reserved, *Cydonia* opening its gates to him after the defeat of *Læthænes* and *Panæres*^d. This city was the next ancient in the whole island, most of the others having been built and peopled by *Cydonian* colonies; and on this account it was commonly called by the Greeks, the mother of cities. From *Cydonia* the quince-tree was first brought into Italy, and thence the fruit called by the Latins *malum Cydonium*, or the *Cydonian* apple. *Gortyna*, or *Gortys*, an inland city, being, according to *Strabo*, near ninety furlongs distant from the African sea. The origin of *Gortyna* is as obscure as that of most of the ancient cities, some telling us, that it was founded by *Gortyn*, the son of *Rhadamanthus*, and others ascribing that glory to *Taurus*, who carried off *Europa*^e. Be that as it may, *Gortyna*, in process of time, eclipsed all the other cities of *Crete*, especially after the island was reduced by the Romans, who humbled *Gnosus*, and raised, upon her ruins, her rival *Gortyna*^f. We may judge of the ancient splendor and greatness of this city from its ruins, which are still to be seen about six miles from *Mount Ida*, at the entrance of the plain of *Messaria*, which is properly the granary of the island. Among these ruins *Tournesfort* observed one of the gates, which is an arch finely turned, still remaining, with part of the wall joining to it, which

Cydonia,
or *Cydon.*

Gortyna.

^a *Strabo*, lib. x. p. 108. ^b *Plin.* lib. iv. cap. 18. ^c *Diod.*

Sicul. lib. v.

^d *Florus*, lib. iii. cap. 7.

^e *Cadrenus Com-*

pend. lib. i. *Strabo*, ubi supra.

^f *Tournesfort.* Voyage au Le-

vant, &c.

he supposes to be the wall that Ptolemy Philopater is said by Strabo to have built. Not far from the gate are two pillars of granite, eighteen feet long, and near them divers pedestals, ranged two by two, on the same line, for supporting the columns of the frontispiece of some temple. Among the many pillars still remaining, these are some of granite, fluted spirally, and wonderfully beautiful. Many of them have been carried away by the Turks. The statue, which stands on the fountain of Candia, and is deemed a master-piece, was found among these ruins; but is at present without a head, the Turks having a superstitious abhorrence to the representation of the heads of living creatures, except upon coins, of which no people are more fond. Gortyna was in ancient times famous for the temples of Apollo, Diana, and Jupiter Hecatomæus, so called, because Menelaus there sacrificed to Jupiter a hundred oxen, when news were brought him of Helena's flight. The walls were washed by the river Lethe. Theophrastus^b, Varro^c, and Pliny^d, speak of a plane-tree near Gortyna, which never shed its old leaves till new ones sprouted forth. Pliny tells us, that endeavours were used to multiply in the island this species, but to no effect, for they shed their leaves, when transplanted, in winter, like the common plane-trees. Lycus was in ancient times a city of no small note, and originally a colony of the Lacedæmonians^e. It was an inland town, and is supposed to have stood where we now find Paleocastro. Some place it near the present town of Agutini, and others pretend to discover some of its ruins near Girapietra. Hierapytna, called also Cyrrha, Pytna, and Camyros, is supposed to be the same place that Ptolemy calls Hiera Petra, or the Sacred Rock. The ruins of this city are still to be seen on the coast over-against the rocks called by the ancients the Isles of Aspis^f. Hierapytna was one of the strongest places in the island, when Metellus undertook the conquest of Crete; but is at present only a village known by the name of Girapietra. Eleuthera, called also Saorus and Aorus, was an inland city, and in the Roman times a place well-peopled, and of great strength. Rithymna, Heracles, Præios, Apteron, and Arcadia, were in ancient times cities of no small note. Rithymna, now Retimo, is still a populous place, and had formerly a very convenient haven, at this time ut-

Lycus.

Hierapytna.

Eleuthera.

Rithymna, Heracles, &c.

^a Phot. in Biblioth. lib. v.

^b Theoph. Hist. Plant. lib. i.

cap. 15.

^c Var. de Re Rust.

^d Plin. lib. xii. cap. 1.

Polyb. lib. iv.

^e Strab. lib. x. p. 303.

very neglected. Heracles stood, according to Pliny^a, supposed to the island of Vis, or, as others will have it, Dex. It was the sea-port of the Gnoſſians, and is supposed to have stood on the same spot where the town of Candia, which gave name to the whole island, was built in after-ages. Praefos was the capital of the Eteocrates, mentioned by Homer, and famous for a temple consecrated to Jupiter Dictæus. In the civil wars of the island it was razed by the inhabitants of Hierapytna. Apteron was, in Ptolemy's time, a very considerable place, and stood on a steep rock, at the foot of which, between the town and the sea, lay that famous field where the Syrens, being overcome by the Muses in a trial of skill in music, forfeited their wings. From this fable some writers tell us^b, that the city took its name, the word Apteron signifying *without wings*. Eusebius says, it was so called from one Apteras, king of Crete, whom he supposes to have been the founder of it^c. There are some ruins of this ancient city still to be seen, but nothing that deserves particular notice. Arcadia is mentioned by Ptolemy, Theophrastus, Seneca, and Pliny. They all tell us, that this town being once destroyed, all the springs in that neighbourhood dried up, and began to run again as soon as the city was rebuilt. These were the most considerable cities of Crete in ancient times.

Mountains.

The chief mountain of Crete is Ida, so much spoken of by the poets, and by many degrees the highest of the whole island. From the top of this mountain both seas are clearly discerned; in all other respects it is inferior to the other hills of the country, being for the greatest part of the year covered with snow, and so barren, that it produces nothing except the tragacantha, a shrub so prickly, that the Greeks gave it the name of goat's thorn. It was called Ida, from the fine prospect it affords, the word *idea* signifying in the Greek tongue *to see*^d. Jupiter is said to have been secretly nursed here, and thence called *Idæus*. Some of the ancients affirm, that the forests on this mountain being burnt by lightning, about seventy-three years after the deluge of Deucalion, the art of melting iron was first discovered on that occasion by the Dactyli. Ida is now known by the name of Pélorit. Dictæ, now called Sethia, and also Lasthi, is next in height to Mount Ida, and covered great part of

^a Plin. lib. 12. cap. 12.

^b Euseb. Chron.

^c Steph. Byz. Magn. Suidas.

^d Hesiod. apud Phot. in Biblioth.

the year with snow: whence it is called by Strabo, Pliny, and Ptolemy, the white mountain. However, cypress-trees grew there anciently amidst the snow, and throve as well as in the valleys. This mountain was called Dictæ, from Dictynna, a nymph of Crete, who is supposed to have first invented hunting-nets; and so have had the name of Dictynna from thence, having been called before Britomartis. Lencæ forms a long chain of mountains, so called from their whiteness, being like the others, covered great part of the year with snow: They are now known by the names of Madura and Spacia.

There are but few rivers of note in this island; the Nilopotamus, the Scalinus, and the Epicydnus, are spoken of by the ancients; but none of them are at present navigable. This defect is sufficiently supplied by a great many creeks and bays, and some capacious and safe harbours. Near Mount Ida the present inhabitants pretend to shew some remains of the ancient labyrinth made by Dædalus; but Bellonius takes this to be nothing but an ancient quarry, out of which were dug the stones that served to build the towns of Gortyna and Gnoffus. And indeed Pliny tells us, that in his time no footsteps of the ancient labyrinth were to be seen in the island.

The first inhabitants of Crete, according to Diodorus Siculus, were the Idæi Dactyli, who inhabited Mount Ida: they were, as some authors write, a hundred in number; according to others, only ten, being called Dactyli, as they suppose, from the ten fingers, to which they were equal in number. The Idæi Dactyli were, if we believe Ephorus, as quoted by Diodorus, originally from Mount Ida, in Phrygia, and passed from thence into Europe with king Minos. They settled first in Samothrace, where they taught the inhabitants sacred and religious rites, instituted sacrifices, and introduced a set form of religious worship. Orpheus, who was naturally inclined to music and poetry, is thought to have been their disciple, and the first who established sacred rites and ceremonies in Greece. The Dactyli are likewise said to have first discovered the use of fire, and to have explained the nature of iron and brass to the inhabitants of the country adjoining to Mount Boreynthus, and to have taught them the way of working them. For this, and many other useful discoveries, they were, after their death, worshipped as gods. One of them, they say, was called Hercules, who instituted the Olympic games, which were by posterity thought to have been appointed by Hercules, the son of Alcmæna.

Curetes.

Next to the Idæi Dactyli were the nine Curetes, some of them supposed to have sprung from the earth, and others to be descended from the Idæi Dactyli. These dwelt on the mountains, under the shade of thick trees, and in caves, and other places, which naturally afforded shelter and covering, as the art of building houses was not then practised. They were very ingenious, and invented many things that proved highly useful to mankind: they first taught how to manage flocks, to gather honey, tame horses, hunt, and cast darts. They formed men into societies and communities, and shewed them by their example the happiness of a peaceable and orderly life. They are likewise said to have invented swords and helmets, and to have introduced the custom of dancing in armour. By the noise they made in these dances, they prevented Saturn from hearing the cries of Jupiter when he was an infant, and by that expedient saved him from being destroyed by his father.

The Titans.

The Titans were contemporary with the Curetes, and dwelt in the country where the city of Gnosus was built many ages after. The Titans were in number six men and five women, the offspring, as some say, of Uranus and Terra; according to others, of one of the Curetes and Titans, being called Titans, after the name of their mother. The sons were Cronus or Saturn, Hyperion, Coeus, Iapetus, Crius, and Oceanus; the daughters, Rhea, Themis, Mnemosyne, Phoebe, and Thetis. Each of these invented something of great use to mankind, and was on that account placed among the gods. Saturn, the eldest, obtained the kingdom of Crete, and brought his subjects, from a wild and barbarous state, to a more polished course of life, persuading them to live according to the strictest rules of honesty, a circumstance which gave occasion for the many fables of the poets concerning the golden age. Hyperion was the first who observed the motions of the sun and moon, and other stars, measuring the seasons of the year by them; and hence he was called the father of the planets. Latona was the daughter of Coeus and Phoebe: and Prometheus, so famous among the poets, the son of Iapetus; he is said to have found the way of striking fire out of flint, a discovery which gave occasion to the poets to feign, that he stole fire from the gods, and bestowed it upon men. Mnemosyne invented many things conducing to the help of man's memory: whence she had her name, *Mnemosyne* signifies in Greek, *memory*. Themis taught the art of divination, instructed men in holy rites, and prescribed laws for

for the worship of the gods, and for the preservation of peace and good government amongst men. Vesta, Ceres, Juno, Jupiter, Neptune, and Pluto, are supposed to have been the children of Saturn and Rhea. Vesta invented the building of houses, Ceres the use of corn, Neptune the art of navigation, and Pluto funeral solemnities. Hence the latter was styled king of the infernal shades, and the former prince of the sea.

The Curetes mentioned here by Diodorus were, according to Herodotus^a and Strabo^b, originally Phœnicians, who accompanied Cadmus out of Phœnicia; some of them settling in Phrygia, where they were called Corybantes; some in Crete, where they were known by the name of Idæi Dactyli; and some in Rhodes, where they bore the name of Telchines. Clemens Alexandrinus calls the Idæi Dactyli Barbarians, that is, *strangers*. He tells us, that they were the first who brought letters in Greece, Phrygia, and Crete; and adds; that, by their assistance, king Minos built a fleet, and gained the sovereignty of the sea^c. According to these authors, the Curetes and Idæi Dactyli were the same people, and did not settle in Crete till the time of Minos. Bochart brings the Curetes from Palestine, induced thereunto by the likeness there is between their name and that of the Créthim or Cerethites, a tribe among the Philistines^d. The Philistines indeed conquered Sidon, and it is not unlikely, that some of them, mixed with the Phœnicians, attended Cadmus into Crete and Greece. But long before they settled in Crete, a colony of Pelasgians had peopled the eastern coast of the island. After the Pelasgians, Teutamus, the grandfather of Minos, carried thither a colony of Dorians from Laconia, and the territory of Olympia, in Peloponnesus. These colonies spoke different languages, and lived quietly in caves and huts, on the spontaneous productions of the earth, till the invention of tools in the reign of Asterius the son of Teutamus. They were at last reduced into one kingdom, and became one people, in the reign of Minos, who was their first law-giver, built many towns, and introduced the arts of plowing and sowing. According to this account, which is vouched by Strabo, Lucian, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, the two first kings of Crete, who reigned after the arrival of the Curetes, were

*Pelasgians
and Dorians.*

^a Diodor. Siculus, lib. v.

^b Herodotus, lib. v. cap. 58.

^c Strabo, lib. x. p. 45.

^d Clemens Alex. Stromat. lib. i.

^e Bsch. in. Casan. lib. i. cap. 25.

*Asterius,
Jupiter,
Minos, Eu-
ropa, Rha-
daman-
thus, &c.*

Asterius and Minos: Europa was wife to Asterius, and mother of Minos; and the Idæi Daëtyli came with her and her brother Alymnus into Crete, where they dwelt in the Idæan cave, and there educated Jupiter; so that Asterius, Europa, and Minos, must be the Saturn, Rhea, and Jupiter, of the Cretans. Minos is usually called the son of Jupiter; but the Phœnicians, as Sir Isaac Newton observes⁷, upon their first coming into Greece, gave the name of Jæopater, or Jupiter, to all kings; and thus both Minos and his father Asterius were Jupiters, that is, kings. Minos, according to Echemenes, as quoted by Athenæus⁸, was the Jupiter who became so famous among the Greeks for justice and equity, being the greatest king of Greece in those days, and the only legislator. Plutarch says⁹, that the inhabitants of Naxos pretended, that there were two Minoses and two Ariadnes; and that the first Ariadne married Bacchus, and the last was carried away by Theseus. But Homer, Hesiod, Thucydides, Herodotus, and Strabo, knew but of one Minos, whom Homer calls the son of Jupiter and Europa, the brother of Radamanthus and Sarpedon, the father of Deucalion the Argonaut, and grandfather of Idomeneus, who went to the siege of Troy. Herodotus¹⁰ makes Minos and Sarpedon the sons of Europa, contemporary with Ægeus. Apollodorus¹¹ and Hyginus¹² tell us, that Minos the father of Androgeus, Ariadne, and Phædra, was the son of Jupiter and Eurppa, and brother to Rhadamanthus and Sarpedon.

In the reign of Minos, Rhadamanthus the king's brother carried several colonies into the neighbouring islands, which he bestowed upon the commanders of his army: the island of Lemnos he gave to Thoas or Theias, who, as he was a disciple of the Idæi Daëtyli, and consequently a worker in metals, is supposed by Apollodorus, Suidas, and Apollonius Rhodius, to be the Vulcan of the Greeks. The islands of Carpathus, Syme, and most of the Cyclades, were peopled by colonies from Crete; for Rhadamanthus rewarded the services of his officers, by vesting them with the sovereignty of the neighbouring islands; a division which gave rise to innumerable petty kingdoms. The Cretans not only peopled the neighbouring islands, but sent colonies into Greece, Italy, Sicily, Troas, &c. and they founded the city of Delphi in Phœcis, Miletus in

⁷ Chron. p. 130.

⁸ Athen. lib. xlii. p. 601.

⁹ Plut.

¹⁰ Theseus.

¹¹ Herodot. lib. i. cap. 173.

¹² Apoll.

lib. iii. cap. 2.

¹³ Hygin. fab. 40. p. 13.

Ionia, and many in Iapygia. The Trojans, if we believe the most ancient writers, were originally Cretans; as were also the Messapii in Italy, and the inhabitants of some of the islands of Arabia.

As to the government of the Cretans, it is universally allowed, that it was at first monarchical; but there is a great disagreement among authors about the beginning of the Cretan kingdom. Diodorus Siculus supposes Teetamus to have been the first who reigned in that island. But Eusebius speaks of one Cretes, who gave his name to the island, and reigned four hundred years before Teetamus. From Cretes to Cydon he reckons three hundred years; from Cydon to Apteras sixty-three; and from Apteras to Lapithas, forty. This opinion, which is also followed by Clemens Alexandrinus, and most of the ancient chronologers, is consonant to what we read in Pausanias, who mentions several kings reigning before Teetamus, and, among the rest, Cretes, Vulcan, and Rhadamanthus. Lactantius and Berofus add to these Milinus and Melisseus, whom they suppose to have reigned before the arrival of the Pelasgians or Dorians. Before we give an account of the reigns of these kings, we shall subjoin a list of them, as we find it transmitted to us by Eusebius, Lactantius, and Berofus.

Kings of Crete.

- | | | |
|---------------------|---------------|--------------------|
| 1. Cres, or Cretes. | 7. Cydon. | 13. Minos II. |
| 2. Talus. | 8. Apteras. | 14. Deucalion. |
| 3. Vulcanus. | 9. Lapithas. | 15. Cretes. |
| 4. Rhadamanthus. | 10. Asterius. | 16. Idomeneus. |
| 5. Milinus. | 11. Minos I. | 17. Meriones. |
| 6. Melisseus. | 12. Lycastus. | 18. Etearchus (L). |

It were in vain to expect an exact chronology of this kingdom, considering the uncertainty of its beginning; and of these kings there is scarce any thing upon record worth mentioning.

Cres was, according to Eusebius ⁴, the first who reigned in Crete. He is also mentioned by Clemens ⁵, Cedre-

⁴ Euseb. Chron.

⁵ Clem. Stromat. lib. i.

(I.) This list is different from the order of succession of the Cretan kings recorded by Apollodorus, and Diodorus Siculus: but the accounts which these historians give of the Cretan princes are so interwoven with ridiculous fables, that they deserve very little regard.

Phaen.

Rhadamanthus.

Milinus.

Melisseus.

Cydon.

Apteras.

Lapithas.

The latter supposes him to be the son of Jupiter; but he is contradicted by all the ancient as well as modern writers. Talus and Vulcan are only mentioned by Pausanias as reigning in Crete. This cannot be the Vulcan whom other writers suppose to have reigned in Sicily, or the island of Lemnos, and whose skill in discovering mines, and preparing metals, gave rise to the fables of the poets. Rhadamanthus, mentioned by Strabo^a as the first legislator of the Cretans, is supposed by Apollodorus to have succeeded Vulcan, and to have been famous for his justice. Aristotle likewise speaks of him as the first who made laws for the Cretans¹. Milinus, according to Berosus, reigned in Crete, and obtained the sovereignty of the sea, but was at last killed by the Libyan Hercules. Melisseus, according to Lanctantius, was the first who introduced into the island of Crete the worship of the gods, and religious ceremonies. The same author adds, that his daughters Amalthea and Melissa nourished Jupiter, when he was an infant, with goat's-milk, a circumstance which gave rise to the poetical fables on this subject. His daughter Melissa he appointed priestess of Cybele, the great mother of the gods; and, as she was the first who was employed in this ministry, all the priestesses of that goddess were afterwards called Melissæ. That Jupiter, as Lanctantius observes, was different from the famous Jupiter of the Greeks and Latins, though most authors confound them. Cydon succeeded his father Melisseus, and reigned, as we read in the chronology of Eusebius, about the time of Cecrops I. king of Athens. Apteras succeeded Cydon, and is said by the same Eusebius to have built a town. Lapithas, according to some writers surnamed Taurus and Jupiter, carried away Europa the daughter of Agenor king of Sidon; a rape which gave rise to the fable of Jupiter's transforming himself into a bull². Eustathius and Cedrenus¹ tell us, that Lapithas built the city of Gortyna; that he took the city of Tyre; and, after having performed great feats both at home and abroad, died in Crete, where his monument was to be seen even in the time of Eusebius. Solinus², Theophilus Antiochenus³, and St. Jerom⁴, speak of Jupiter's sepulchre in Crete, which was, in all likelihood the sepulchre of Lapithas surnamed Jupiter and

¹ Cedrenus, p. 63. ² Eustath. in Dionys.
³ Eustath. in Dionys.
⁴ Solinus, cap. 16.
⁵ Theoph. Antioch. lib. ii. ⁶ Hieronym. lib. ii. contra Iovin.
Taurus

Taurus, as we have observed already, Asterius, according to Apollodorus and Eusebius, was brother to Lapithas, succeeded him in the kingdom, and married his widow Europa. Asterius is also mentioned by Manetho, who makes him contemporary with Pandion king of Athens. Lapithas had by Europa three sons, Minos, Rhadamanthus, and Sarpedon. As Asterius died without issue-male, the three sons of Lapithas raised great disturbances in the kingdom, each of them aspiring to the crown, and forming parties against one another. At last Minos prevailed, and banished his brothers. Rhadamanthus fled first into Lycia, and thence into Boeotia, where he married Alcmena the mother of Hercules, and settled at Haliartus. Strabo and Pausanias distinguish two Rhadamanthuses, and likewise two Minoses. The famous Rhadamanthus, who was, according to the poets, judge of the infernal regions, was brother to Minos II. But the accounts which the ancients give us of these princes are so perplexed and interwoven with fables, that it is impossible to come at the truth. Sarpedon, being defeated by his brother Minos, and driven out of the island, with his adherents, settled in Mylias; for that was the ancient name of the country, and afterwards called Lycia. He was there raised to the throne, and kindly entertained Lycus the son of Pandion, when he was obliged by his brother Ægeus to quit Athens. From Lycus the inhabitants of the country, called before his arrival Solymi, had the name of Lycians. Minos had one son, named Evander, who succeeded him in the kingdom, and married Deidamia, the daughter of Bellerophon, by whom she had a son, named Sarpedon. Evander was succeeded by his son, who went to the assistance of the Trojans, and distinguished himself in that war, but was killed by Patroclus. Most authors confound this Sarpedon, king of Crete, with the king of Lycia, bearing the same name. Sarpedon was succeeded by Lycastes, the natural son of Minos by Itone. Lycastes had by his wife Ida, Minos II. the greatest king who had reigned in Crete, and celebrated by the ancients, especially the poets. Diodorus, as we have hinted above, differs in his account of the Cretan kings from Pausanias, Pliny, Eusebius, Clement Alexandrinus, and most of the ancient as well as modern historians and chronologers. According to him, Teclasus, the son of Dorus, and

grandson of Deucalion, arriving in Crete with the *Æolians* and *Pelasgians*, reigned there as king; and marrying the daughter of *Cretheus*, had by her *Asterius*, in whose reign *Jupiter* carried away *Europa*, and had by her three sons, *Minos*, *Rhadamanthus*, and *Sarpedon*. *Asterius* afterwards espoused *Europa*, but having no children by her, adopted the sons of *Jupiter*, and left the kingdom to them. *Rhadamanthus* gave laws to the *Cretans*; and *Minos* took upon him the government of the kingdom, married *Itone*, the daughter of *Lyctius*, and had by her *Lycastes*, who coming to the crown, wedded *Ida*, the daughter of *Corybantus*, by whom he had a son, called also *Minos*. This *Minos* was the first of the *Grecians* who equipped a fleet, and gained the dominion of the sea. He married *Pasiphae*, the daughter of *Sol* and *Cretes*, and had by her *Deucalion*, *Astræa*, *Androgeus*, *Ariadne*, and several other children. *Androgeus*, in the reign of *Ægeus* king of *Athens*, went to that city to see the *Panathenean* solemnities; and on that occasion contracted such an intimacy with *Pallas* the king's brother, and his fifty sons, as raised no small jealousy in *Ægeus*, who began to fear that *Pallas*, with the assistance of the *Cretan* king, would deprive him of the crown, and place it on his own head. He therefore caused *Androgeus* to be privately murdered; an outrage of which *Minos* no sooner heard, than he denounced war against the *Athenians*. But finding all the attempts to revenge the death of his son prove unsuccessful, he had recourse to the gods, committing to them the revenge of such a treacherous murder. In consequence of his appeal to the gods, the *Athenians* were grievously afflicted with pestilence, famine, and other plagues, and told by the oracle of *Delphi*, that they must not expect any relief, till they were reconciled to *Minos*. The *Cretan* king, resolved to make them pay dear for their deliverance, imposed upon them a yearly tribute of seven boys, and as many girls, whom he condemned to be devoured by the *Minotaur*, during the space of seven, or nine years. *Minos* had already, for three years successively, exacted this bloody tribute, when *Theseus*, after having performed many glorious exploits, willingly offered himself to be one of the unhappy victims; and accordingly sailing with the rest to *Crete*, there killed the *Minotaur*, and delivered his country from the bloody *Cretan* tribute, as we have related at length in the history of *Athens*. *Minos*, highly incensed against *Dædalus*, for assisting his queen in her unlawful amours, and hearing that he

was

was fled into Sicily, and there entertained by Cocalus king of the Siculi, made war against that island, fitted out a powerful fleet, and setting sail, arrived on the coasts of Agrigentum. The place where he landed his men was from him called Minoa, which name it retained to the time of Diodorus the historian ¹. Minos, on his arrival, sent ambassadors to Cocalus, intreating him to deliver up Dædalus to justice, rather than to draw a war upon himself and his country. In consequence of these advances, Minos and Cocalus came to an interview; wherein Cocalus having promised to do all that Minos required of him, the latter, trusting to the promises of that treacherous prince, was prevailed upon to go to his house without guards, where he was privately stifled in a bath. Cocalus delivered the body of the king to the Cretans, who had attended him in that expedition, pretending that his death had been occasioned by his slipping accidentally into the scalding baths. His soldiers buried him with great pomp, and erected a magnificent monument to his memory, building near it a temple in honour of Venus, which was much resorted to for many ages. In after-times, when Agrigentum was built, the bones of Minos were discovered, and sent by Thero into Crete. The Cretans, who had followed Minos into Sicily, upon his death, settled in that island, and built the city of Minoa. In process of time they possessed themselves of some *Cretans settle in Sicily.* places in the interior part of the country, and built the city of Engyum. From Engyum they made frequent inroads into the neighbouring countries; and being reinforced with a new colony of Cretans, who were driven upon the coasts of Sicily, as they were returning home under the conduct of Merion, after the destruction of Troy, they subdued many of the bordering states, and formed themselves into a republic, which was the most considerable in that part of the island.

The Minos, of whom we are here speaking, was father of Deucalion the Argonaut, the grandfather of Idomeneus, and contemporary with Ægeus king of Athens; and this Minos was, according to Plato ² and Aristotle ³, author of the laws which are so highly commended by them, and which it will not be improper to give some account of in this place. He first banished idleness and luxury, *The laws of Minos.* the sources of all vice, from his dominions. He found means to keep all his subjects employed, either at home

¹ Diodor. Sicul. lib. iv. ² Plato, de Leg. lib. i. ³ Arist. de Rep. lib. ii.

as abroad. He would not suffer any, however distinguished above the rest, to lead an idle and indolent life; but obliged them either to serve in the army, or apply themselves to agriculture, which he brought into great reputation. In order to establish a kind of equality among his subjects, he decreed, that in each city the children should be brought up together, and early taught the same maxims, exercises, and arts. They were accustomed, from their infancy, to bear hunger and thirst; to suffer heat and cold; to walk over steep and rugged places; to skirmish with each other in small parties; and to exercise themselves in a kind of dance with their armour, which was afterwards called the Pyrrhic. As Crete was a mountainous and rugged country, the youth were not taught here, as elsewhere, to ride, or wear heavy armour, but to use their bow dexterously; and in this they far excelled all other nations in the world. One of Minos's institutions, which Aristotle greatly admires, was, that all his subjects should use the same diet, and frequently take their repasts together, without any distinction between the poor and rich. The public defrayed the charges of these meals, one part of the revenues of the state being applied to the uses of religion, and the salaries of the magistrates, and the rest allotted for the public feasts. After their repast, the old men discoursed of the actions and virtues of their ancestors, and of such as had distinguished themselves, either by their valour in war, or their wisdom in peace; and the youth, who were present at these entertainments, were exhorted to propose those great persons to themselves, as models for the forming of their manners, and the regulation of their conduct.

Another of Minos's institutions, which Plato admires the most, was, to inspire early into the youth a high respect for the maxims, customs, and laws of their own country. He would not suffer them to dispute, or call in question, the wisdom of their constitution; but commanded them to consider the laws as dictated by the gods themselves. He paid the same regard to the magistrates and aged persons, whom he enjoined every one to honour in a peculiar manner; and, that nothing might lessen the respect due to age, he ordained, that if any defects were observed in them, they should never be mentioned in the presence of the youth. A custom established by Minos, and in after-ages, adopted by the Romans, gives us rea-

* Plato ubi supra.

son to believe, that even the slaves were better treated in Crete than any where else; for, in the scabb of Mercury, the masters waited on their slaves at table, and performed the same offices which they received from them during the rest of the year. This custom was to put men in mind of the primitive state of the world, in which all men were equal, and to signify to the masters, that their servants were of the same nature with themselves. The laws of Minos were anciently in such great repute, that Lycurgus passed a considerable time in Crete, employing himself in the study of the Cretan constitution, and forming his laws upon upon the model of those which then obtained in that island. Plato tells us, that Crete, under the government of so wise a prince, became the abode of virtue, probity, and justice; and that the laws which he established, were so well founded in justice and equity, that they subsisted in their full vigour even in his time, that is, above nine hundred years after they had been first published. It is true, the Cretans degenerated by degrees from their ancient probity; and, at length, by an entire change of manners, became the most vicious nation that was known either to the Greeks or Latins. Polybius asserts * that the Cretans, in his time, were avaricious and self-interested to such a degree, as to think no lucre sordid. Suidas and Callimachus † gave them the character of liars and impostors; and St. Paul quotes against them, as truth, the testimony of one of their own poets, perhaps Epimenides, who paints them in very disgraceful colours. The impurity of their amours is but too well known from the accounts given of them by Strabo ‡, Servius §, and Athenæus ¶. But this change of manners, in whatever time it happened, does not affect the probity of the ancient Cretans, nor lessen the glory of their legislator.

*Character
of the later
Cretans.*

Minos was succeeded by his eldest son Deucalion, who, renewing the ancient alliance between the Cretans and Athenians, gave his sister Phædra in marriage to Theseus, by whom he had Acamantes and Demophoon. Phædra is said to have fallen passionately in love with her son-in-law Hippolytus; and, because he would not comply with her unlawful demands, to have accused him to her husband of attempting to ravish her. Hereupon Theseus, suspecting the truth of what she affirmed, summoned Hippolytus to answer the accusation. But Phædra, fearing she should be

Deucalion.

* Polyb. lib. vi. † Callim. Hymn. in Jov. ver. 3. ‡ Strabo, lib. x. § Servius Aenid. lib. x. ver. 325. ¶ Athen. Deipn. lib. xiii. &c.

discovered upon the trial of the cause, laid violent hands on herself. Deucalion was, according to Hyginus, one of the Argonauts. Plutarch tells, out of Clidemus, that he was killed by Theseus at Gnosius in Crete. After

Creteus.

Idomeneus.

Creteus reigned Creteus, or, as Diodorus and Pausanias call him, Catreus. He was brother to Deucalion, and son of Minos by Pasiphae, or, as others relate, by Merope. Upon the death of Creteus the kingdom came to Idomeneus, the son of Deucalion, by Cleopatra. He assisted the Greeks, at the siege of Troy, with eighty ships, and distinguished himself there, if we may believe the poets, in several combats. After the destruction of that city, his ships, being in great danger by a violent storm, he vowed to sacrifice, if he got safe home, the first person he should meet after his arrival. Unfortunately his eldest son came first out to meet him, whom he, pursuant to his vow, either did, or attempted to sacrifice. Hereupon his subjects, refusing to receive him, he sailed into Italy, and there built the city of Petilia, near Salentinum, a cape of Calabria^d (M). Upon the death or banishment of Idomeneus,

Meriones.

Merionem, the son of Molus, by Memphis, and grandson of Minos, was raised to the throne. He had attended Idomeneus to the Trojan war, and there signalized himself, as we read in Homer, Virgil, and the other ancient poets. They were both adored by the Cretans as demi-gods, and invoked in all the wars they undertook. Many years after the death of Meriones, or Me-

Etearchus.

tion, we find Etearchus reigning in Crete, and residing, not at Gnosius, the seat of the former kings, but at Oaxes. The actions, and even the names, of the intermediate kings, are buried in oblivion. However, it is not improbable, that Etearchus was descended from Minos, and consequently of the same family with the princes whose reigns we have hitherto described; since Suidas tells us,

^b Diodor. Sicul. lib. iv. Apollodor. lib. iii. Pompon. Sabin. lib. ii. ^c Plut. in These. ^d Virgil. Æneid. iii. & xi. Isaac Tzetztes, p. 146. ^e Diodor. Sicul. lib. v. cap. 15.

(M) This transaction is related differently by Joannes Tzetztes; but both accounts concur in the circumstance of his leaving Crete, and making a settlement elsewhere. Which, however, must be false, inasmuch as his tomb was remaining in the neighbourhood of

Gnosius, as late as the time of Diodorus Siculus, with this inscription, "Idomeneus, born in Gnosius, lies in this tomb, &c." unless we suppose that, after he died in his new settlement, his bones were carried back to his native country.

that

that the race of Minos enjoyed the sovereignty of Crete till the destruction of that kingdom, that is, till monarchy gave way to a republican government. All we know of Etearchus, the last king of Crete, is, that by the wicked contrivances and groundless calumnies of his queen, he was so estranged from Phronima, his daughter by his first wife, that he commanded one Themison, a merchant of Thera, to drown her in the sea. Themison, though he had sworn to perform whatever Etearchus should order him, could not prevail upon himself to put this barbarous command in execution; having, therefore, to comply, in some degree, with the obligation of his oath, let her down into the sea by a rope, he drew her up again unhurt, and carried her to Thera, his native country, where she was admitted among the concubines of Polymnestus, by whom she had Batus, the founder of Cyrene.

Monarchical government being abolished, in what manner, or on what account, we do not find recorded, the chief power was vested in the senate, which was composed of thirty members, and is called by Aristotle², the public council of the nation. In that assembly affairs of the greatest consequence were discussed, and resolutions taken, which, however, were of no force till the people had confirmed them by their suffrages. Next in authority to the senate were the *cosmi*, so called from the Greek word *cosmos*, signifying *order*; these magistrates being appointed for the maintaining of good order in the state. They had nearly the same power as the *ephori* at Sparta, were ten in number, and chosen, like the *ephori*, out of the whole body of the people, the meanest of the populace having an equal right to this dignity with the most illustrious families of the republic. They were intended as the balance between the people and the senate, and a check upon both; for, without their approbation, no decree was of any validity. Out of their body the senators were chosen, none being admitted to that office who had not before given some proofs of their prudence, equity, and disinterestedness, in the college of the *cosmi*. In time of war they commanded the armies of the republic with absolute power, but were, afterwards, liable to be called to account; whereas the senators were not accountable for their administration.

The republican government introduced.

The cosmi.

The island of Crete continued in this condition for many ages. The inhabitants were generally at war among

¹ Herodotus, lib. iii.

² Aristot. de Repub. lib. ii. cap. 10.

them—

The island
the only in
the island
island.

The Cre-
tans killed
in the art
of war.

Some
other states
as merce-
naries.

Tr. of Pl.
anno.
Ante Chr.
43.

themselves, each city aspiring to the sovereignty of the whole island; but as the authors, who wrote the history of Crete, have not reached us, we are wholly uninformed of the particulars of those civil commotions. All we know is, that in the time of Philip, the father of Perseus, the Gnosians and Gortynians had reduced all the other cities of the island, and divided their conquests; so that the Cretans were no longer free, but subject to one of these cities, and obliged to acknowledge their subjection by an annual tribute¹. These domestic troubles raged in Crete for many ages, and gave the inhabitants an opportunity of excelling in the arts of war; hence they were in such repute among other nations, that most of the states and princes always maintained in their armies some bodies of Cretan bowmen and slingers, the Cretans having been, in all ages, as Pausanias observes², remarkable for their skill and experience at the sling and bow.

They were of great service, as Xenophon informs us, in the retreat of the ten thousand³. Many of Alexander's victories, if we believe Arrian, were owing to the Cretan auxiliaries⁴. Livy has not forgot the advantages which Eumenes, and the consul Manlius, gained by means of the archers and slingers of Crete, the one over Antiochus, the other over the Gauls, in the famous battle fought near Mount Olympus. After the Romans became acquainted with Crete, they employed the inhabitants in all their expeditions, keeping constantly in their pay a numerous body of Cretan auxiliaries, who, generally speaking, behaved with distinguished gallantry⁵. In the war of Antiochus they entered into an alliance with Rome, by the advice of Eumenes, king of Pergamus. But, notwithstanding the treaty of friendship subsisting between the two republics, the Cretans entered into measures with other potentates, without consulting the Roman senate. In the war which the Romans carried on against Mithridates, they were said to maintain a private correspondence with that prince, and likewise to have assisted the pirates who infested the Mediterranean, and committed great ravages on the coast of Italy. This conduct gave the Romans a specious pretence for enslaving an island which had, to that time, been free from all foreign subjection⁶; but the true motive that prompted them to undertake this war was, as Florus informs us, a desire of con-

¹ Polyb. lib. iv. ² Pausan. in Arcicis. ³ Xenoph. lib. iv.
⁴ Arrian. de Exped. Alex. ⁵ Liv. lib. xxxvii. cap. 41. & lib.
⁶ Florus. lib. ii. cap. 12.

quering Crete. It fell to the lot of Q. Hortensius to command the troops that were to be employed in this expedition; but, as he had spent his whole life in peaceable employments, and was altogether unqualified for military operations, he readily resigned the command of the troops to his colleague Q. Cæcilius Metellus, who declined setting sail till the time of his consulship was expired. Mean while the Cretans sent an embassy to Rome, consisting of thirty of the most illustrious men of the island, who, by their earnest solicitations, and humble supplications, moved the senate to compassion; insomuch that they were ready to renew their ancient treaties with them. But P. Lentulus Spinther alone opposed the friendship of the senate towards the Cretans, by representing that Rome could never be mistress of the seas, nor keep them clear of pirates, till Crete was reduced to the state of a province. His opposition, however, induced the senate to alter their opinion, and so many hard conditions were demanded of the suppliants, that they chose rather to hazard a war than enjoy peace on such terms. The ambassadors being dismissed, Metellus embarked with three legions, and, arriving on the coast of Crete, landed without opposition. The Cretan republic was then governed by two chiefs, Lathenes and Panares. The former had greatly contributed to the victory which the pirates had gained the year before over Antonius; and therefore, not doubting but the Romans would make it a preliminary, that he should be given up to their vengeance, encouraged the people to take up arms, and raise forces in all parts of the island. In a short time twenty-four thousand men were assembled, and brought into the field. Metellus, in order to draw them to a battle, advanced towards Cydonia, at that time the capital of the island, as if he designed to besiege it. Lathenes, in order to prevent the siege, encountered the Roman general on his march, but was entirely defeated, and obliged to save himself by flight to Gnosius. Metellus, being master of the field, laid siege to Cydonia, which Panares, after a short defence, delivered up to the conqueror, upon promise that both he and the inhabitants should be spared. From thence Metellus advanced to Gnosius, where Lathenes had shut himself up; but the cowardly general, instead of putting the city into a condition to hold out a siege, set fire to it, and retired. The city of Lycus, though well fortified, surrendered as soon as the Roman army approached the walls. Thus Metellus, in one campaign, possessed himself of the greatest part of the

The Romans quarrel with the Cretans.

The progress of the Roman arms in Crete.

the island, though defended by the Cretian pirates as well as its own inhabitants.

In the year, early in the spring, Metellus took the field, and, having subdued the united forces of the Cretans and Cretian pirates, drove the latter from the castles, which they had built on the rocks near the sea, and the former from most of their strong holds in the interior part of the country. But, as he treated both the inhabitants and the pirates with the utmost severity, they sent an embassy to Pompey, who had been lately appointed pro-consul of the sea, with unlimited authority, intreating him to come and finish the reduction of Crete, and offering to surrender to him without making the least resistance. Pompey, who was always ready to undertake the work of other generals, heard the ambassadors with pleasure, and promised to come and indulge them with an advantageous peace. Accordingly, having received hostages, he sent from Pamphylia, where he then resided, L. Octavius, one of his lieutenants, to proclaim all over the island, that Pompey had the sole power of making treaties in all the places of his proconsulate; and, that Metellus had no right to assume the title of general in a country which was within the province the senate had given to Pompey. This impolitic claim caused a kind of civil war in the island, the Romans disputing with one another who should give the last stroke to the Cretans. Octavius joined the pirates and people of the island to oppose Metellus's conquest; and he, on the other hand, not fearing the additional forces, which Pompey had set against him, pursued his conquests with resolution. He besieged Eleuthera, and, having gained over one of the chief citizens, who for several nights together, poured down upon one of the towers as many barrels of vinegar, as softened it, made himself master of the town by beating it down. From Eleuthera he fell upon Iappa, a strong city, which Octavius in person undertook to defend. But though Octavius made a vigorous defence, yet the place was at last taken by assault, and all the Cretans and Cretians found it were put to the sword. As for Octavius and the Romans, Metellus dismissed them without their arms, amidst the reproaches of his soldiers. Pompey therefore sent new supplies to Octavius, and ordered Siceana to sail from the coast of Achaia to Crete. But Siceana dying soon after his arrival, Octavius assumed the command of his troops, and, in con-

Appian. Regum. lib. xix. lib. xix. Flor. lib. iii. cap. 7. Siceana, a Greek name for the city of Sicyon.

junction with the pirates and Cretans, endeavoured to stop the career of Metellus's conquests. But that brave commander, having taken Hierapytna, the strongest place then in the island, obliged Octavius to take refuge on board his ships, and abandon the island. Upon his departure Lathenes and Panares laid down their arms, and all the inhabitants of the island submitted to the yoke. Metellus changed their form of government; obliged them to live according to the laws of Rome; imposed an annual tribute upon the whole island; and reduced it to a Roman province, after it had enjoyed its liberties for a series of ages*. Orosius tells us, that Metellus reduced the island in two years†: but Velleius Paterculus, Eutropius‡, and others, maintain, that the Romans spent three whole years in that undertaking, having to encounter with men no less brave than themselves. Metellus was honoured with a triumph, and the surname of Creticus, or the Cretan, which Plutarch bestows on Antonius, the father of the famous Marc Antony, who indeed began this expedition, but lost in it both his fleet and his life.

Yr. of Fl.
228.
Ante Chr.
66.

Crete reduced to a Roman province.

SECTION VI.

The History of Cyprus.

THIS island was known to the ancients by the following names; Acamis, Ceraftis, Aspalia, Amathus, Macaria, Cryptos, Colinia, Sphecia, Paphia, Salaminia, Ærofa, and finally Cyprus. It was called Acamis, from one of its promontories; Amathus, Paphia, and Salaminia, from three of its ancient cities; Macaria, from the fruitfulness of its soil; Ærofa, from its copper-mines; Colinia, or Collinia, from its many hills; Sphecia, from its ancient inhabitants the Spheces; Ceraftis, from the many promontories, which, like so many horns, as the Greek word intimates, shoot into the sea; whence it borrowed the name of Aspalia, we know not. As to the name which it is now generally known by, some authors derive it from the Greek word cryptos, signifying *hidden*, this island being often hid by the waves from the eye of the sailor; others will have it called Cyprus, from Cyrus, who is said to have founded here the city of Aphrodisia. But this etymology is still worse than the former, the island having been known by the name of Cyprus in Ho-

Names.

* Appian. Legat. xxx. Liv. lib. c. Vall. Patere. lib. ii. cap. 18. † Orosius, lib. vii. cap. 4. ‡ Eutrop. lib. vii.

mer's time, that is, six hundred years before the birth of Cyrus. Isidorus thinks it was called Cyprus, from a city of that name*. But the most common opinion is, that it borrowed its name from a shrub, called by the Greeks *cyprios*, which, though very scarce in other countries, grows here in great plenty. What kind of shrub this was, is still matter of dispute among authors. With the flower of this shrub the ancient inhabitants made a very sweet oil, which is much commended by Pliny†. The name of *Cerastis*, as we have observed above, was given to from the great number of its promontories; and this appellation is founded on truth, no island, that we know of, having more promontories than Cyprus. On the west it has the promontories of *Acamas*, now *Capo S. Pisano*; *Drepanum*, now *Tropano*; *Zephyrum*, now *Capo Calidoni*, or *Punta Maleta*; on the south, *Pharurium*, now *Capo Bianco*; *Curias*, or *Capo delle Gatte*; *Gades*, or *Capo Chiti*; *Throni*, or *Capo Pila*; on the east, *Pendalium*, now *Capo di Greco*; *Clides*, now *Capo di S. Andrea*; on the north, *Coronyon*, now *Capo Cornocquette*; and besides a great many others of less note.

Cities.

Arifnee.

Soli, or Soli.

The principal cities of Cyprus were, according to Ptolemy and Strabo‡, on the north side of the island; *Arifnee*, so called from a queen of Egypt, the island of Cyprus having been long subject to that country. *Solz*, or *Soli*, which borrowed its name from Solon, the famous law-giver of the Athenians, who, during his banishment, having visited the petty king of Epea, advised him to remove his city from a mountainous and barren country into a fruitful and pleasant plain. The king followed his advice, and was so pleased with the new situation of his metropolis, that, out of gratitude to Solon, he called it *Solz*, or *Soli*, from his name§. Strabo takes notice of a famous temple in this city, consecrated to *Venus* and *Isis*.

Lapithus, or Lapathus.

Lapithus, or *Lapathus*, on the banks of a small river bearing the same name. This city was in former times of such consequence, that it gave the name of *Lapithia* to the neighbouring country. The two cities of *Aphrodisias* and *Carpasia* are likewise placed by Strabo and Ptolemy on the same coast, and mentioned by most of the ancient geographers. Here also stood the cities of *Cerines* and *Tremitus*.

Cerines. Tremitus.

Cerines, in former ages called *Ceurania*, is said to have been built by Cyrus the Great, when he first subdued the nine kings of this island, and united the

* Isidor. lib. xiv. † Plin. lib. xii. cap. 14. ‡ Strab. lib. xiv. lib. xiv. § Plin. in Solon. p. 22.

whole country to the crown of Persia. Tremitus is often mentioned by Sozomenus in the account he gives us of the miracles, which he supposes to have been wrought by the bishop Spiridion, a native of that city^r. On the eastern coast stood the following cities: Salamis, built by Teucer, the son of Telamon; who being, on his return from the siege of Troy, banished by his father Telamon, for not revenging on Ulysses the death of his brother Ajax, retired to Cyprus, and built a city, which he called Salamis, after the name of his own country^r. This was afterwards called Constantia; and some are of opinion, that Famagosta, the present metropolis of the island, was built on its ruins. On this side of the island, opposite the promontory, called by Pliny Dinaretum, are the small islands named Clides, two in number, according to Strabo, and three, according to Pliny. On the south coast the ancients place Throni, a town so named from the promontory on which it stood; Citium, the birth-place of Zeno the famous Stoic. Here Cimon the Athenian died, after having reduced great part of the island^r. Josephus is of opinion, that this city was built by Cittim, the son of Javan, and from him called Citium, or, as Pliny will have it, Cetium. Malum, which was likewise taken by Cimon, as Diodorus informs us. Ptolemæus Lagi ruined this city, and transplanted the inhabitants to Paphos. Amathus, so called from its founder Amathus, the son of Aerias. Tacitus tells us, that Cyprus was famous for three temples; the most ancient of them was dedicated to Venus Paphia, by Aerias; the next, in point of antiquity, was consecrated to Venus Amathusia, by Amathus, the son of Aerias; and the third to Jupiter Salaminus, by Teucer, the son of Telamon^r. The city of Amathus, as most others in this island, was consecrated to Venus, as appears from Virgil^b, and the other ancient poets. Ovid speaks of copper-mines in the neighbourhood of this city^c, and Pausanias mentions a famous temple here consecrated to Venus and Adonia^d. On the west side of the island were the cities Palepaphos, or Old Paphos, about ten furlongs from the shore. Here Venus is said to have first appeared after she was formed out of the froth of the sea; and hence the city was in a peculiar manner sacred to that goddess. The young women here used to prostitute

Salamis.

*Throni.
Citium.*

Malum.

Amathus.

Palepaphos.

^r Sozom. lib. i. cap. 10.

^r Corn. Nepos. in ejus Vita.

^b Virgil. *Æneid.* lib. ii. ver. 57.

ver. 210.

^d Pausan. in *Socet.* cap. 11c.

^r Vide Horat. lib. i. ed. 7.

^a Tacit. lib. iii. *Annal.* cap. 64.

^c Ovid. *Metamorph.* lib. 2.

Neapaphos.

themselves to such strangers as came ashore, in order to raise money for their portions. About sixty furlongs from Palæpaphos stood Neapaphos, or New Paphos, built, according to Strabo^a, by Agapenor, nephew to Lycurgus, and famous for its harbour, and a stately temple dedicated to Venus; for both these cities were under the peculiar protection of that goddess: whence they are often confounded by the ancient writers, especially the poets. New Paphos was utterly ruined by an earthquake, but rebuilt by Augustus, and thence called Augusta, a name which it did not long retain^f. As to the inland towns, Ptolemy mentions only three, viz. Chyprus, Trimethus, and Tamassus, or Tamascus, to which Strabo adds a fourth, viz. Limenia; but these were places of small note, though Ovid calls the territory of Tamascus the most fruitful spot in Cyprus. The copper, that was found in the mines adjoining to this city, was deemed the best in the world. The following cities are mentioned by Pliny, Diodorus Siculus, Pausanias, Stephanus, and others; but we are quite at a loss as to their situation: Cingria, Marium, Golgi, Epiderum, Cesium, Erythea, Lacedæmonia, Tegessus, Melina, Hyle, Temero, Ledrum, or Leutcon. Diodorus tells us, that Marium was governed by a king of its own^g. Golgi was a small, but very ancient town; for the Cyprians, as Pausanias informs us^h, worshipped Venus in the small town of Golgi, before Agapenor scutled with his colony at Paphos. This city is mentioned by Catullusⁱ, Lycophron^k, and Theocritus^l, who mention it as a place consecrated in a special manner to Venus.

Division.

Cyprus was, by the ancient geographers, divided into four districts or provinces, viz. Paphia to the west, Amathusa to the south, Lapitha to the north, and Salamina to the east. In after-ages it was divided into twelve provinces by the princes of the Lusignan family, who were put in possession of it by Richard I. of England, and held it for seventeen generations. The names of these twelve divisions were, Nicosia, Famagosta, Paphia, Audima, Limissa, Mafomus, Salines, Metloria, Crastona, Pentalia, Carpassus, and Cerines. These were so denominated from the chief cities of each district; besides which cities, and several others of less note, there were no fewer than eight hundred villages. This island, even under the tyrannical

^a Strab. lib. xiv. sub finem.

^f Din. lib. iv. p. 537.

^g Diod.

^h Strab. lib. xiv. cap. 50.

ⁱ Pausan. Arcad. cap. 5.

^j Catull.

^k Lycophr. in Alexandra, ver. 588.

^l Theocr. Idyll. xv. ver. 280.

yoke of the Turks, is so considerable, as to be governed by a beglerbeg, who has seven sangiacs under him.

Cyprus extends from east to west along the coast of Cilicia about a hundred and eighty miles, being but forty-five broad. It lies between the 34th and 35th degrees of north latitude, and was anciently deemed one of the most fruitful islands of the Mediterranean; but is at present in great part uncultivated, and the air in most places rendered very unwholesome, by the fens and marshes. The honey of Cyprus is much commended by the ancients, and likewise the wine, oil, and wool; but above all, the copper, of which we have already spoken.

Extent, climate, &c.

This island was first discovered by the Phœnicians, as Eratosthenes informs us^a, about two or three generations, according to Sir Isaac Newton's computation^b, before the days of Asterius and Minos kings of Crete, that is, about one thousand and six years before the Christian æra. It was, says Eratosthenes, when first discovered, so overgrown with wood, that it could not be tilled, and the Phœnicians first cut down the wood for melting copper; afterwards, when they began to sail without fear on the Mediterranean, they made use of that wood to build ships, and even great fleets. Herodotus likewise supposes the Phœnicians to have been the first who peopled the island. But Josephus tells us, that the descendants of Cittim the son of Javan, and grandson of Japhet, were the original inhabitants of Cyprus. According to his account, Cittim, seeing his brother Tarshish settled in Cilicia, where he built the city of Tarsus, remained with his followers in this opposite island; and either he, or his descendants, laid the foundations of the city of Citium, which, according to Ptolemy, was the most ancient in the island. As Cyprus was too narrow to contain the great numbers of those who attended him, and their descendants, he left here as many as might serve in time to plant the country; and with the rest passed over into Macedon, as we shall relate in the history of that ancient kingdom. In process of time other nations, invited by the fertility of the soil, came and settled here, namely, the Phœnicians, Athenians, Salaminians, Arcadians, and Ethiopians; for Herodotus^c says, that Cyprus was inhabited by colonies from these different countries.

Inhabitants.

The government of Cyprus was, without all doubt, monarchical; for we find kings reigning here in the earliest

Government and laws.

^a Apud Strabonem, lib. xiv. p. 684.

^b Sir Is. Newt. Chron.

p. 183. ^c Herodot. lib. vii. cap. 90.

ages. The first monarch we read of in history is Cinyras, the grandson of Pygmalion, and father of Adonis. He was the son of Paphus, who is supposed to have been the first that introduced into the island the worship of Venus, and is said to have built the city which bears his name ¹. He had Adonis by his own daughter Myrrha. His father Paphus is feigned by the poets to have been the son of Pygmalion by a woman, who had been before an ivory statue. Pygmalion, say they, coming into the island of Cyprus, and seeing all the women living there very licentious, resolved never to marry. Afterwards, as he was a famous statuary, he made an ivory statue of such perfection; that, falling in love with it, he prayed the goddess Venus to procure him a wife as beautiful as the statue he had made. The goddess heard his prayer, and changed the statue into a fair damsel, by whom he had Paphus the father of Cinyras, and first king of Cyprus ². Cinyras is said to have possessed immense riches, insomuch that "the wealth of Cinyras" became a proverb ³, to express an overgrown estate. As the worship of Venus was first established in Cyprus by Paphus the father of Cinyras, both he and his descendants were buried in the temple of Venus at Paphos, an honour which was granted to no other family. The priesthood of Venus was likewise entailed on their race, a dignity which they preserved for many ages after the throne was seized by others; nay, we read of one of this family, named Sosratus, enjoying the priesthood of Venus in the reign of Vespasian, and greatly favoured by that prince, and his son Titus, who often consulted him about future events ⁴. Belus, one of the successors of Cinyras, is said to have reigned in Cyprus at the arrival of Teucer the son of Telamon, and to have assisted him in laying the foundations of Salamis, which, in process of time, became the metropolis of the whole island. Cinyras, and his successors, whose names have not reached us, were not kings of the whole country, but only of Paphos, and the adjoining parishes. Besides the kingdom of Paphos, we find eight others mentioned by the ancients. Of the kings of Salamis we shall have occasion to speak at length hereafter. The names of the others, that have been transmitted to us, are, Philocyprus king of Soli, contemporary with Solon; Aristocyprus son of the former; Pustiratus, or Pasiocyprus, who succeeded Aristoc-

¹ Arnob. lib. iv. & seqq. Tacitus, lib. xviii. ² Ovid. *Metamorph.* lib. x. ³ Arnob. lib. vi. ⁴ Euseb. *Chronic.* ⁵ Tacitus *Annal.* lib. ii.

cyprus¹. Timonax, Pygmalion, Praxippus, Stasicæus, Idomeneus, Moschion, Diphilus, Solon, and Themison, are mentioned by the ancients as reigning in Cyprus; but what kingdoms they held, are what we no where find recorded. The realm of Salamis was by far the most powerful in Cyprus, the Salaminian princes having in process of time subdued the whole island.

The island of Cyprus was parcelled out among several petty kings, each of them reigning with an uncontrolled authority till the time of Cyrus the Great, who subdued them by his lieutenants, but left them at the same time in possession of their respective dominions, obliging them only to pay an annual tribute to him, and his successors, and to send supplies of men, money, and ships, when required. The Cyprian princes lived thus subject to the Persians till the reign of Darius son of Hyttaspes, when they attempted to shake off the yoke, being instigated to revolt by Onesilus king of Salamis. But as from this period the history of Cyprus, as transmitted to us, is no other than that of the kingdom of Salamis; before we relate the event of this war, we shall give an account of that monarchy, and of the princes who reigned there before the accession of Onesilus to the throne.

The first king of Salamis, was Teucer the son of Telamon, who signalized himself at the siege of Troy, if we may believe the poets. Upon his return, being banished his country, he retired to Cyprus, where he built the city of Salamis, and founded a new kingdom, about 1160 years before the Christian æra. Justin tells us, that, before he settled in Cyprus, he went into Spain, and left some of his retinue in that country, where, in after-ages, New Carthage was built; and Philostratus speaks of Teucer's belt, which was to be seen many ages after in the temple of Hercules at Gades, now Cadiz. Lactantius² tells us, that Teucer introduced into the island of Cyprus the barbarous custom of offering human sacrifices to Jupiter, which continued till the reign of the emperor Adrian. Ajax, the son of Teucer, is said to have built a stately temple at Olbus in Cilicia, and to have transmitted the priesthood to his posterity, a dignity greatly valued in ancient times, the chief-priest of Olbus being lord of that part of Cilicia, which was known to the Greeks by the name of Tracheotis. After the descendants of Ajax were deprived both of the priesthood, and the sovereignty an-

History of Cyprus.

Yr. of Fl.
1188.
Ante Chr.
1160.

Kings of Salamis, and history of that kingdom.

¹ Athenæus, lib. iv, cap. 20. ² Lactant. lib. i. cap. 21.

Yr. of Fl.
4874.
Ante Chr.
524.

added to it, the name of Ajax was still retained, and given to all those who enjoyed that dignity, though no ways related to the Teucerian family. As to the immediate successors of Teucer, in the kingdom of Salamis, we find no account. Many years after him reigned Nicoreon; whose transactions no author has thought worth transmitting to posterity. The next king we find reigning in Salamis is Euclithon, who first submitted to the Egyptians, and afterwards to the Persians, assisting Cambyzes in his expeditions with men, money, and ships. In his reign Phacitima, queen of the Cyreneans, being driven out of her kingdom with her son Aroesilaus, fled to Salamis, and, being there kindly entertained, solicited Euclithon to assist her with an army, in order to re-establish her family in Cyrene. But the king, not caring to engage in a war, made her rich presents, hoping to content her by that means, and redeem himself from her importunities. The queen accepted the presents, and seemed to be highly pleased with them; but always added, that though they were very valuable, yet an army would be far more acceptable to her. At length Euclithon presented her with a reel and distaff of gold; and, finding she repeated her acknowledgement in the same terms, told her plainly, that these were more proper presents for women than armies. He sent a censer of great value, and most curious workmanship, to the temple of Delphi, which was to be seen in Herodotus's time in the treasury of the Corinthians.

Siromus.
Cherfis.
Gorgus.

Siromus and Cherfis are mentioned by Herodotus as reigning at Salamis, but performing nothing which that writer has thought worth relating. The latter left three sons, Gorgus, Onesilus, and Philson. Gorgus succeeded his father, but was soon driven out by his brother Onesilus. Gorgus fled to the Persians; and Onesilus, sending ambassadors to all the cities and princes of the island, prevailed upon them to take up arms, and expel the Persian garrisons. The city of Amathus alone refused to come into his measures, whereupon he closely besieged it; but the inhabitants making a vigorous defence, before he could reduce the place, the Persians, having drawn together all the forces they had in Cilicia and the neighbouring provinces, passed over into Cyprus, and having landed their men, marched strait to Salamis. Onesilus, not finding himself in a condition to make head against so numerous an army, sent messengers to the Ionians, soliciting their assistance, and inviting them to join against the common enemy. The Ionians, with all possible expedition,

Yr. of Fl.
1848.
Ante Chr.
500.

Onesilus
usurps the
throne, and
repels
from the
Persians.

pedition, equipped a fleet, and set sail for Cyprus. Mean while the Persian army appearing in the plains of Salamis, the confederate kings of Cyprus gave them battle. The action was maintained on both sides with great fury, and Artybius, the Persian general, lost his life. Nevertheless, the Cyprians were defeated with great slaughter, and Onesilus fell in the retreat. The Persians, having thus gained a complete victory over the Cyprians, soon reduced all the cities that had revolted, except Soli, which held out for six months against the whole power of Persia; but at last, the walls being undermined by the enemy, was obliged to surrender. The Salaminians no sooner heard of the death of Onesilus, than they recalled Gorgus, and placed him again on the throne. Thus the Cyprians, having enjoyed their liberty during the space of one year, were reduced to their former state of slavery *.

The Cyprians defeated with great slaughter, and Onesilus killed.

Gorgus restored to the throne.

Gorgus was succeeded in the kingdom of Salamis by his eldest son Nicocrates, and he by his brother Timarchus. But all we know of them is, that the former made a curious collection of books, which he purchased at a great expence; and that the latter had a double row of teeth †.

*Nicocrates.
Timarchus.*

Timarchus was succeeded by Euagoras I. the son of Nicocrates, in whose reign the Athenians, having equipped a fleet of two hundred sail, gave the command of it to Cimon, enjoining him to drive the Persians from the island of Cyprus. But of the success that attended this expedition, and the peace soon after concluded between Artaxerxes and the Athenians, we have already spoken.

*Yr. of Pl.
1833.
Ante Chr.
460.*

*Euagoras
I.*

Pursuant to the articles then agreed on, the Persians withdrew all their garrisons from Cyprus, leaving the several kings, among whom the island was parcelled out, to govern their respective kingdoms, without any dependence on the kings of Persia ‡. Not long after the conclusion of this peace, Euagoras died in banishment, having been driven out of his kingdom by his nephew Protagoras §, who held it for some years, but performed nothing worth relating. The island of Cyprus continued free from any foreign yoke, from the conclusion of the peace we have spoken of, till the eighteenth year of the reign of Artaxerxes Mnemon, king of Persia; when, by the famous treaty concluded by Antalcidas, the Lacedæmonian, with Tiribazus, general of the Persian forces in

Protagoras.

* Herodot. lib. v. cap. 104—114. † Plin. lib. xi. cap. 37.
‡ Hist. in Cim. § Thucyd. lib. i. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xi. p. 73.
‡ Diodor. Sicul. lib. xi.

Yr. of Fl. 1961. Ante Chr. 387.
Nicochreon. Asia Minor, that island was again subjected to the Persians, with all the Greek cities in Asia. At this time reigned at Salamis Nicochreon, son of the usurper Protagoras, infamous for his cruelty; of which the following instance is related by Lærtius, Philo, Valerius Maximus, and Pliny: taking offence at a satirical saying of the philosopher Anaxarchus, he caused him to be put into a great mortar, made for that purpose, and to be pounded to death with iron pestles ^a.

Nicochles. Upon the death of Nicochreon, Nicochles, the son of Timarchus, was raised to the throne. During his reign, a stranger from Phœnicia, called by some Abdymon, coming to Salamis, and being kindly entertained by Nicochles, requested the favours he received at the king's hands, by driving him, with the assistance of the Persians, from the throne. Under this tyrant, Euagoras II,

Euagoras II.

His character, and excellent qualities.

was born, a prince of great merit, and extraordinary virtue. He was the son of Nicochles; and, being brought up by his parents with great care, gave early proofs of those virtues, which made him the perfect model of a good king ^b. He was distinguished among the youth by the beauty of his aspect, the vigour of his body, and, most of all, by the modesty and innocence of his behaviour, which are the greatest ornaments of that age. He came into the world with the most happy dispositions; a great fund of genius, an easy conception, a most lively penetration, which nothing escaped. He spent great part of his time in improving his mind by reading, as if he had been quite destitute of talents; and obliged to supply by study what nature had denied him. As he advanced in years, his virtues became so conspicuous, as to give no small jealousy to the tyrant then on the throne, who was well apprised, that such shining merit could not continue in the obscurity of a private life. And indeed Euagoras, after the death of his father, waited only for an opportunity of recovering the crown, which was due to him by his birth. But, in the mean time, one of the principal citizens, having murdered the tyrant, seized on it for himself; and, being supported by the Persians, put all to the sword who attempted to oppose him. On this occasion, Euagoras was obliged to save himself by abandoning the island, and retiring to the continent. Having spent some time at Sell in Cilicia, and hearing there that his countrymen were grievously oppressed by the new usurper,

^a Lært. in Vit. Philosoph. Plin. lib. vii. cap. 23. Nonus in Orat. 47, &c. ^b Isocrat. in Evag.

he resolved, at all events, to rescue them from the calamities they groaned under. Accordingly, being attended only by fifty followers, he passed over into Cyprus, and expelled the usurper; the Persians not being able to make head against the Cyprians, who joined him all to a man. Being thus, by his own valour, and the affection of his subjects, restored to the throne of his ancestors, he soon rendered his small kingdom the most flourishing of the whole island. Artaxerxes, king of Persia, attempted to drive him out, and place anew on the throne the usurper, who was greatly attached to the Persians; but that prince, being diverted by the Greek war, and finding Euagoras determined to hold out to the last, put off the enterprize to a more proper season.

Is raised to the throne of his ancestors.

In the mean time, Euagoras extended his dominions, and by degrees made himself master of almost the whole island. The Amathusians, the Solians, and the Citians alone, of all those islanders, held out against him. These had recourse to the king of Persia, who, being alarmed at the rapid progress of Euagoras, promised them an immediate and powerful assistance, which however he could not afford them so soon as he expected, being employed elsewhere in more important affairs. But having at last concluded a peace with the Greeks, he bent all his force against Euagoras, determining to drive him quite out of the island. But of this war, and the conditions on which a peace was, in the end, concluded between Euagoras, and Artaxerxes Mnemon, king of Persia, we have spoken at length elsewhere^c.

Makes himself master of the greater part of the island.

Not long after the conclusion of this peace, Euagoras was murdered by one of his eunuchs, named Thrasidæus, and succeeded in the kingdom of Salamis by his son Nicocles. This prince celebrated the funeral of his father with the utmost pomp and magnificence. The discourse, entitled Euagoras, served for his funeral oration. It was composed by Isocrates, to inspire the young king with a desire of treading in the steps of his father. The same philosopher wrote two other orations, addressed to Nicocles, whose name they still bear. In the first of these Isocrates shews the duty of a king to his subjects; and, in the second, the duty of subjects to their king. Nicocles rewarded the author with twenty talents, as Plutarch informs us in the life of that philosopher^d. Nicocles seems to have reigned but a few years; for we find his

Yr. of Fl.
1975.
Ante Chr.
373.

Nicocles II.

^c Vid. Hist. of Persia.

^d Plut. in Isocrat.

Yr. of Fl.
1997.
Ante Chr.
351.

*Euagoras
III.
Cyprians
revolt
from the
Persians.*

*Peace be-
tween them
and the
Persians.*

Euagoras in possession of the throne before the revolt of Cyprus, which happened in the very beginning of the reign of Ochus, who succeeded Artaxerxes Mucmon. Most authors confound this Nicocles with another of the same name, who reigned at Salamis in the time of Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, and revolted from him to Antigonus. Nicocles, the son of that Euagoras, of whom we have spoken above, was succeeded by his son, named also Euagoras, a circumstance which has occasioned great confusion among those who have written of the affairs of Cyprus. Euagoras II. was, according to the learned bishop Usher¹, succeeded by his son Nicocles, and Nicocles again by his son Euagoras, who was driven out by his uncle Protagoras. While the latter was in possession of the throne, the Cyprians, being oppressed by their Persian governors, attempted to shake off the yoke by joining the Egyptians and Phoenicians, who had already revolted. Hereupon Ochus dispatched his orders to Idrieus, king of Caria, enjoining him to invade the island of Cyprus, and make war upon the inhabitants. Idrieus, in compliance with this command, having equipped a fleet, sent it, with eight thousand Greek mercenaries, under the conduct of Phocion the Athenian, and Euagoras, to make a descent on the island. This Euagoras was the son of Nicocles, as we have hinted above; and having been driven out by his uncle Protagoras, he gladly joined the Persians, in hopes of recovering his crown. His knowledge of the country, and the party he might still have in the island, made him a very proper person to command in this expedition. Cyprus had still nine kings, but subject and tributary to the king of Persia. They all joined in this confederacy, with a design to shake off the Persian yoke, and make themselves each independent in his own city. The troops under the command of Phocion and Euagoras landed in Cyprus, without any opposition; and being reinforced with numerous bodies of volunteers from Syria and Cilicia, enticed hither with the hopes of enriching themselves with the spoils of so wealthy an island, they began with the siege of Salamis, which they invested by sea and land. But Protagoras making a vigorous defence, Ochus, who was entirely bent on the reduction of Egypt, compounded with him, and the other Cyprian princes, redressing all their grievances, and confirming them in the government of their respective territories². The

¹ Usher. ad A. M. 3534. ² Diod. Sic. lib. xvi. p. 508.

greatest difficulty which Ochus met with in bringing about this accommodation, was the contenting of Euagoras, who laid claim to the kingdom of Salamis; but he being convicted before Ochus of having committed the most flagrant oppressions during his reign, Protagoras was confirmed in the throne of Salamis. Euagoras had the government of another place; but he being there guilty of the same misdemeanors, was obliged to save himself by flight into the island of Cyprus, where he was seized, and put to death by Protagoras.

From this time, to the reign of Ptolemy, the first of that name who governed in Egypt, we find no mention made of the Cyprian kings. They submitted, without all doubt, to Alexander, upon the same terms which had been granted them by the Persian monarchs, as Arrian seems to insinuate*. Upon the death of that conqueror, his generals divided among them the conquests he had made, in which Cyprus fell to Antigonius. But while that prince was in Asia Minor with Cassander, Ptolemy, the son of Lagos, having invaded Cyprus with a powerful fleet, reduced most part of that island, and obliged the kings, who reigned there, to do him homage. Among these Nicocles, king of Paphos, being accused of holding a secret correspondence with Antigonius, Ptolemy sent two of his intimate friends, Argæus and Pallicrates, into Cyprus, with instructions to dispatch Nicocles, lest, by his insinuations, the other princes should revolt, and join Antigonius. These, arriving in Cyprus, unexpectedly surrounded the house of Nicocles with a body of men sent them for that purpose by Menelaus, who commanded in Cyprus for Ptolemy. Nicocles, finding no means of escaping, attempted first to clear himself of what was laid to his charge; but seeing no one hearkened to what he said, he drew his sword, and slew himself on the spot. Axiothea, his wife, hearing of her husband's death, first killed all her daughters, lest they should fall into the enemy's hands, and then laid violent hands on herself. The news of this dreadful massacre so affected the brothers of Nicocles, that retiring each to their own habitations, they set fire to their houses, and perished, with their whole families, in the flames^b. This Nicocles is supposed to have been the last of the Teucrian family, and to have possessed not only the kingdom of Paphos, but that also of Salamis. Be that as it may, the kings of Cyprus, from

Yr. of Fl.
2037.
Ante Chr.
311.

Cyprus falls to Antigonius, but taken from him by Ptolemy.

Nicocles, his wife, and his brothers, destroy themselves.

* Arrian. de Exped. Alexand. p 34.
Polyænus Stratag. lib. viii.

^b Diodor. lib. xv.

this time, deserve rather the title of governors, than sovereigns, being subjects and mere vassals to the Egyptian monarchs.

Yr. of Pl.
3042.
Ante Chr.
306.

*Demetrius
invades
Cyprus.*

Ptolemy had not been long in possession of Cyprus, when Antigonus, bent upon the recovery of that rich and fruitful island, ordered his son Demetrius to transport thither a body of forces, in order to drive out Ptolemy's generals. Demetrius, in compliance with his father's commands, left Greece, where he then was, and sailed over into Caria, whence he sent ambassadors to Rhodes, inviting the Rhodians to join him against Ptolemy. But the Rhodians refusing to comply with his request, and protesting that they would maintain a strict neutrality, he passed into Cilicia, highly dissatisfied with their conduct, determined to make them feel, in due time, the effects of his resentment. In Cilicia he raised an army of fifteen thousand foot, and four hundred horse, which he embarked in a great number of transports, and conveyed over into Cyprus, under the convoy of one hundred and sixty-three ships of war. Being landed without the least opposition, he encamped near the shore, in the neighbourhood of Carpassia, where he drew his ships to land, and surrounded them with a deep ditch, and double rampart. Having thus secured his navy, he advanced first to the cities of Urania and Carpassia, which he took by storm; and then, leaving a sufficient guard to defend his trenches, he marched to Salamis, with design to lay siege to that important place¹. Menelaus, Ptolemy's brother, who was then in Salamis, upon intelligence of the enemy's approach, drew out of the neighbouring garrisons a body of twelve thousand foot, and eight hundred horse, with a design to divert him from besieging the city; but Demetrius attacking him, put his army to flight, pursuing him to the very gates of the city, he took three thousand of his men prisoners, and killed about a thousand in the flight, and in the pursuit².

*Menelaus,
Ptolemy's
brother,
defeated by
Demetrius.*

*Salamis
besieged.*

Menelaus, being fully persuaded that Demetrius, elated with his success, would lay siege to Salamis, made the necessary preparations for a vigorous defence. At the same time he dispatched three messengers to Ptolemy, acquainting him with the state of affairs in Cyprus, and soliciting him to send succours with all possible expedition. In the mean time Demetrius, having viewed the situation and fortifications of the place, began to pre-

¹ 1 Pld. is Demetrio. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xx. Justin. lib. xv.
² 2 Diodor. Sic. Plut. ibid.

pare the necessary engines for the reduction of it; which he foresaw would cost him dear, the garrison being very numerous, and Menelaus resolved to hold out to the last extremity. Having sent for workmen out of Asia, and brought from thence a great quantity of iron, timber, and other materials, he made an immense number of warlike engines; and, amongst others, the famous helepolis, of which we have spoken in the history of Rhodes. When the engines were ready, Demetrius began to batter the walls with such fury, that in a few days several breaches were opened; but when he thought himself already master of the place, Menelaus found means to set fire to his engines, which was so violent, that, notwithstanding the endeavours of Demetrius's men to extinguish the flames, they consumed in a short time all the machines, together with the helepolis, and the men that were in it. This incident obliged Demetrius to suspend his attacks; and in the mean time Ptolemy, upon the intelligence he received of his brother's ill success in the action against Demetrius, set sail from Egypt, with a fleet of a hundred and forty ships of war, and two hundred transports, carrying ten thousand men for the land-service. With this fleet he arrived at Citium, about two hundred furlongs from Salamis, and from thence dispatched messengers by land to Menelaus, desiring him to send the ships, which, to the number of sixty, were in the port of Salamis, to join the fleet. But Demetrius, foreseeing that Ptolemy's design was to venture an engagement by sea, had the precaution to leave ten of his ships in the mouth of the harbour, which was very narrow, to prevent Menelaus's squadron from sailing out. The rest he drew up in line of battle; and, having commanded the cavalry to keep near the sea-side, that they might be ready, in case of any misfortune, to assist those who should swim to land, he advanced towards the enemy with a hundred and eight sail. The two fleets engaged with the utmost fury and resolution; that of Demetrius, consisting mostly of Phœnicians, Samians, and Athenians, soon put Ptolemy's left wing in confusion, and drove most of the ships ashore. On the other hand Ptolemy, who commanded in the right wing, gained the like advantage over the enemy's left, took several of their best gallies, and obliged the rest to save themselves by flight; but having pursued them too eagerly, he was attacked on his return, while his men were tired, by Demetrius, and, after an obstinate resistance, put to

*Ptolemy
over-
thrown in
a sea-fight.*

Yr. of Pl.
1044.
Ante Chr.
304.

*Cyprus
submits to
Demetrius.*

to flight. Demetrius chased him with his ships in time of battle, and took seventy of his galleys, with all his transports, on board of which were his provisions, arms, money, military engines, and eight thousand land-forces. After this overthrow, Ptolemy returned to Egypt, with eight galleys only, the rest of his numerous fleet being either broken or destroyed. Upon his retreat, the whole island of Cyprus, with all the forces, shipping, and magazines, which Ptolemy had there, fell into the hands of Demetrius. The prisoners at land amounted to about seventeen thousand men, besides the mariners taken on board the fleet. Menelaus, the brother, and Lentifus, the son of Ptolemy, were among the captives; but Demetrius sent them both home, with their friends and dependents, without ransom, to requite the like kindness shewn him by Ptolemy, after the battle of Gaza. All the rest he incorporated into his own forces, and thereby greatly reinforced both his fleet and army.

Demetrius, immediately after this victory, dispatched Aristodemus the Milesian, with the news of it, to his father Antigonus. When he arrived at court, and was brought in to Antigonus, he stood silent for some time, keeping him in suspense; and then, as in a transport of joy, he uttered aloud these words: "Prosperity and happiness to king Antigonus! We have overthrown king Ptolemy at sea; Cyprus is ours; we have taken sixteen thousand eight hundred men prisoners." Antigonus answered: "Prosperity and happiness to thee too! Nevertheless, because thou hast kept me so long in suspense, thou shalt in some degree be punished, and wait in thy turn for thy reward." Antigonus was so elated with this victory, that thenceforth he assumed the title of king, and gave it, likewise, to his son Demetrius; which the Egyptians hearing, honoured Ptolemy with the same title, that he might, though defeated, be upon a level with the conqueror. This example was followed by Lyfimachus, Cassander, and Seleucus, who from that time, in all their letters, orders, decrees, and other writings, styled themselves kings. Antigonus, and, after his death Demetrius, held the island of Cyprus for the space of eleven years, at the end of which Ptolemy recovered it, while Demetrius was engaged against the Athenians and Lacedæmonians. He equipped a numerous fleet, and, landing in Cyprus,

• *Stat. in Demetrio.* Diodor. Sicul. lib. xx. Justin. lib. xv. cap. 2. • *Plut. in Demetrio.*

over-

over-ran the whole island before. Demetrius had the least notice of his design. The city of Salamis alone held out some time against him; but was at length obliged to surrender, and open its gates to the conqueror. In this city he found the mother, wife, and children of Demetrius, whom he generously set at liberty, with all their friends and domestics, loading them with rich presents, and appointing a squadron of his best ships to convey them, with whatever belonged to them, into Greece, where Demetrius then was.

Yr. of Fl.
2033.
Ante Chr.
293.

Cyprus recovered by Ptolemy.

From this time Cyprus continued subject to Egypt till it was, with the utmost injustice, deprived of this island by the Romans; yet, from the book of Maccabees*, where Ptolemæus Macron and Nicanor are mentioned as governing the island under Antiochus Epiphanes, it is plain, that Cyprus was again, at least for some time, brought under subjection to the kings of Syria. Be that as it may, the seizing of it by the Romans is reckoned the most flagrant piece of injustice their republic was ever guilty of. We shall in a few words, give a distinct account of this memorable event, which will for ever reflect ignominy and disgrace on the Roman name. Ptolemy Lathurus, king of Egypt, left two sons, who divided their father's dominions between them. One, known by the name of Ptolemy Auletes, that is, the *Flute-player*, had for his share the kingdom of Egypt. The other, called Ptolemy, without any surname, inherited the island of Cyprus. While the latter reigned in Cyprus, Publius Clodius, a young Roman nobleman, of a very bold and enterprising genius, being taken by pirates on the coasts of Cilicia, sent to Ptolemy, king of Cyprus, intreating him to send a sum of money to enable him to pay his ransom. As Ptolemy was a prince of a sordid and covetous temper, he sent him only two talents; which the pirates despising, they chose rather to release him without ransom, than to accept of so small a sum. Soon after, Clodius being adopted by a plebeian, and chosen tribune of the people, employed all his power and authority, which were very great, against the king of Cyprus, representing him as a most wicked man, and one who was unworthy to wear a crown. He was, indeed, a vicious prince; but what right had Rome to reform the manners of independent kings? However, as Ptolemy possessed immense riches, the people were easily prevailed upon to concur

Yr. of Fl.
2290.
Ante Chr.
58.

Cyprus unjustly seized by the Romans.

* 2 Maccab. x. xii.

with the revengeful Clodius to his ruin, and pass a decree, declaring, that Ptolemy had forfeited his throne by his ill conduct, and that his dominions were fallen to the Roman people. The senate did not oppose this unjust decree; for they had long sought for some pretence to strip that wealthy prince of his treasures; and the only shew of justice they could find, was, that Alexander, the late king of Egypt, dying at Tyre, had left the Roman people his heirs; and that, therefore, the kingdom of Egypt, and with it Cyprus, which was then deemed a part of that of Egypt, had, in virtue of such donation, passed to the Romans. This will had been insisted on at Rome soon after the death of Alexander, and motions had been there made for seizing both Egypt and Cyprus; but, as they had some years before taken possession of Bithynia, by virtue of the will of Nicomedes, and of Cyrene and Lybia, by the like will of Apion, and reduced them to Roman provinces, the senate thought it would bring them under the imputation of being too desirous of grasping all foreign dominions, should they, on this pretence, make themselves masters likewise of Egypt and Cyprus; wherefore, waving at that time their claim to the deceased king's dominions, they only sent to Tyre for the effects he had left at his death. But now this claim on Cyprus was revived, and, to gratify the revenge of Clodius, and the insatiable avarice of the people of Rome, a decree passed for seizing Cyprus, though the king then on the throne had been declared a friend and ally of Rome, and had never done any thing to incur the displeasure of that haughty and imperious republic.

*A decree
passed for
the seizure
of Cyprus.*

The decree for dispossessing Ptolemy being passed, Clodius's next care was to find out a proper person to put it in execution. Cato was then using his utmost endeavours to guard the republic against the attempts of Clodius; so that his presence was not at all agreeable to the factious tribune, who therefore resolved to get rid of so troublesome a censor, by sending him on this expedition. Accordingly, having assembled the comitia, he procured an order for Cato to depart for Cyprus, and dethrone the king. Thus the virtuous Romans, by the most unjust and sanguinary decree possible, ordered a friend and ally of theirs to be deprived of his dominions; and the rigid Cato

*Cato ap-
pointed to
put the de-
cree in ex-
ecution.*

Plut. in Cat. vitæ. Dion Cassius, lib. xxxviii. L. Florus, lib. ii. cap. 9. Strabo, lib. xiv. p. 624. Velleius Paterculus, lib. ii. cap. 25. Cic. de Orat. 1 & 2. in Rufum. Plut. in Cato. Velleius Paterculus, ubi supra.

had so little sense of justice as to obey and execute those unjust orders. The tribune, after the decree was passed, pressed Cato's immediate departure, but did not provide so much as a ship to carry him to Cyprus. He was commissioned to drive the king from his throne; but was not allowed either men or money to execute the enterprize, or even a guard to protect him against the insults of a provoked enemy. He, therefore, went on board the first ship bound for Cyprus; and, being attended only by a few domestics, arrived at Rhodes, whence he sent Canidius into Cyprus, charging him to endeavour to prevail upon Ptolemy to give up his dominions to the republic. Canidius offered him, in Cato's name, the high-priesthood of Venus at Paphos; on the revenues of which he might have lived in a state of plenty and honour. This offer Ptolemy rejected; but, on the other hand, not having courage enough to engage in a war with Rome, he resolved to put an end to his life and reign at the same time. Accordingly, having sent his beloved treasures, which he had been accumulating for many years, on board one of his largest ships, he sailed out of the harbour, with a design to sink the vessel, and perish, together with his riches; but when he came to the execution of his design, he could not prevail on himself to destroy his treasure, though he persisted in the resolution of destroying himself: he therefore returned ashore, and having deposited his wealth in the treasury, poisoned himself. Upon the king's death Cato, without opposition, took possession of the island in the name of the republic, and seized the treasures which had been the chief cause of that unfortunate prince's ruin. They amounted to seven thousand talents, that is, 1,356,250 l. sterling, and were next year carried to Rome, and lodged in the public treasury*. The senate not only approved of the decree, depriving Ptolemy of his kingdom, but conferred extraordinary honours upon Cato for having put it in execution. Cato himself, notwithstanding his boasted virtue, not only accepted of that commission, but, after his return, gave an undeniable instance of his approving whatever had been done. As soon as Clodius ended his tribuneship, Cicero accused him before the senate, and endeavoured to persuade the fathers to annul all the laws he had made during his authority. But,

*Ptolemy
ends his
life with
poison.*

* Plut. in Catone. Val. Max. lib. ix. cap. 4. Dion Cassius, lib. xxxix. p. 101. Florus, lib. iii. cap. 2. lib. xiv. p. 64. Appian. de Bell. Civil. lib. ii. Ammian. Marcell. lib. xiv. Vell. Patruen. lib. ii. cap. 45.

on this occasion, Cato declared in favour of his greatest enemy against his best friend; saying, that if the acts of Clodius were annulled, the treasures brought from Cyprus ought to be restored to the inhabitants of that island: to prevent this restitution the virtuous Cato prevailed upon the senate to confirm such acts of Clodius as regarded the deposition of the king, and the seizure of his riches and dominions^a.

S E C T. VII.

*The History of Samos.**Name.*

THE name of Samos was, in ancient times, common to three islands; viz. Cephalenia, Samothracia, and this which we are now treating of. Cephalenia had the name of Samos, from its metropolis Sama, as Thucydides informs us^b; and Samothracia, from a colony of Samians; who, being driven out of their own island by their domestic tyrants, settled in this^c. The island, still known by the name of Samos, was, in former ages, distinguished from the other two by the epithet of Ionian, being inhabited chiefly by the Ionians, to whose confederacy it belonged. It had also the following names, Parthenia, according to Aristotle, the most ancient of all; Dryusa, Anthemusa, Melamphyllus, Cyparissia, Parthenoarusa, Stephane, Anthemus, and Parthenias^d. Whence it had the name of Samos, which, in process of time, prevailed over all the rest, is uncertain; some writers, quoted by Strabo^e, are of opinion, that it was so called from the Sami, a people of Thrace, who settled in the island; but Strabo seems to insinuate, that it borrowed this name from some hero, a native of the country. As this island is full of eminences and precipices, it is not unlikely that the name of Samos was given it on that account, since the word Samos was used by the ancient Greeks, as Constantine Porphyrogenitus informs us, to signify any high place or eminence.

Situation.

Samos lies between the continent of Asia and the island of Icaria; being divided from the former by a strait, according to Strabo eight hundred and seventy-five, but, in reality, above a thousand paces broad; and from the latter by another, which is eight miles over. The strait which parts Samos from the continent of Asia, is called

^a Aelianus Hist. lib. vi. ubi supra.^b Thucyd. lib. ii.^c Suidas

lib. x. ubi supra.

^d Strabo, lib. xiv. p. 437.^e Idem ibid.:

by the Turks the Little Bogazi, that word signifying, in their language, a *canal* or *strait*; and the other, which separates it from the island of Icaria, the Great Bogazi. As all the vessels trading from Constantinople to Syria and Egypt, pass through one of these straits, the course by Mycone and Naxia being too tedious, they are still frequented by pirates, as they were, in Strabo's time. In the middle of the little strait stands a rock, between which, and the island of Samos, lies the small island of Narthecis, mentioned by Strabo, who places it opposite the cape Posidium in Samos, remarkable for a stately temple built by the Samians, in honour of Neptune, whence it had the name of Posidium, or Neptune's Cape. The island of Samos lies between the 38th and 39th degrees of north latitude, and is about eighty-seven miles in circumference.

The metropolis of Samos, and the only city in the country mentioned by the ancients, bore the same name as the island. It stood on the south coast, partly in the plain, and partly on the hills; divided into the upper and lower town; extending from the present port of Tigani to the cape of Juno, in the neighbourhood of Cora, which is near three miles from the sea. Strabo affirms, that this city was built by Tembrio and Procles, or, as some read it, Patrocles, who settled here with a colony of Ionians. But Vitruvius* is of opinion, that Samos, and the thirteen towns of the Ionian confederacy, were built by Ion the Athenian, who gave his name to the country of Ionia. The city of Samos was, in the flourishing times of Greece, very populous, wealthy, and well fortified. We may judge of the ancient splendor and greatness of this city from the ruins of it, which are still to be seen, and fully described by a modern traveller†. Herodotus notices three things very remarkable at Samos; the first was a way opened through a mountain, seven furlongs in length, eight feet in height, and as many in breadth. A canal, twenty cubits deep and three feet broad, was carried along the side of the aperture, and served to convey, through various pipes, the water of a plentiful spring into the city. Eupalinus of Megara, the son of Naustrophus, was the contriver and director of this work. Tournefort is of opinion, that the spring, which tempted the Samians to undertake so great a work, was that which is still to be seen at Metelinous; for that spring is, by far the

The city of Samos.

Three remarkable things at Samos.

* Vitruvius Archit. lib. iv. cap. 1.
Levant, &c. vol. i.

† Tournefort, Voyage en

the island, and the high mountain stands between the small town of Meschane, and the ruins of ancient Samos. The entrance of the opening, which was carried quite through the mountain, is to be seen to this day, but the other parts have been long since filled up. The second remarkable particular, which Herodotus observed at Samos, was a mole, or pier, a hundred and twenty foot high, which formed the harbour, and advanced above two furlongs into the sea. Such an extraordinary work; in those early times, shews that the Samians were among the first of the Greeks who applied themselves to navigation; and, indeed, we find them employing Aminocles, the Corinthian, the ablest ship-builder of his time, near three hundred years before the Peloponnesian war. The third thing, counted by Herodotus among the wonders of Samos, was the famous temple of Juno, the most spacious, as that historian affirms, which he ever saw. The ruins of this edifice may be traced about half a mile from the sea, and at the like distance from the river Imbrasus. Pausanias declares, that it was the work of the Argonists, who brought from Argos to Samos a statue of the goddess, and placed it in a magnificent temple built by them in this island, which was in a peculiar manner sacred to Juno. She was supposed to have been born here, on the banks of the river Imbrasus, under one of those trees which we call agnus castus. The stump of this tree was shewn, as the same author informs us, for thirty ages, in the temple, and no less honoured than Juno herself. The statue of the goddess was the work of Smilis, a famous sculptor of Egina, contemporary with Dedalos. Clemens Alexandrinus speaks of this temple as one of the most famous buildings of antiquity, and adds, on the authority of Ethlius, a very ancient author, that the Samians at first worshipped only the stump of a tree, which was afterwards formed into a statue.

The Hærian games, instituted by the Greeks in honour of Juno, whom they called Hera, were celebrated in this island with the utmost magnificence. The fabulous opinion, which prevailed in Samos, that Juno had lived there from her infancy till she became marriageable, and that Jupiter had espoused her there, gave rise to the custom, which they annually celebrated in honour of that goddess. The Samians then renewed the nuptial repast at her temple, where was, amongst other statues,

Herodot. lib. 2. Herodot. lib. 2. Pausan. in Arcad. Clem. Alexand. Stromat. lib. 1.

out of this their mother goddess, under the figure of a bride, to participate the mystery of her union with Jupiter: We have still remaining, in the ancient monuments, several traces of the solemn worship the Samians paid to Juno. Most of the Samian medals are stamped with the figure of this goddess, holding a sceptre in her hand, to shew her dominion over the island, and have, on the reverse, a peacock, her favourite bird. The temple of Juno, where the Hæcean solemnities were performed, was one of the most ancient of Greece¹. It was burnt down to the ground by the Persians, but soon after rebuilt, and so enriched with gifts, that there was no room for statues and pictures². Verres, on his return from Asia, did not scruple to rife the temple, and strip it of all its rich moveables, as appears from Tully, who upbraids him with this impiety³. The pirates shewed no more respect to the goddess and her temple, in Pompey's time. In a court adjoining to that building was an immense number of statues, formed by the most famous statuary of Greece, and, amongst others, three of a colossal size, all on the same base, representing Jupiter, Minerva, and Hercules. They were the work of Myron, who made the brazen cow, so much celebrated by the Greek wits of those days, in their epigrams, which have been translated by Ausonius into Latin. Marc Antony carried these three statues to Rome; but Augustus restored those of Minerva and Hercules to the Samians; that of Jupiter he kept at Rome, and placed it in a temple which he caused to be built on the capitol. The images of Jupiter and Juno were painted on the ceiling of the temple, and represented so naturally, that Origen reproaches the Gentiles with exposing them to the eyes of the multitude⁴.

The fruitfulness of its soil is highly commended by the ancients, namely, by Strabo, who prefers it in this respect to the most fertile countries in Asia. The only production which Strabo did not admire in Samos was the wine, which seems to have been very indifferent in his time, though all the neighbouring islands were remarkable for their excellent wines.

The Samians applied themselves very early to trade and navigation; for Herodotus speaks of them as trading to Egypt, Thera, and Spain, before any of the other Greeks, except Solstratus of Egina, were acquainted with these

¹ Herodot. lib. iii. cap. 60. ² Pausan. lib. viii. cap. 10. ³ Cic. A.D. iii. in Verr. ⁴ Origen, lib. ix. contra Gentem.

countries. They are said, by Pliny, to have been the first contrivers of vessels fit for transporting cavalry. Samos was, in former ages, famed for earthen ware, which, if we believe Gellius¹, was first made in this island, and in great request amongst the ancients, who used the Samian earthen ware in their most splendid entertainments¹. The earth about the present village of Bavonda is still deemed very proper for potters; but that manufacture is not carried on at this time in the island, the inhabitants being supplied from Ancona and Scio.

Inhabitants and government.

The island of Samos was first peopled, according to Strabo², and other ancient writers, by the Carians, and afterwards by colonies from Ithaca and Cephallenia. Some ages after, the Ionians, having seized part of Caria, passed over into the island of Samos; and settling under the conduct of Tembrio and Patrocles, united the city of Samos to the Ionian confederacy. This event happened, as Eusebius informs us³, in the twelfth year of the reign of Behobosai, king of Jerusalem.

The Samians were first governed by kings; for Herodotus names one Amphicrates reigning at Samos; but how long this kind of government continued, or on what account it was abolished, is not recorded. From the kings the administration passed into the hands of the geomori, who formed a kind of senate, and had much the same power as the ephori of Sparta. This form gave way to a democracy, and the democracy to an oligarchy. The Samians continued for many ages free from all foreign subjection; but were often reduced to a state of slavery, by their domestic tyrants.

History of Samos.

The first enterprise of the Samians, mentioned in history, is their sailing to Egypt, and planting a colony in the city of Oasis, which, as Herodotus informs us⁴, was inhabited by Samians of the Etebrianian tribe. But the time of this expedition we are unable to ascertain, as also of their first voyage to Tartessus, in Spain, which is related by Herodotus thus: a Samian vessel, bound homewards from Egypt, under the command of one Colaeus, was, by force of weather, driven into the harbour of Cyrene, an island of Libya. From thence Colaeus set sail, with a design to regain the coasts of Egypt; but had scarce left the island, when a violent easterly wind arising.

¹ Gell. lib. v. c. 12. lib. v. c. 12. ² Plin. lib. xxxv. cap. 16. ³ Euseb. in Chron. ⁴ Strab. lib. xiv. p. 439. ⁵ Herodotus lib. ii. c. 101.

carried him; notwithstanding all his endeavours, beyond Pillars of Hercules, nor did it ever cease or abate till he arrived at Tartessus. As no foreign traders had ever before touched at that port, the inhabitants, flocking to the shore, bought their commodities at such prices as were demanded; whence the profits they made were so considerable, that, upon their return to Samos, they made with the tenth part of their gain, amounting to six talents, a bason of brass, surrounded with the heads of griffins inclining to each other, and placed it in the temple of Juno, supported by three statues of brass, in a kneeling posture, seven feet high^r. In the reign of their king Amphicrates, they made war upon the inhabitants of Ægina; but all we know of this expedition is, that it reduced both parties to great extremities^r. This war happened before the reign of Cambyfes, king of Persia; for in his time the Æginates, entering into an alliance with the Cretans, revenged themselves on the Samians for the losses they had sustained on this occasion, as we shall afterwards describe. The Samians, as the same Herodotus informs us^r, maintained their liberties both against Cræsus and Cyrus, after those princes had reduced the other Ionian states on the continent. They were expert mariners, and had a considerable fleet, which protected them against any foreign invasion. However, they were very early oppressed by their own tyrants. Among these we may reckon the geomori, that is, the nobility of Samos, so called from their dividing the lands among themselves, after they had entirely overcome the popular faction. During the usurpation of the geomori, the inhabitants of Megara having attacked the city of Perinthus, which the Samians had built and peopled, a war was kindled between these two nations. The geomori, who then governed with an absolute sway, commanded thirty ships to be equipped, and committed the management of the war to nine commanders, each of whom had an equal power. These falling upon the Megarenzes, defeated them with great slaughter, and took six hundred prisoners. Elated with this victory, they resolved to try whether they should be attended with the same success against their domestic enemies; for these commanders were all of the popular faction. Accordingly having armed the six hundred Megarenzes, whom they had taken prisoners, on their return they attacked the geomori, while they were assembled in

Tyrants of Samos.

The geomori.

^r Idem. lib. iv. cap. 135. ^r Idem. lib. iii. cap. 55. ^r Idem. lib. i. cap. 28.

*Syloson,
tyrant of
Samos.*

council, put most of them to the sword, and restored the democracy¹. Not long after, a war breaking out between the Samians and Æolians, the former chose one Syloson to command their forces; who, as he was an ambitious man, instead of attacking the enemy, remained at Samos, under various pretences, till he had gained both the officers and soldiers over to his party, and then made himself master of the city.

*What gave
rise to the
animosities
between the
Samians
and Corin-
thians.*

About this time the Samians, by disobliging the Corinthians, sowed the seeds of those animosities, which broke out between the two nations in the following age². Perikander, tyrant of Corinth, to revenge the death of his son on the Corcyrians, by whom he had been murdered, seized three hundred youths of the chief families of Corcyra, and put them on board certain Corinthian ships, in order to send them to Sardis, where they were to be made eunuchs, and, as such, serve Alyattes, king of Lydia. But the ships that transported them, touching at Samos, the Samians advising the Corcyrian youths to take sanctuary in the temple of Diana, and would not suffer the Corinthians to remove them from thence, saying, that they were under the protection of the goddess. The Corinthians surrounded the temple, in order to prevent any provisions from being conveyed to them. But the Samians, assembling their youth of both sexes, under pretext of celebrating a festival in honour of Diana, ordered them to dance round the temple, with cakes of flour and honey in their hands, that the Corcyrians might snatch the cakes, and by that expedient sustain life. This practice they continued till the Corinthians, after having waited a long time, thought proper to leave the island; when the Samians, putting the youths of Corcyra on board their ships of war, conveyed them safe to their native country.

Yr. of Fl. The Samians, after the death of Syloson, enjoyed their
1317. liberty for some time; but were again subdued by one of
Ante Chr. their chief citizens named *Æaces*, of whom mention is
517. made by Herodotus³. *Æaces* had three sons, Polycrates, Pantagnotus, and Syloson. Polycrates, in his father's life-time, formed a design of seizing on the government, but could not put it in execution till some years after his death, the Samians guarding with great care against any attempts of that nature. However, he at length encompassed his project in the following manner:

*Æaces.
Polycrates.*

¹ Plut. in *Periklone*. ² Herodot. lib. iii. cap. 139. & lib. vi. cap. 13. ³ Idem, *ibid.*

As his father had left an immense treasure, he gained the affection of the populace, by living in a most splendid and elegant manner. He made frequent entertainments, inviting to them even those of the lowest rank among the people. He provided, at a vast expence, the richest furniture that had ever been seen till his time in the island, and was ever willing to lend his silver and gold plate, or stately beds, to such as were to solemnize marriages, or make entertainments. Thus becoming the darling of the people, he imparted his design of making himself absolute, to his brothers, promising to share with them the island, and such other acquisitions as he might make. They readily approving his design, it was agreed, that they should fall upon the people with a body of armed men, whom Polycrates had gained with large promises, while they were celebrating a feast in honour of Juno, and that Polycrates should at the same time possess himself of the city. The ancients tell us, that Polycrates, in this undertaking, was assisted by fifteen men only, as he would not venture to admit others into the conspiracy, for fear of being betrayed; so universally did the love of liberty prevail among the Samians*. With this small body he seized the most important places of the city, reduced the citadel called *Astypalæa*, and maintained himself in it against the utmost efforts of the Samians, till he was relieved by a body of Naxians, sent him by Lygdamis, tyrant of Naxos. With this reinforcement he established himself on the throne, after having either banished or put to death all those who had declared against him. Having thus got rid of his enemies, he amply rewarded his friends, by conferring upon them the chief employments of his new kingdom: he divided the island, pursuant to his promise, with his two brothers; but soon after, repenting of what he had done, caused Pantagnotus to be put to death, and banished Syloson. By these means, being master of the whole island, he began to entertain thoughts of enlarging his dominions; and, that he might not be prevented by the king of Egypt, he entered into an alliance with Amasis, who then reigned in that country. The friendship between these two princes was cultivated with mutual presents: amongst others, Amasis sent to Samos two statues of himself curiously carved in wood, which were in the time of Herodotus standing behind the gates of the temple of Juno. Having nothing to

* Strab. lib. xiv. *Pantag. in Artic. Polycrates*, lib. i. *Athenas*, lib. xii. cap. 9. *Dion Chrys. Orat.* xvil.

Polycrates reduces the neighbouring islands.

from the side of Egypt, he equipped a fleet of a hundred galleys, and embarking a thousand chosen archers and other land-forces, he invaded the neighbouring islands, being in all his enterprizes attended with success. He did not spare even his friends and allies, saying, that they would be more obliged to him, if he restored what he had taken, than if he had left them in the quiet possession of their lands and dominions. After he had reduced most of the islands, he landed his forces on the continent of Asia, and reduced many cities on the coast; insomuch that ambassadors were sent to him from all the neighbouring states, offering to submit upon such terms as he was pleased to impose. The Lesbians alone opposed him, but were entirely defeated in a sea-fight, in which he took a great number of prisoners, and condemning them all to chains, employed them in surrounding the city of Samos with a deep and wide ditch. When news were brought to Amasis of the success that attended him in all his expeditions, he is said to have written a letter, advising him to guard himself against the consequences of good fortune, by parting with the thing he most valued. Polycrates, having read the epistle, approved of the counsel given him by his friend; and, after deliberating with himself what thing he would be most unwilling to part with, came at last to this resolution: he had a seal cut in an emerald, and set in gold by one Theodorus, a Samian; this he valued above all his treasures; and therefore, to counterbalance his good fortune, going on board a galley of fifty oars, and advancing far into the sea, in the presence of all those who attended him, he threw the emerald into the deep. He then commanded them to sail back, and, on his return, was greatly grieved for the loss of such an inestimable treasure. But in a few days, a fisherman having taken a fish of an extraordinary size, and thinking it a present worthy of Polycrates, carried it to the palace. The tyrant was highly pleased with it, and having invited the fisherman to dine with him, ordered it to be dressed that very day. When the servants opened the belly of the fish, they found, to their great surprize, the emerald lodged there, and immediately carried it to Polycrates, who being persuaded that such an extraordinary event could not be imputed to chance, but to a particular providence of the gods, acquainted Amasis with his throwing the jewel into the sea, and the manner in which it had been recovered. Amasis, not doubting but some great misfortune would befall him, immediately dispatched an

He throws a jewel of inestimable value into the sea.

Which is restored to him.

Amasis, king of Egypt, renounces his friendship.

aid

herald to Samos, to renounce, in his name, the friendship of Polycrates, and dissolve all the obligations of hospitality subsisting between them; lest the calamities, which threatened Polycrates, should affect him with that grief which a man owes to the misfortunes of a friend.

Polycrates, being no longer under any engagements with the king of Egypt, sent ambassadors to Cambyſes, king of Persia, to conclude an alliance with that prince, and offer him what forces he required for the expedition he was meditating against Egypt. Cambyſes readily accepted of the offer, and at the same time acquainted Polycrates, that he stood in no need of land-forces, but wanted a fleet to convey his troops into Egypt. In consequence of this king, Polycrates, having equipped forty galleys, sent them to Cambyſes with all the Samians on board, whom he suspected of seditious designs, requesting him not to suffer them ever to return to their native country. Some writers affirm, that these Samians never arrived in Egypt; but in their passage, having called a council of war, resolved not to proceed farther than the Carpathian sea. Others tell us, that they arrived in Egypt; but finding themselves carefully watched by the Persians, seized the first opportunity to make their escape, and, on their return to Samos, met the fleet of Polycrates, which they defeated, and landed safe in their own country, where they fought an unsuccessful battle at land, and afterwards set sail for Lacedæmon.

Polycrates enters into an alliance with Cambyſes.

The Samians, thus expelled by Polycrates, had recourse to the Lacedæmonians, by whom they were at first received but very indifferently; for, having made a long speech, setting forth the calamities they had suffered, the Lacedæmonians gave them no other answer, than that they had forgot the first part of their speech, and therefore did not understand the last. The Samians, being a second time admitted into the assembly, brought with them an empty basket, and, shewing it, only said, "It is empty," signifying thereby, that they wanted bread. The Lacedæmonians replied, that the basket alone sufficiently declared their wants, and immediately decreed that they should be assisted. The Samian writers, quoted by Herodotus, tell us, that the Lacedæmonians undertook the defence of the exiles, in requital of the assistance they had

The Samians recur to the Lacedæmonians.

* Herodot. lib. iii. cap. 40—43. Elib. lib. xxxiii. cap. 1. & lib. xxxvii. cap. 1. Solin. cap. 35. Val. Max. lib. vi. cap. 11. Lucian. in Charonte.

* Herodot. lib. iii. cap. 39. & seq. Strab. lib. xiv. *Asiam*. Var. *Hispania*. lib. ix. cap. 4. Max. Tyrius, *serm.* xxi. formerly

*who with
their much
or powerful
fleet, and
lay siege to
the capital
of Samos,
which they
are obliged
to raise.*

formerly received from them in a war with the Melle-
nians; but the Lacedæmonians say, that they espoused
their cause, not out of any good-will to the exiles, but to
be revenged on the Samians, for having formerly inter-
cepted a curious bason, which they had sent as a present
to Croesus, king of Lydia, and robbed them the year be-
fore of a rich present, which the king of Egypt had shipped
for Lacedæmon. But whatever was the motive that
prompted them to assist the banished Samians, they equip-
ped a powerful fleet, and being joined by the Corinthians,
whom the Samians had formerly disobliterated, set sail for
Samos, and besieged the capital of the island. Polyarates
made a vigorous defence, and frequently falling out, cut
great numbers of the besiegers to pieces. In one of these
battles the Samians, being entirely routed, were pursued
with great slaughter to the very gates of their city, which
the Lacedæmonians would have taken, had they followed
the example of their leaders Archias and Lycopes. For
these entered the city together with the flying Samians,
and, finding their retreat cut off, died valiantly, fighting
within the walls. The Lacedæmonians continued before
the place for the space of forty days, but at length raised
the siege, and returned to Lacedæmon. Some writers
tell us, that Polyarates, having agreed to pay them on
their departure a large sum of money, caused a great
many pieces of lead to be coined and gilt, and with these
purchased a peace, without lessening his treasures, or en-
riching the enemy.

*The exiled
Samians
fled to the
island of
Siphnos,*

After their departure, those Samians who had made
war upon Polyarates, finding themselves abandoned, set
sail for the island of Siphnos, which is one of the Cy-
clades. The affairs of the Siphnians were then in a flourish-
ing condition, and their riches immense; that island
abounding in such rich mines of gold and silver, that the
tenth of the money they coined, being sent yearly to Del-
phi, equalled the greatest treasure there; for they divided
once a year the riches which they drew from their mines,
sending the tenth part of the whole as a present to Apollo.
One year, after having made the usual offering, they con-
sulted the oracle, to know whether their prosperity should
continue long, and received this answer from the Pythian:
"When the public structures shall be clothed in white,
let the wise men beware of a wooden force, and red am-
bassadors." The pythian court and portico at Siphnos

were then adorned with white Parian marble; and yet the Siphnians did not understand the meaning of the oracle, even upon the landing of the Samians, though they sent immediately one of their ships, which, according to the Samian fashion, was painted red, with ambassadors to the city of Siphnus. The Samians, being admitted to audience, desired a loan of ten talents; but receiving a denial, returned to their companions, and ravaged the territories of Siphnus. Whereupon the Siphnians, assembling all their forces, engaged the Samians; but were defeated, and many of them taken prisoners, for whose ransom the Samians received a hundred talents. With this supply they repaired their ships, and sailed to Hermione, the intention of which place, through fear of being treated by them as the Siphnians had been, bestowed on them the island of Thyrea, situate near Peloponnesus, which they committed to the care of the Troezenians; and pursued their course to the island of Crete, where they founded the city of Cydonia, after having expelled the Zacynthians from that part of the island. They continued in this settlement five years, and built the temple of Dictynna, with several others, which were still standing in the time of our historian. But in the sixth year they were entirely defeated, together with the Cretans, in a sea-fight, by the inhabitants of Ægina, who took off the prows of their ships, and placed them in the temple of Minerva. Thus the Æginates revenged themselves on the Samians, for having formerly made war upon them without any provocation, under the conduct of their king Amphicrates*. The Samians, being driven from Crete, sailed, if we believe Eusebius*, to Italy, and there founded the city of Dicæarchia, called afterwards Puteoli, and at present Puzzolo.

which they lay waste.

They found the city of Cydonia, in the island of Crete.

But to return to Polycrates: upon the departure of the Lacedæmonians and Samian exiles, he began to entertain thoughts of subduing all Ionia, together with the Asiatic islands, an enterprise, as Herodotus observes, which no one before him had ever attempted. He raised a numerous army, equipped the greatest fleet that had been seen in those seas till that time, and made all the other necessary preparations for so difficult an undertaking. But before he could accomplish his design, he was cut off by an untimely death, which is thus related by Herodotus: Oroetes, a Persian, who had been appointed governor of Sardis by Cyrus, and another of the same nation, named Mitrobates, governor of Dascylium, falling out one day,

Polycrates entertains thoughts of reducing Ionia, and the Asiatic islands: but is, in the mean time, treacherously cut off.

* Herodot. lib. iii. cap. 59.

* Euseb. in Chron.

* Mitrobates

Mitrobates upbraided Oroetes for not having reduced the Island of Samos, which lay so near his government, and had been brought under subjection by Polycrates, with the assistance only of fifteen men. This reproach left a deep impression on the mind of Oroetes, who, from that time, watched all opportunities of being revenged, not on Mitrobates, who had affronted him, but on Polycrates, as the cause of the affront^b. Other ancient writers say, that Oroetes sent a messenger to Polycrates about some private affairs, and that Polycrates happening, on the arrival of the messenger, to be lying on a couch, Anacreon of Teos, the famous lyric poet, sitting by him, he did not condescend to give the messenger any answer, or even look at him, continuing the whole time he delivered his message with his face towards the wall. This mark of contempt was what provoked the haughty Persian, and induced, when to put Polycrates treacherously to death. Oroetes resided at that time in the city of Magnesia, whence he sent one Myrsus, the son of Gyges, a Lydian, to Samos, enjoining him to acquaint Polycrates, that he had heard what great things he meditated, but had been at the same time informed, that he wanted money to put his projects in execution. Wherefore he designed to assist him with great treasures, provided he would engage to protect him against Cambyses, who was determined, according to the private intelligence he had received, to take away his life. The messenger was ordered to add, that, if Polycrates questioned the truth of what he said, he might easily satisfy himself, by sending one of the most trusty persons he had about him to see the treasure which he had amassed. Polycrates received this proposal with joy, and immediately sent his secretary Mæandrus to view the treasures. When Oroetes heard he was coming with this design, he caused eight chests to be filled with stones, which he covered with some pieces of gold, and by that stratagem deceived Mæandrus, upon whose information Polycrates resolved to go in person to Oroetes, though he was earnestly dissuaded by his friends, and, if we believe Herodotus, by the gods themselves. But he, disregarding their advice, set out with a number of his courtiers, among whom was Democedes the Crotonian, the most skilful physician of his time. When he arrived at Magnesia, the treacherous Oroetes caused him to be seized and crucified, a death, as Herodotus observes, unworthy of a man, who far excelled, in all respects, the greatest heroes of his age^c.

^b Herodot. *ibid.* cap. 120, & seq.
^c *ib.* *iv.* Pausan. in Attica.

^c *idem.* *ibid.* Strab.

Thus died Polycrates, a prince, who, to the hour of his death, had never felt the least shock of adverse fortune, being attended, during the whole course of his life, in every thing he undertook, with all the success and prosperity he could have desired.* All the ancients speak of his prosperity as miraculous. Valerius Maximus relates, that he never formed a design which he did not with great ease accomplish, nor earnestly wish for a thing which he did not obtain, as if fortune had been wholly employed in his service †. He was, without all doubt, a man of most extraordinary parts; and, if we believe Herodotus ‡, superior in wisdom, greatness of mind, and other princely qualities, to all the Greek tyrants, not even those of Syracuse excepted. He enjoyed the conversation of learned men; and used to spend great part of his time, when at leisure from public affairs, with Anacreon and Pythagoras. The former he once presented with five talents, and the latter he recommended in a very particular manner to Amasis king of Egypt, when the philosopher undertook, for his improvement, a journey into that kingdom. He embellished the city of Samos with many magnificent and stately buildings, which, as Aristotle informs us §, were standing in his time; nay, great part of the palace, which he built for his chief residence, was remaining in the time of the Roman emperors; for Caligula, as we read in Suetonius ¶, thought of repairing that noble fabrick, which was an object of admiration even in those days. As to his character, there is no small disagreement among authors, some painting him as a cruel tyrant, and others representing him as a prince of great humanity and moderation. Diodorus Siculus asserts, that he oppressed his own subjects in a most tyrannical manner, and with no less cruelty treated such strangers as came into his country; which so shocked Amasis king of Egypt, that, after having advised him in vain to rule with more humanity and moderation, he at last renounced the friendship which he had contracted with him, saying, that he foresaw the miserable fall that would soon overtake one who governed so tyrannically. This renunciation, as we have seen above, is related in a very different manner by Herodotus, who seems to have entertained a far better opinion of Polycrates; for he commends him as a prince of great generosity; and, speaking of his unhappy end, says, that he was put to death in

His character.

† Val. Max. lib. vi. cap. vi.
tot. lib. v. Polit. cap. 11.

‡ Herodot. lib. i.
§ Suet. in Calig.

¶ Arist.

a manner unworthy of his dignity and grandeur, and not to be mentioned without indignation^a. But Diogenes Laertius, Porphyrius, Jamblichus, Gellius, and Eusebius, agree with Diodorus; for they are all unanimous in telling us, that Pythagoras (N) abandoned his native country, because he could not endure the tyranny of Polycrates.

Yr. of Fl.

185.

Ante Chr.

523.

Maan-

drus.

Polycrates was succeeded in the tyranny by Mæandrus his secretary, whom, upon his departure for Magnesia, he had appointed to govern during his absence. When Mæandrus heard of his death, he took the whole power into his own hands, Sylofon the late king's brother being then in banishment. Mæandrus was a man of great probity, and therefore no sooner saw himself in possession of the sovereign power, than he resolved to restore his countrymen to

^a Herodot. ubi supra.

(N) This celebrated philosopher was a native of Samos, and for some time a great favourite of Polycrates; but, on his return from Egypt, Phœnice, and Chaldaea, whither he had travelled for improvement, not being able to endure the tyranny of Polycrates, he retired to that part of Italy which was called Magna Græcia, and founded there a famous sect of philosophers.

Chærilus the Samian lived before Alexander, and withdrew from Samos to the court of Archelaus, where he died. Some of his verses, which have been transmitted to us by Aristotle (1) and Tatian, shew, that he was no contemptible poet.

Conon was a famous mathematician, and is said to have written seven books of astronomy. He lived in an intimate friendship with Archimedes, and taught him, as Pomponius Mela informs us, the first rudiments of mathematics. It was

he who gave out, that the hair of Berenice the wife of Ptolemy Euergetes, was taken up into heaven, and there transformed into seven stars called from thence Coma Berenices. He is mentioned by Strabo (2), Virgil (3), and others.

Creophylus was an excellent poet, contemporary with Homer, who presented him, as we read in Strabo, with a poem on the taking of the city Oechalia. This poem is mentioned also by Pausanias and Callimachus; but both these writers make Creophylus, and not Homer, the author of it. Creophylus entertained Homer in his house, and is said by some to have been his master, and to have had great share in composing the divine work, as Cicero styles it, which passes under the name of that inimitable poet.

Hierophyle, one of the sibyls, was likewise a native of Samos, and is commonly known by the name of the Samian sibyl.

(1) Vide Aristot. Rhetor. Eclog. lib. ver. 40.

(2) Strabo, lib. xiv.

(3) Virgil.

(4) Pausan. in Messen.

their

their former liberty. Having therefore erected an altar to "Jupiter the deliverer," and marked out the ground for a temple, he summoned a general assembly of the citizens, and addressed them in the following manner: "You know that I was entrusted with the sceptre, and all the power, of Polycrates, and that the government is wholly in my hands. But I will not be guilty of a crime, which I should condemn in another. The arbitrary power assumed by Polycrates over men equal to himself, was never approved of by me, neither shall I ever approve of it in any other person. Now that the decree of the gods has been fulfilled in him, I surrender the government into your hands, and proclaim an equal liberty to all. Only I desire you would grant me six talents out of the treasures of Polycrates, and confer upon me and my descendants for ever the priesthood of the temple of Jupiter the deliverer, as a just reward for the benefits you are to receive by my means. Having thus spoken, one Telesearchus, a leading man among the Samians, bitterly inveighing against him, insisted upon his giving an account of the public money he had expended during the short time he had governed. Mæandrus, perceiving by the tenor of his speech, that, if he divested himself of power, he could be no longer safe in his own country, and that some other would soon usurp it, resolved to keep possession of the government; and accordingly, retiring to the citadel, and sending for the citizens, under pretence of giving them an account of the public treasures, he seized their persons, and kept them under close confinement, to prevent insurrections in the city. In the mean time Mæandrus falling sick, his brother Lycaretus, imagining he could not recover, put all the prisoners to death, that he might with more ease usurp the sovereignty. But Mæandrus recovered, and ruled quietly in Samos till he was expelled by the Persians, who placed Syloson, the brother of Polycrates, in his room.

Offers to resign the sovereignty.

But is diverted from it by the imprudent conduct of Telesearchus.

Darius, the son of Hystaspes, having been obliged to him while he was a private man, and reminded of the obligation when he ascended the throne of Persia, supplied him with an army, under the command of Otanes, who landed his forces without opposition. Mæandrus intimidated by their appearance, offered to quit the island under a promise of indemnity and protection; and a truce was established, in order to ratify the treaty.

Syloson raised to the throne.

Charilaus, another brother of Mæandrus, who had been confined in a dungeon for several enormous crimes, hav-

ing overheard what was doing, and, from an aperture of his prison, observed the Persians sitting before the castle without the least apprehension, requested to speak with his brother. He was accordingly brought into his presence, when he began, with most opprobrious and reviling language, to incense him against the Persians, calling him a coward for parting so tamely with a kingdom; and demanding leave to do for him what he had not courage to do for himself. He engaged, if he would but trust him with the command of his forces for a few days, not only to make the Persians repent their coming, but to drive them out of the island entirely. Mæandrus accepted the offer, not that he imagined his troops able to repel the Persians, but through envy of Syloson, and in order to weaken the power of the Samians, before he took possession of the island. For he knew that the Persians would take a severe revenge on the Samians for the outrages they should suffer; and as for himself, he could make his escape out of the island when he pleased, having made a private passage under ground, leading from the castle to the sea. Charilaus no sooner saw himself at the head of the troops, but, sallying out of the citadel upon the Persians, who expected no hostilities, every thing having been already agreed on, he surprised and killed the chief men among them. But the rest of the army, taking the alarm, came to their relief, and drove the Samians into the castle. Otanes, being provoked at the great loss he had sustained, commanded his army, notwithstanding the orders given by Darius not to kill or take any Samian prisoner, to put every one to the sword, without distinction of sex or age. So that, while one part of his forces was employed in besieging the castle, the rest were busied in plundering the houses, and murdering the inhabitants, without sparing even such as had taken sanctuary in the temples. Mæandrus made his escape by sea, and fled to Lacedæmon, where he attempted to bribe Cleomenes, and actually distributed rich presents among some of the citizens; but that prince baffled all his endeavours, and complaining to the ephori of his attempts in the way of corruption, the Samian was obliged to depart from Peloponnesus. The Persians, upon the flight of Mæandrus, delivered Samos, plundered and depopulated, as it was, into the hands of Syloson. Otanes the Persian general is said to have repented it, in consequence of a vision he saw in a dream, and a distemper with which he was seized. Syloson, finding himself in possession of the island, and supported

Charilaus the king's brother sallys treacherously on the Persians, but is repulsed.

Mæandrus driven out. Flies to Sparta.

Syloson.

ported by the Persians, so cruelly oppressed his subjects, that most of them, abandoning their native country, settled either in the neighbouring islands, or on the continent; so that Samos became again almost destitute of inhabitants, the lands lying every where untill'd, and the whole country resembling a desert ¹.

Syloson, after a short reign, was succeeded by his son *Æaces*, who attended *Darius* in his expedition into Scythia, and is reckoned by *Herodotus* among the Ionian tyrants, who had no small share in the esteem of *Darius*. *Æaces* being driven out, as well as the other tyrants of Ionia, by *Aristagoras* the Milesian, the Samians openly declared against *Darius*, and joined the other Ionians in the revolt. But when the two fleets were ready to engage near *Lade*, a small island near *Miletus*, *Æaces*, who served on board the Persian fleet, sent a messenger to the Samians, exhorting them to abandon the confederacy, since they could not possibly prevail against the king, who, if that fleet were destroyed, would fit out another five times as powerful. The Samians intimidated at this message, in the heat of the engagement, abandoned their confederates, and returned with fifty ships to Samos. However, eleven of the Samian ships refused to obey their leaders, and, together with the Chians, fought till they were entirely disabled. The commanders of these were rewarded by the community of Samos with an inscription on a pillar declaring their names and families, in order to transmit their memory to posterity, and this monument was standing in *Herodotus's* time ². The example of the Samians, who retired in the beginning of the fight, being followed by the Lesbians, and all the confederates except the Chians, the Persians gained a complete victory, took *Miletus*, and were preparing to invade Samos, in order to replace *Æaces*, to whom they were chiefly indebted for their success, on the throne of Samos. But many of the Samians, choosing rather to abandon their country than live in subjection to him and the Persians, sailed for Sicily, being invited thither by the Zancleans, who were desirous to annex to their territory a city inhabited by the Ionians, and had allotted for that purpose a place on the coast which faces the Tyrrhenian Sea, and was then called the Beautiful Coast. Upon their arrival in Sicily, they found the city of Zancle nearly abandoned, the

Yr. of Fl.

1251.

Ante Chr.

497.

Æacth.

Many of the Samians sailed in Sicily.

¹ Plut. lib. xiv. Euseb. in Dionys. Herodot. lib. vi. cap. 13.

² Herodot. lib. vi. cap. 13.

and seize
on the city
of Zancle.

Zancleans being, with their king Scythes, employed in the siege of a Sicilian city. Hereupon Anaxilaus tyrant of Rhegium, and an enemy to the Zancleans, hinted to the Samians, that it would be more advantageous for them to seize on the city of Zancle in the absence of the inhabitants, than to settle on the coast designed for their establishment. The Samians were easily prevailed on to follow his advice, which the Zancleans understanding, hastened to recover their city, calling to their assistance Hippocrates, tyrant of Gela, their ally. But Hippocrates, betraying his friends, agreed with the Samians to leave them in possession of the city, and to give up the rest of the Zancleans, provided they relinquished one half of the territory, and of the plunder of the city, with all the booty that should be found in the country. Thus the Samians made them the master of one of the greatest and most beautiful cities of Sicily: while the Zancleans were either banished, or sold into slavery by Hippocrates, to whom they were delivered by the Samians, pursuant to their agreement. Besides their king was beheaded, with his brother Pythagoras, so Hyrcum, whence he escaped to Himera, and, their embarking for Asia, had recourse to the protection of Darius.

Æætes
restored.

In the mean time the Persian, after the reduction of Miletus, flood over with their fleet to Samos, and re-instituted Æætes in his former government, for the eminent service he had rendered them, by persuading his countrymen to abandon the rest of the Ionians in the engagement at Lade. Samos, by their means, was the only city which had revolted from Darius, that escaped undestroyed. Æætes being thus restored to his authority, continued faithful to the Persians, and served under Xerxes in his expedition against Greece, obliging the Samians, contrary to their inclinations, to assist the Persians with their navy against their countrymen. During the Grecian war Æætes died, and was succeeded by Theomestor, whom Xerxes raised to that dignity for his intrepid behaviour in the sea-fight at Salamis, on which occasion he took several of the Greek ships, and distinguished himself in a most signal manner; as also did Phylacus, another Samian, who was not only admitted into the number of those, who, from deserving well of the king, were called by the Persians Orosanges, but rewarded with large possessions, and great wealth^m.

Yr of Pl.
189
Ante Chr.
409

Theomestor.

^l Herodot. lib. v. cap. 23
lib ix. cap. 81.

^m Id. m. lib viii. cap. 85. &

The Samians continued subject to the Persians, and their own tyrants, who were but mere tools of the Persian kings, till the famous victory gained by the Greeks at Mycale, when they were restored to the enjoyment of their ancient liberties. Before this engagement, while the Grecian fleet lay at anchor off Deles, under the command of Leotichides the Lacedæmonian, the Samians, without being suspected either by the Persians, or their own tyrant Themocleus, sent three of their chief citizens, Lampon, Athenagoras, and Hegesistratus, to assure the commanders of the Greek navy, that the Ionians would revolt from the Persians as soon as their fleet appeared. Hegesistratus added, that, if they entertained the least suspicion of their sincerity, they were all three ready to remain with them as hostages. Leotichides, having the curiosity to ask his name, and understanding that he was called Hegesistratus, which in Greek signifies *leader of an army*, he immediately resolved to set sail, and attack the Persian fleet, which then lay off Samos. Having therefore obliged the three Samian ambassadors to confirm with an oath the truth of their intelligence, he retained Hegesistratus, taking his name for a pledge of success, and suffered the other two to return home. The next day Leotichides, having offered a solemn sacrifice to the gods, put to sea, and, standing towards Samos, came to an anchor near the temple of Juno. But the Persians, being informed of their approach, made towards the continent, and hauling their ships ashore, joined their land-forces, which were encamped at Mycale to the number of sixty thousand men. In the mean time the Persian generals disarmed the Samians, fearing they were disposed to favour the enemy, because they had already redeemed all the Athenians taken in Attica by the forces of Xerxes. The Samians, though thus disarmed, in the very beginning of the engagement, revolted to the Greeks. Their example was immediately followed by the rest of the Ionians, who, abandoning the Persians, joined their countrymen, and greatly contributed to that victory, which frustrated the designs of Xerxes upon Greece.^a

From Mycale the Greeks returned to Samos, where it was proposed, in a council held by the chief commanders, to transplant the Ionians out of Asia, where they were exposed to the insults of the Persians, into Greece, and to allow upon them the cities and lands of those Greeks

The Samians side with the Greeks against the Persians

The Samians and other Ionians enter into an alliance with the Athenians

^a Herodotus, lib. ix. cap. 89, 90. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xi. Justin lib. ii. cap. 13.

who had sided with the Persians. But this motion was not approved of by the Athenians, who apprehended that the Ionians, if once transplanted into Greece, would no longer consider Athens as their mother-city. They therefore only obliged the Samians, Chians, Lesbians, and other islanders, who had revolted from the Persians, to swear, that they would continue in their alliance, and then set sail, together with them, for the Hellespont, to pursue the war on that side against the Persians.

The Samians revolt from the Athenians.

The Samians, thus delivered from the Persian yoke, continued stedfast in their alliance with the Athenians for the space of thirty-seven years, governing themselves entirely by their own laws, and enjoying the full possession of their ancient liberties. But, in the sixth year of the thirty years peace concluded between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, they revolted from the Athenians, which brought on a war between them and the people of Athens. But of that war we have seen nothing farther; and therefore shall only add, that the Samians, as well as the Byzantines their allies, were in the end obliged to submit to such terms as Pericles, who commanded the Athenian forces, thought fit to impose on them.

Great disturbances in Samos.

From this period the Samians continued subject to the Athenians, till the twentieth year of the Peloponnesian war, when the populace of Samos, taking up arms against the nobility, who had again usurped all the power, slew two hundred of them, banished the rest, and divided their lands and houses among themselves. The council was so agreeable to the Athenians, at whose instigation the people had revolted, that they restored to them all their ancient privileges, and allowed them to govern their republic according to their own laws. The ensuing year, when the government of the four hundred was set up at Athens, the great men among the Samians, to the number of three hundred, formed another conspiracy against the democracy; and, being assisted by Pisander, and other Athenians, who favoured the oligarchy, they attempted to make themselves masters of the city, with a design to murder all those who had joined the popular faction. But the people, having timely notice of their design, and being supported by Leon, Diomedon, Thrasybulus, and other Athenians then in Samos, and professed enemies to the oligarchy, repulsed them, and having killed about thirty of the three hundred conspirators, obliged the rest to submit to the democracy. In this state the island of Samos continued long subject to the Athenians, and was

The form of government undisturbed, until changes

the

the refuge of such as could not endure the tyranny of the four hundred usurpers. When Athens was besieged and taken by Lyfander, the Lacedæmonian admiral, after his famous victory at Ægospotamos, the island of Samos was also reduced by the conqueror, who abolished the popular government, and placed the whole power in the hands of ten men, who from their number were called the decarchæ. This form of government continued near ten years, till the Athenians, having regained the sovereignty of the seas, by their signal victory over the Lacedæmonians at Cnidus, restored the democracy, and again took possession of the island. Soon after, however, the Samian, revolting from Athens, entered into a confederacy with the Lacedæmonians; but being in the mean time attacked by Tigranes, one of the Persian governors of the Lesser Asia, and by him brought under subjection to the king of Persia, they had recourse to the Athenians, their ancient allies, who immediately sent Timotheus to their assistance. Timotheus, landing his men in the island, laid siege to the city, and in a few days obliged the Persians, who held it, to capitulate, and leave the Samians in the full possession of their ancient liberties. From this time the island of Samos continued faithful to the Athenians, till they were reduced by the Romans, who obliged the Samians, and other islanders, to pay a yearly tribute to Rome. But in the Roman times the Samians were a very miserable people, and had altogether degenerated from the valour of their ancestors. Not being able to defend themselves, they were an easy prey to the princes of Macedon, Syria, and Pergamus. They became subject to Rome upon the death of Eumenes, the last king of Pergamus, who bequeathed, as the Romans pretended, his dominions to their republic. Augustus restored them, for what service we know not, to their former liberty, suffering them to live according to their own laws, in the same manner as they had done during their alliance with Athens. By this indulgence the island, which had fallen into the hands of the Romans in a mean condition, flourished again, and in a short time became so populous, that many of the inhabitants were obliged to abandon their country, which could not maintain such multitudes, and seek in the neighbouring island of Icaria, which was then but thinly inhabited. In this happy state they continued till the reign of Vespasian, who re-

The decarchæ, or decarchæ.

The Samians assist. a large number.

* Probus in Timotheus.
Euseb. Chron.

† Strab. lib. xiv. Dion, lib. liv.

duced Samos, with the other Greek islands, to a Roman province⁹.

S E C T. VIII.

The History of the other Greek Islands.

BESIDES the Greek islands we have already described, there are many others, which we cannot dismiss without taking some notice of, as they make no small figure in the ancient history of Greece. These lie partly in the Aegean and Icarian, and partly in the Cretan, Myrtoan, and Ionian seas, or in the Propontis: whence we shall, with Strabo, begin our account of them, describing first such as are on the coast of Asia, and therefore reckoned by all geographers among the Asiatic islands.

In the Propontis, now the Sea of Marmora, the following islands are noticed by Ptolemy, Strabo, Pliny, and Meli; viz. Proconnesus, Besbicus, Phœbe, Alone, Phylia, Ophioessa, Gonimi, and Lipara.

Islands of the Propontis.

Proconnesus-
juni.

Proconnesus, or, as others write it, Præconnesus, was anciently known likewise by the name of Elaphonnesus, that is, *The Island of Stags*¹, from the vast number of stags with which it was stocked. Ptolemy places this island on the coast of Thrace, wherein he contradicts all the ancient geographers, who speak of it as lying on the coast of Asia, opposite Cyzicum; whence the Proconnesian marble, as Pliny observes, is often from that city called Cyzican (O)².

Besbicus,

⁹ Sueton. 1. in Vespas. ¹ Plin. lib. iii. cap. 4. Sueton. Apoll. ad lib. ii. ver. 272. ² Plin. lib. xxxvi. cap. 6.

(O) Aristæus and Bion were both natives of Proconnesus. Aristæus was born, according to Suidas, in the fiftieth Olympiad, and lived in the reigns of Cyrus and Cræsus. He was the son of Democharis, or, as others will have it, of Causitrobus. He wrote a theology in prose, and the history

of the Arimaspians, an Hyperborean people, in verse.

Bion was contemporary with Pherecydes, who flourished about the fiftieth Olympiad. He copied the fables, and abridged the works, of Cadmus the Milesian, as Clemens Alexandrinus informs us. The same author quotes several of

Besbicus, a small island between Cyzicum and the mouth of the Rhyndacus, is counted by Pliny[†] among those islands which, being first joined to the continent, were separated from it by the violence of the seas, or earthquakes. The others, to which he supposes the same accident to have happened, are Sicily, Cyprus, and Iubæa; the first having been separated, according to him, from Italy, the second from Syria, and the last from Bœotia. The other islands in the Propontis are of no note; and therefore, leaving them, since we know nothing of them but their bare names, we shall proceed to the Ægean Sea (P), describing such islands as lie on the coast of Asia, and make any figure in history.

The Islands of the Ægean Sea on the Coast of Asia.

The ancient geographers reckon fifty-three islands from Tenedos to Crete, and comprehend them all under two general denominations. Those which form a circle round Delos, a little island revered by the ancients for being reputed the birth-place of Apollo and Diana, they call the Cyclades, from the Greek word *cyclos*, signifying a *circle*; such as are at a greater distance from Delos, they call Sporades, from the Greek word *speiro*, importing *to scatter* or *low*, these islands being scattered up and down the Ægean sea.

To begin with the Sporades on the coast of Asia; Pliny[‡] mentions the following islands at the mouth of the Hellespont, opposite the country of Troas, viz. the Ascanian islands, so called, according to some, from Ascanius the son of Æneas; according to others, from Alkenaz one of Homer's sons: the islands of Plutæa, Lemna, Pinaria, Plate, Scopelos, Gethone, Arthedon, Cæla, Lagusæ,

[†] Plin. lib. ii. cap. 8.

[‡] Ibid. lib. v. cap. 31.

his apophthegms. Cadmus, whose works Bion is said to have abridged, was the first who wrote a history in prose, and is commonly believed to have lived before the Trojan war.

(P) The Ægean Sea, now the Archipelago, is that sea which separates Europe from Asia, washing on one side Greece and Macedonia, and on

the other Asia, Ionia, and Phrygia. The Italian, Carpathian, and Cretan seas, so called from the islands they wash, and also the Myrtoan, are but parts of the Ægean Sea, taken in its full extent. The Myrtoan lies, according to Strabo, Pliny, and Pausanias, &c. between Crete, Peloponnesus, Attica, and Iubæa.

and

and Didymæ. These islands are very small, and little regarded, therefore, by other geographers or historians.

Tenedos. Near them lies the island of Tenedos, about two leagues from the shore. As we have already given an account of this island, we shall only add, that the learned Borchart derives the name of Tenedos from the Phœnician word *Tin-edum*, signifying *red clay*, which was found here, and in great esteem for making of earthen ware *.

Lesbos. Lesbos, one of the most considerable islands of the *Ægean* sea, or Archipelago, was anciently called Pelasgia, from the Pelasgi, by whom it was supposed to have been first peopled; Macania, from Macareus, the grandson of Jupiter, who settled here; and Lesbos, from the son-in-law and successor of Macareus, who bore that name. It is, according to Strabo †, sixty-two, according to Pliny, fifty-six miles distant from Tenedos, divided from the continent of Asia by a strait, seven miles and a half over, in length seventy miles, and a hundred and sixty-eight in compass. All the ancient historians, geographers, and others, who speak of the greater islands in the Mediterranean and *Ægean* seas, constantly reckon Lesbos in the seventh place, though no two of them agree in the disposing of the rest.

Cities. The island had, in former times, if we believe Pliny, eight cities ‡; Herodotus § speaks of six; but Pomponius Mela ¶ and Scylax name only five; the former leaves out Methymna, and the latter Aritha. The cities were, Aritha, which was ruined by an earthquake. Pyrrha, seated on the western coast of the island toward Greece, and distant from Mytilene, which stands on the other side, eighty furlongs; this city underwent the same fate as Aritha, and so the cities of Hera and Agamus. Froline, or Froline, joined by Ptolemy between Pyrrha and Methymna, the most northern promontory of Lesbos; but, by Strabo, between Pyrrha and Sigamni, the most northern promontory of the island. Froline was the birth-place of the famous philosopher Theophrastus, who succeeded Aristotle in the Peripatetic school. Antissa, which was, according to Strabo, in ancient times, an island by itself, and then called Lankissa, became it by opposite to Lesbos, then known by the name of Issa: this city, having offended the Romans, was destroyed by Labeo, and the

* Borchart. *Phœnyx* lib. i. cap. 3.

† Strab. lib. xiii.

‡ He-

rodot. lib. ii. cap. 15.

¶ Scylax lib. iii. cap. 9.

inhabitants transplanted to Methymna, the native city of Arion, who is supposed to have been the first inventor of tragedies, and of the Dithyrambic verse. This city derived its name from Methymna, one of the daughters of Macareus^b, and was the second city in rank of the whole island, especially after the inhabitants of Anaxilla were transplanted thither by the Romans. Methymna was famous for the fertility of its territory, and the excellent wines it produced. When the other cities of Lesbos revolted from the Athenians, Methymna continued itself in its former alliance, and proved very serviceable in reducing the rest. Mytilene, the capital of the whole island, so called from the daughter of Macareus, who married Lesbos. Cicero^c and Viruvius^d greatly commend this city on account of the flatness of its buildings, and the fertility of its soil. Strabo tells us, that it abounded with the necessaries and delights of life, and Horace bestows upon it the epithet of famous or renowned^e. A modern traveller is of opinion, that the present city of Mytilene was built on the ruins of Mytilene, there being in the day some vestiges of a temple containing in Cithro and a church supposed to be^f. This city suffered greatly in the Peloponnesian war, after it had revolted from the Athenians, according to Thucydides. In the subsequent war it was the only city that refused to submit to the Romans, after the conquest of Lesbos, and both Cithro and Mytilene. When it was at last taken, it was given to the Romans by the consul Pompey. Julius Caesar, who was the master of the first triump, brought a statue of him to the city, and was honoured with the epithet of a conqueror. It was soon after rebuilt, and, in favour of Theophrastus, restored by Pompey to the full enjoyment

Methymna

Mytilene

^a See the description of the island of Lesbos in the first volume of the History of the Greek Islands. ^b See the description of the island of Lesbos in the first volume of the History of the Greek Islands. ^c See the description of the island of Lesbos in the first volume of the History of the Greek Islands. ^d See the description of the island of Lesbos in the first volume of the History of the Greek Islands. ^e See the description of the island of Lesbos in the first volume of the History of the Greek Islands. ^f See the description of the island of Lesbos in the first volume of the History of the Greek Islands.

(Q) But Mytilene was not so renowned on account of its magnificent buildings, and fruitful soil, as for the many great men it produced. Pindarus, one of the seven sages of Greece; Alceas, the famous lyric poet; Sappho, called by Strabo a prodigy, by others the tenth muse; Terpander,

who was the first that fixed the measures to the lyre, which gave occasion to the music of Orpheus's head being heard to speak in this island, for it was cut off in Thracia; Hellanicus, the celebrated historian; and Callias, famous for his notes on Alceas and Sappho, were all natives of Mytilene.

of

of all its ancient privileges^k. Pliny says, that in his time it retained the same liberty which Pompey had granted it. The emperor Trajan embellished it with many stately buildings, and called it, from his own name, Trajanopolis; but the ancient name prevailed, and, in process of time, became common to the whole island, which to this day is called Metalin.

Soil.

The fertility of this island is much celebrated by the ancients; it produced great quantities of delicious fruits, and exquisite wines, which, if we believe our modern travellers, still deserve the high praises bestowed upon them by Strabo, Horace, Athenæus, and Ælian. Triflanu mentions a medal of the emperor Geta, who, according to Spartianus, did not dislike good wine, with a Fortune on the reverse, holding in her right hand the rudder of a ship, and in her left a cornucopia with a bunch of grapes, and underneath the inscription Mitylene. Pliny tells us, that the wine of Lesbos was deemed no less wholesome than pleasant by Brasiliatus, one of the greatest physicians of antiquity.

Inhabitants.

This island, according to Diodorus Siculus, was first peopled by the Pelasgi; for Xanthus, the son of Triopas, prince of the Pelasgians, who came from Argos, having first settled in Lycia, and there reigned some time over the Pelasgians, who had attended him in this expedition, sailed from thence to Lesbos, which, as it lay at that time desolate, he divided among his followers, changing its ancient name of Issa into Pelagia. After seven generations, the inhabitants being all destroyed by Deucalion's flood, the island lay waste and desolate, till Macareus happening to touch there, and being charmed with the pleasantness and fertility of the country, settled in it, and built the city of Olanus. The fame of his justice and humanity drew many Ionians to him, by whose means he seized some of the neighbouring islands, and in a short time became very powerful. In his time Lesbos, the son of Lapithas, and grandson of Æolus, arriving in this island, by the direction of the oracle at Delphi, with a new colony, was kindly received by the inhabitants, and being allowed to enjoy, with his followers, the same rights and privileges as those who were settled before him, he married Methymna, the eldest daughter of Macareus, after whose death he called the island, from his own name, Lesbos^l. This is the account Diodorus gives us of the

^k Vell. Patercul. lib. iii. cap. 18. Plut. in Pompeio.
Sicul. lib. v. cap. 16.

^l Diodor.

first inhabitants of Lesbos; but Strabo^m, Herodotusⁿ, Thucydides^o, Pausanias^p, Ptolemy^q, and Velleius^r, unanimously tell us, that it was first peopled by the Æolians, and constantly speak of the Lesbian, as having come originally from Æolis.

The Lesbians were, like most of the other Greek nations, first governed by kings; but of these we find four only mentioned in history, viz. Macareus, Læibos, Æolion, and Penthilus. Macareus is said to have subdued some of the neighbouring islands, viz. Samos, whither he sent one of his sons, named Cycholaus, who divided the island among his followers, and ruled over them as king; Cos, over which he appointed his second son, Nicander, king; and Rhodes, great part of which was held by his son Leucippus. These conquests Macareus made, if we believe Diodorus^s, soon after the flood of Deucalion, when the islands were but thinly peopled. But Dionysius Halicarnassensis relates, that Xanthus, the Pelasgian, long before the reign of Macareus had peopled Lesbos, and that Macareus did not subdue, but only peopled some of the adjacent islands^t. Macareus was succeeded by Læibos, the son of Lapithus, who, marrying Methymna, the daughter of Macareus, received the island for her dowry. Æolion is mentioned by Homer as reigning in Lesbos; and Penthilus by Pausanias^u, who says, that Penthilus was king of Mycenæ, and that he subdued great part of Æolis, with the island of Lesbos, whence he places him among the Lesbian kings. In time, the democratical form of government universally prevailed in all the Greek states, and, amongst others, in Lesbos, the Lesbians having driven out their kings, as Aristotle informs us, when they began to rule, not as kings, but as tyrants^v. Upon this revolution great troubles arose in the island, each city aspiring to the same power over the others, which they could not bear in one man. In this contest the city of Mitylene at last prevailed, and became so powerful, that the Mityleneans, being disengaged from all wars at home, began to entertain thoughts of making conquests on the continent. Accordingly, having equipped a fleet, they made a descent on the country of Troas, which they, in great part, reduced, and held undisturbed

Government and history.

^m Strabo, ubi supra.

ⁿ Herodot. lib. vi. cap. 38.

^o Thucyd.

lib. iii. & vii.

^p Pausan. in Phocicis.

^q Ptolem. lib. v.

cap. 2.

^r Velleius Patercul. lib. ii.

^s Diodor. Sicul. lib. v.

cap. 16.

^t Dionys. Halicarnass. lib. i. cap. 33, 34.

^u Pausan.

in Corinthiac.

^v Aristot. Polit. lib. v. cap. 10.

War between the Athenians and Mityleneans.

till the time of Pisistratus, tyrant of Athens, who took the city of Sigæum, and put it into the hands of Hegesistratus, his natural son by a woman of Argos. This incident occasioned a war between the Athenians and Mityleneans, which was carried on with great vigour by the contending parties, till they were reconciled by the mediation of Periander, tyrant of Corinth. The terms of accommodation were, that each party should retain what they possessed, and that the Lesbians should be allowed to make what conquests they pleased on the continent of Asia. Thus the Athenians remained masters of Sigæum, and the Mityleneans quietly possessed the rest of Troas.

Myrsilus seizes on the sovereignty. His successors.

This war was scarce ended when the other cities of Lesbos, impatient of the yoke laid upon them by Mitylene, revolted. Thus a civil war was again kindled, of which Myrsilus, a man of great wealth and authority in the island, taking advantage, seized on the sovereignty, and ruled without control. Alceus composed bitter invectives against him, as well as his successor Megalgyrus*. The other tyrants, mentioned in the history, are Cleomædis, Archæanax, and Melanchrus. Archæanax is said to have raised some stately buildings with materials brought from Troy†. Melanchrus was driven out by Pittacus, with the assistance of Alceus, who, on this occasion, wiped off the disgrace he had incurred in the Athenian war by losing his buckler. Pittacus, having delivered his country from tyrants, took upon himself the government, at the entreaty of his fellow-citizens; but, after having reigned ten years, he resigned all the power with which he had been vested, and spent the remainder of his life in study and retirement (R). The Lesbians main-

Yr. of Fl
1767
Ante Chr
581.

Pittacus delivers his country from the tyrants.

* Strabo, lib. xiii.

† Idem ibid.

(R) He was not only a great philosopher, but an experienced officer. In the above mentioned war between the Athenians and Mityleneans, he had the chief command of the army, on which occasion he gave a signal proof of his courage and humane disposition; for, being unwilling to hazard the lives of his fellow-citizens, he challenged Phrymon, the Athenian general, to a single

combat, notwithstanding this last had been victor at the Olympic games. Phrymon accepted the challenge, but was conquered and killed by Pittacus, who is said to have entangled him in a net, which he had hid under his shield. During his administration he made many wise laws, which he comprehended in six hundred verses. One of these laws, taken notice of by Aristotle,

maintained their liberties from the time of his resignation to the reign of Cyrus the Great; but were, in that interval, greatly harassed by Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, who, having defeated their fleet, obliged them to pay him an annual tribute. After the defeat of Cræsus, king of Lydia, they submitted, with the other islanders, to the conqueror. Being tributaries to the kings of Persia, they served Darius in his wars, both against Scythia and Greece. In the former, Coes, the son of Eraxandrus, commander of the Mityleneans, dissuaded Darius from breaking down the bridge, which he had laid over the Ister, on his march into Scythia; for which good advice he was rewarded with the sovereignty of Lesbos, which he did not long enjoy, being driven out by Eristagoras, at the beginning of the Ionian revolt. He was afterwards seized by Itragoras, and delivered up to the Mityleneans, who stoned him to death.

The Lesbians, being thus delivered from the tyranny of Coes, readily came into the measures of Histæus and Aristagoras; but, in the sea-fight near Lade, they followed the example of the Samians, retiring in the heat of the engagement, and abandoning their allies. By these means the Persians, having gained a complete victory, soon reduced Lesbos, as well as the other islands. The Lesbians, after the defeat of the confederate fleet, joined Histæus, and subdued the island of Chios; on this account they were treated by Darius with more severity than the other islanders, which they were obliged to endure till the battle of Mycale, when they revolted with the other Greeks, and joined their countrymen against the common enemy. After the signal victory obtained at Mycale by the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, they entered into an alliance with the conquerors, who promised to protect them whenever they should be attacked by the

The Lesbians join Histæus and Aristagoras.

Maltreated by the Persians.

* Herodot. lib. v. cap. 11. 37, 38. Joann. Tzetzes, Chiliad. iii.

total, Plato, and Plutarch, was, that every fault committed by a man when drunk, deserved double punishment. Many of his sentences were written on the walls of the temple of Apollo at Delphi:

so great was the esteem which the ancients entertained of his wisdom. He died ten years after he had resigned the government, in the third year of the fifty-fourth Olympiad, and seventieth of his age (1).

(1) Aristot. Ethic. cap. 6. & Polit. iii. cap. 10. Plut. in Socrate. Val. Max. lib. vi. cap. 5.

Join sometimes the Athenians and sometimes the Lacedæmonians.

Persians. In the course of the war, being provoked at the haughty behaviour of Pausanias, the Lacedæmonian commander, they, together with the other allies, deserted him, and put themselves under the command and protection of the Athenians, by which means the Lacedæmonians lost the chief command. Neither did the Lesbians long continue faithful to the Athenians, but abandoned them in the third year of the Peloponnesian war. After the great overthrow received by the Athenians in Sicily, they revolted again from Athens; but were soon after brought under subjection, as we have related in the history of Athens. From this time to the reign of Alexander, we find nothing upon record concerning the Lesbians worth mentioning. In the war which that prince made upon the Persians, the Lesbians readily joined him; whereupon Memnon, the Rhodian, made a descent upon the island, and reduced it, after sustaining great loss, the city of Mitylene having stood a long siege. At length the Mityleneans surrendered, upon condition that the Macedonians, who were in garrison, should be suffered to depart unmolested; a stipulation which so pleased Alexander, that, after he had regained the city, he restored the inhabitants to their former liberty, enlarged their territory, and conferred many privileges, not on them only, but on all the Lesbians*. Alexander, having made himself master of the whole island, delivered up the tyrants, namely, Æristonicus and Chrysolæus, to those whom they had oppressed, allowing them to inflict upon their oppressors what tortures they pleased. They were both first cruelly racked, and then put to death; a punishment which, as Diodorus observes, prevented others from aspiring to the tyranny, even after the death of Alexander. Thus they enjoyed their liberty till the time of Pompey the Great, who reduced the island of Lesbos to a Roman province, for having delivered up to Mithridates M. Aquilius, the chief of the Roman deputies, who had been sent into Asia. However, he soon restored Mitylene to the enjoyment of its ancient privileges, whence it is counted by Pliny among the free cities (S).

Alexander bestows several privileges on them.

How treated by the Romans.

Chios,

* Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvii. Curt. lib. iv.

(S) In the sireight which separates Lesbos from the continent, are a great many small islands called Hecatonnessi, from Apollo, named anciently Hecatos, to whom they were consecrated (1). Between the promontory Malca in Lesbos, and

(1) Strab. lib. xiii. p. 425.

Chios, now Scio, distant from Lesbos about four hundred furlongs, and nine hundred in circuit, lies between Lesbos, and Samos, opposite to the peninsula of Ionia, on which stand Erythræ, Clazomenæ, and Teos^b. It is divided from Ionia by a canal, which is but three leagues over. This island was known to the ancients by the names of Æthalia, Macris, and Pitthyusa; but that of Chios prevailed over all the rest, which some derive from the name of a nymph, others from the Greek word chion, signifying *snow*, the mountains of the island, especially Mount Pelicæus, being often covered with snow. But Isidorus^c is of opinion, that the name of Chios was borrowed from the Syriac, that word signifying, in the Syriac tongue, *massich*, with which this island abounds above all other places.

Athenæus calls it a mountainous and rugged country; however, it produced excellent wine, and is, on that account, highly commended by the ancients. Oenopion, the son of Bacchus, if we believe Theopompus, as quoted by Athenæus, taught the Chians the manner of cultivating the vine, and they communicated this art to the rest of mankind. The same author adds, that the first red wine was made in this island. Strabo takes notice of the quarries of Chios; and Pliny tells us, that the first jasper was discovered in this island. But the chief produce is mastic, which is produced by the lentisk-tree in greater plenty here than any where else. Vitruvius mentions a spring in the island of Chios, which deprived all those who tasted its waters of their senses; for which reason an epigram was placed over it, warning all passengers of the danger^d. Chios, the chief town of the island, stood on the eastern coast, in the most pleasant and fruitful part of the country, and was, according to Strabo, forty stadia in circumference^e (1'). This has given to the world other

Chios.

Names.

Sail, &c.

Cities.

^b Strabo, lib. xiii. cap. 3.

^c Isidor. in Origin.

^d Vitruv lib. iii.

^e Strabo, lib. xiii.

that of Cane in Æolis, lie the three islands Arginusa, famous for the victory which the Athenians gained there in the Peloponnesian war (2). Cicero, who mentions this battle, calls these islands Arginussa. The

largest of the three, called by Pliny Arginusa, had a town bearing the same name (3).

(T, This city pretended to be the birth-place of Homer; and Leo Allatius, a native of Scio, has taken a great deal of

(2) Diodor. Sicul. lib. xiii. cap. 98. Thucyd. lib. viii. p. 616.
(3) Plin. lib. v. cap. 31.

*Inhabit-
ants, go-
vernment,
and history.*

very extraordinary men, namely, Ion, Theopompus, Theocritus, and Metrodorus.

This island was first peopled, according to Strabo, by the Pelasgians; according to Diodorus, by Macareus and his followers, after they had made themselves masters of Lesbos. But the opinion of Herodotus, who will have the Chians to be Ionians, has generally obtained^f. As to their government, they were first subject to kings; but of these we find Hippoclus alone mentioned in history. This prince being murdered by his subjects, as Strabo informs us^g, for a pretended affront offered to the bride of one of the chief men of the island, the Chians formed themselves into a republic; but as to the laws and constitutions of their new government, we cannot discover any traces of them. In process of time, with the assistance, and under the direction of Isocrates, they new-modelled their republic, forming it on the plan of that of Athens^h; but they did not long enjoy the blessings of liberty, being, like the other small states of Greece, brought under subjection by their domestic tyrants. Athenæus speaks of Anphicus

^f Herodot. lib. i. cap. 142.
in Vita Isocrat.

^g Strabo, ubi supra.

^h Dionys.

pains to shew, that this pretension was well grounded. Ion flourished about the eighty-second Olympiad, and is often mentioned and commended by Aristophanes, Athenæus, and Suidas, as an elegant writer of tragedies. His first performance was exhibited in Athens, in the eighty-second Olympiad, and met with general applause.

Theopompus flourished in the reigns of Artaxerxes Ochus in Persia, and Philip the father of Alexander the Great in Macedon. He was disciple to Isocrates; and, in the opinion of Dionysius Halicarnassensis, far excelled his master. The same author tells us, that he wrote several books, viz. orations, in imitation of those by Isocrates, among which was a funeral oration on Mausolus,

called by some, the epitaph of Mausolus; a book of epistles; an epitome of Herodotus; a treatise on the doctrine of Plato; another of wonderful things; and two histories.

Theocritus was contemporary with Theopompus and Ephorus, and wrote, as Suidas witnesses, some learned epistles, and the history of Libya.

Metrodorus flourished in the reign of Artaxerxes Mnemon, king of Persia, and was, according to Suidas, preceptor to Hippocrates and Anaxarchus. He was by profession a philosopher and a physician, and wrote several books relating to physic, which are often quoted by Pliny; Athenæus informs us, that he likewise wrote a book entitled Troica; but none of his works have reached us.

and Polytechnus, as the first who aspired to the sovereignty of the island, and assumed all the power into their own hands¹. In the reigns of Sadyattes and Halyattes, kings of Lydia, they assisted the Milesians against these princes, remembering, says Herodotus, that the Milesians had assisted them in their wars with the Erythræans^k; but neither the occasion, nor the success, of this war have been transmitted to us. After the defeat of Croesus by Cyrus, they submitted, with the other islanders, to the conqueror, and even delivered up to him Pactyas the Lydian, who had excited his countrymen to revolt against the Persians. Mazares, the Persian general, on this occasion, for their ready compliance with his request, bestowed upon them the city of Atarneus in Mysia, with its territory. For many years after, the Chians declined using in their sacrifices the growth of lands thus acquired, looking upon the corn and fruits of Atarneus as unhallowed, and not fit to be offered to the gods. Being reduced by the Persians, they were, like the other islanders, employed by them in all their naval expeditions. They served Darius in his expedition against the Scythians; on which occasion Strattas, styled by Herodotus tyrant of Chios, shewed his affection to that prince, by strenuously opposing such of the Ionians as were for abandoning him, and returning home.

*Deliver up
Pactyas.*

In the Ionian revolt the Chians readily joined Aristagoras, shook off the Persian yoke, and equipped a hundred ships, each of which had forty chosen citizens on board. In the sea-fight at Lade they distinguished themselves in a very particular manner; for the Samians, Lesbians, and most of the other Ionians, betaking themselves to flight in the very beginning of the engagement, the Chians fought to the last extremity, took many of the enemy's ships, and gave such proofs of their valour and zeal for the common cause, that, had the other Ionians followed their example, Ionia had been that day delivered from the Persian yoke; but as they were abandoned by all their allies, except eleven Samian ships, they were at last overpowered, and obliged to run their ships aground at Mycale; whence they marched into the territory of Ephesus. As they arrived in the neighbourhood of the city by night, while the women were celebrating the rites of Ceres, the Ephesians, not knowing what had happened, and seeing an armed multitude making towards them,

*Join in the
Ionian re-
volt.*

¹ Athenæus, lib. vi. cap. 6.

^k Herodot. lib. i. cap. 15, 16.

Many murdered by the Ephesians.

mistook them for robbers come to strip the women, and without examining farther into the matter, sallying out of the city with their whole force, killed all the Chians on the spot¹. Nor did the misfortunes of Chios end here; for Histæus, after the defeat of the Ionians, retiring to Chios, attacked those who opposed him, and, with the assistance of the Lesbians reduced the whole island, the Chians being greatly weakened by the loss they had sustained in the fight at sea. Thus were the Chians rewarded by Histæus, who had been the chief cause of their revolt, he whom they had assisted to the utmost of their power, in hopes of rescuing their country, under his command, from the Persian bondage. Histæus, being unable to keep possession of the island, abandoned it to the Persians, who punished the Chians with the utmost severity. The most handsome of their youths they made eunuchs, and their daughters they sent to the king of Persia, after having destroyed both their houses and temple, ravaged their territories, and reduced the few inhabitants that remained to a state of slavery².

Punished with great severity by the Persians.

They continued subject to the Persians, whom they assisted with a considerable squadron in their expedition against Greece, till the battle of Mycale, when they revolted with the other Ionians, and entered into an alliance with the Athenians and Lacedæmonians against the common enemy³. The Chians, thus delivered from the Persian yoke, and restored to their ancient liberty, flourished, if we believe Thucydides, above all the states of Greece, Lacedæmon alone excepted⁴. When the supreme command was, by the unanimous consent of the allies, conferred upon the Athenians, the Chians, who greatly contributed to their advancement, were favoured by the Athenians above the other allies, being exempted from all manner of tribute, and obliged only to furnish a certain number of ships. They continued faithful to the Athenians till the twentieth year of the Peloponnesian war, when they abandoned the Lacedæmonians, upon the dreadful overthrow received by the Athenians in Sicily; yet they were, after the loss of three battles, constrained to return to their ancient confederacy, in which they continued till the Social War, when, growing weary of their alliance with Athens, they joined the Rhodians, Coans, and Byzantines, with a design to throw off the Athenian yoke, and set themselves free. In this attempt they were

Side sometimes with the Athenians, and sometimes with the Lacedæmonians.

They join in the Social War.

¹ Herodot. lib. vi. cap. 15, 16, 16.

Sicul. lib. xi.

² Idem ibid.

³ Thucyd. lib. viii.

⁴ Diod.

attended with greater success than they had been in their former revolt; for, after having maintained the war three years, they concluded a peace upon very advantageous terms.

From this time they enjoyed profound peace and tranquillity till the destruction of the Persian empire, when they, together with the other Greek states in Europe and Asia, became subject to the Macedonian princes. Their city was besieged, and reduced to great extremity, by Philip, the father of Peries, who finding he could not reduce it by force, proclaimed liberty to all the slaves who should revolt, and besides, promised them their masters wives in marriage; but notwithstanding this offer, not one single slave, and there were more slaves in the city of Chios than in any other of Greece, attempted to revolt, or betray their masters: whereupon Philip was obliged to abandon the siege, after he had lost a great number of his men^p. In the war which the Æolians waged with the same Philip, and Prusias, king of Bithynia, they joined the former, which impetitic alliance was the cause of their territories being laid waste, and all the open places in the island utterly destroyed by the troops of the confederate princes. Afterwards they assisted the Romans in their wars against Philip, his son Perseus, and Antiochus, surnamed the Great, king of Syria, and were, for their eminent services, not only declared free, but honoured with the title of friends and allies of the people of Rome. They were heavily oppressed and loaded with taxes by Zenobius, one of Mithridates Eupator's lieutenants, for refusing to join that prince against the Romans, but amply rewarded by Sylla, after he had defeated Mithridates, for their attachment to the interest of Rome. The Roman general restored them to the enjoyment of all their ancient rights and privileges, which they maintained undisturbed, living in great ease and plenty, till the reign of Vespasian, who reduced Chios, with the other islands of the Ægean sea, to a Roman province; but at the same time allowed the Chians to live according to their own laws, under the superintendence of a Roman prætor, whose province comprehended all the islands in the Ægean sea, from the mouth of the Hellespont to Rhodes.

Chios besieged in vain by Philip.

Declared friends and allies of the people of Rome.

Made by Vespasian a Roman province.

Icaria, now Nicaria, lies about twenty miles west of Samos, and is, according to Strabo, three hundred fur-

Icaria.

^p Arrian, lib. iii.

longe, that is, thirty-seven miles and an half in circumference. It was anciently called Doliche, Macris, and Iſchnaſa (U). Icaria, if we believe Strabo, was never well peopled; however, it had two pretty considerable towns, viz. Dracanon and Ænoe. It had good pasture-ground, and was on that account of great use to the Samians, who were long masters of it¹. The inhabitants of Icaria were particularly addicted to the worship of Diana: whence Callimachus did not scruple to say, that the goddess took more delight in the island of Icaria, than in any other on the Ægean sea. He alluded, without doubt, to the famous temple erected by the Icarians, in honour of Diana, and called by the ancients Tauropolium.

Patmos.

Patmos, or, as others write it, Palmor, lies forty-five miles south of Icaria, and is, according to Piny, thirty, according to our modern geographers, only eighteen miles in compass. It is a barren, mountainous, and rocky country. It has several safe and capacious harbours; that which is now called port La Scala, is one of the best in the Archipelago. Near this harbour are to be seen fragments of broken columns, which the antiquaries reckon the most ancient in the Archipelago. The chief town of this island bore likewise the name of Patmos. The Romans used this island as a place of banishment, under which punishment St. John resided here, and wrote his Revelations. The present inhabitants pretend to show the house he lived in, which they call the Apocalyptic. Patmos is now known by the name of Palmosa.

Leros.

Leros is a small island, about eighteen miles in compass, lying south of Patmos. It was anciently very populous, and furnished the neighbouring countries with slaves². The inhabitants, called Lerii, were reckoned very corrupt by the ancients.

¹ Strabo, lib. xiv. p. 443.

² Plin. lib. iv. cap. 72.

(U) The name of Icaria it extends from Samos to Mycone. is supposed to have borrowed Bochart derives the name of from Icarus, the son of Dædalus, who is said to have been drowned near this island, whence the neighbouring sea took the name of the Icarian sea, which, according to P'liny, Icaria from the Phœnician word Icaure, which signifies *full of fish*, and agrees with the name of Ichthuesia, given to the island by the ancient Greeks.

Pharmacusa is placed by Stephanus over-against Mile- *Pharma-*
tus. In this island king Attalus was killed, and near it *cuja.*
Julius Cæsar taken prisoner by the pirates ¹.

Between Pharmacusa and the continent, opposite Mi- *Lade.*
letus, is the island of Lade, mentioned by Thucydides ¹,
Strabo ², Pausanias ³, Herodotus ⁴, Arrian ⁵, &c. It was
anciently called Late, as Plin. y informs us, and inhabited
by the Ionians ⁶. Minyia, Arcefine, Belgialis, Amorgus,
and Caryanda, are mentioned by Ptolemy, and placed be-
tween Patmos and Cos. Some geographers have placed
Caryanda in a lake near the coast of Ionia; but Pliny, and
Scylax, who was a native of this island, counted it among
the other islands of the Archipelago.

Cos, Coos, or Cous, is counted by Pliny among the *Cos.*
most considerable islands of the Ægean, or rather Myrtoan
sea. It was formerly known by the name of Merope,
Cea, Nymphæa, and Caris. It lies, according to some, in
the Carpathian, according to others, in the Myrtoan sea,
at a small distance from the coast of Caria, and fifteen
miles from Halicarnassus. Its excellent wines are univer-
sally commended by the ancients. Strabo and Pliny agree
in making it about eighty miles in compass. The chief
city of the island was first called Astypalæa, and after-
wards Cos. Strabo speaks of a stately temple erected
the Coans in honour of Æsculapius, the tutelary god of
their island, and enriched with offerings and presents of
great value; but the chief ornament of the place was a
Venus rising out of the sea, done by Apelles, and reckon-
ed one of his best performances. This admirable piece
was by Augustus conveyed to Rome, and dedicated to
Cæsar, Venus being reckoned the mother of the Julian
family. To make some amends to the Coans for the loss
of so valuable a treasure, the same Augustus eased them
of a considerable part of their annual tribute ¹. This
island was famous for a kind of fine stuff, in great
request among the women of distinction at Rome. It
covered them, indeed, says the historian, but, at the
same time, shewed them naked ²; and hence it is so

¹ Suet. cap. 4. ² Thucyd lib. viii. p. 561. ³ Strabo,
lib. xiv. p. 437. ⁴ Pausan. in Atticis, cap. 35. ⁵ Hero-
dot. lib. vi. cap. 7. ⁶ Arrian, lib. i. p. 52. ⁷ Plin. lib. v.
cap. 31. ⁸ Strabo, lib. xiv. p. 452. ⁹ Vell. Paterc.
lib. 1.

*Its govern-
ment and
various
fortunes.*

much spoken of, and inveighed against by the Latin poets^c (X).

This island was inhabited by Greeks before the Trojan war, a colony of Dorians from the continent^d. The Coans were first governed by kings, among whom we find mention made of Eurypylus, contemporary with Hercules; of Chaclon, Antiphus, and Phidippus. The two latter are said by Homer and Theocritus to have assisted at the siege of Troy. The kingly government gave room to a democracy, and this, as Aristotle informs us^e, to an aristocracy, which was abolished by some private men, who taking the whole power into their hands, governed with an absolute sway. Among these Nicippus and Scythes are mentioned by Ælian^f. Hippocrates, in one of his letters, tells us, that the Coans refused to give earth and water to the messengers of Darius and Xerxes; but this assertion does not agree with Herodotus, who numbers the Coans among the Greeks, who served as auxiliaries in

^c Horat. lib. iv. Od. 13. Propert. lib. i. Eleg. 2. Tibul. lib. ii. Eleg. 4. & 6. ^d Strabo, lib. xiv. ^e Aristot. Polit. lib. v. cap. 3. ^f Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. i. cap. 29.

(X) Nothing has rendered this island more famous than the many great men it has produced, viz. Hippocrates, the reviver of physic; Senius, another famous physician; Arif-ton, a Peripatetic philosopher; and Apelles, the so much celebrated painter. To these we may add Sifiphus, who is said to have been secretary to Teucer, and to have possessed the records of the Trojan war, which Homer made use of. He is mentioned by Tzetzes, and in a manuscript chronology quoted by the learned Leo Allatius. As to Hippocrates, he learned, if we credit Pliny, the first rudiments of physic by perusing certain tablets, called by the Latins *tabellæ votivæ*, which were hung up in the temples; for, agreeable to an ancient custom, which

prevailed all over Greece, such as recovered from any distemper, used to write on a tablet the nature and symptoms of their respective maladies, and the remedies which had been attended with most success. These tablets Hippocrates is said to have copied and followed when he first began to practise. A tablet of this nature was discovered at Rome, not many years ago, among the ruins of the ancient temple of Æsculapius, with this inscription in Greek: "Julianus being afflicted with vomiting blood, and abandoned by men, the god hastened to his relief, and having nourished him for the space of three days with honey, restored him to his health; for which favour he came to return them thanks in the presence of the people."

the

the army of Xerxes ^k. In the twentieth year of the Peloponnesian war, the city of Cos ^h was thrown down by an earthquake, the most violent that had ever happened in those parts.

Soon after this calamity, before they had time to repair the walls of their city, Astyochus, the Lacedæmonian, making a descent on the island (for the Coans sided with the Athenians), laid waste the whole country, plundered the city, the inhabitants having fled to the mountains, and retired to Cnidus with an immense booty. When Mithridates commanded all the Romans in Asia to be massacred, the only place that shewed any regard to them was the island of Cos, where they were suffered to enjoy the common rights of asylum in the sacred places ⁱ. Mithridates soon after invaded the island, took the metropolis, and ravaged their territory; but the Coans no sooner saw Lucullus, Sylla's quaestor, appear off their coast, than they took up arms, drove out the king's garrison, and admitted the Romans, by whom they were amply rewarded, Sylla exempting them from all manner of tribute, and permitted them to live according to their own laws ^k. The Coans remained ever faithful to the Romans, did them many good services, and highly contributed to some victories gained by their fleets. However, in the reign of the emperor Claudius, like the other Greek states, they paid an annual tribute to Rome, which that emperor remitted, in compliance with the request of Xenophon, his physician, whom he pretended to be a descendant of Æsculapius ^l. This immunity from all impositions, taxes, and tributes, they enjoyed till the reign of Vespasian, who, reducing them to a Roman province, exacted the same tribute from them as from the other Asiatic islands.

Strabo tells us, that the island of Nisyra, formerly called Porphyris, was once joined to Cos ^m, but separated from it by the violence of the winds and seas. This island is sixty furlongs from Cos, and as many from Telos, being, according to Strabo, eighty furlongs in compass. *Nisyra.*

Carpathus lies between Rhodes and Crete in the sea, *Carpathus.* which, from this island, is called the Carpathian Sea, and

^g Herodot. lib. vii. cap. 61. ^h Thucyd. lib. viii. ⁱ Val. Max. lib. ix. cap. 2. ^k Plut. in Sylla. ^l Dio, Legat. xxxvi. Memnon, cap. 33. ^m Plut. ubi supra. ⁿ Tacit. Annal. lib. xii.
 ^o Strabo, lib. x. prope finem.

has, to the north, the Ionian, to the south the Egyptian, to the west the Cretan and African seas. It is two hundred furlongs in compass, and a hundred in length. It had anciently, according to Strabo, four cities; according to Scylax only three. Ptolemy mentions but one, which he calls Poldium. This island is now called Scarpanto (Y).

Islands in the Cretan Sea.

THE Cretan sea is properly that part of the Ægean Sea which lies about Crete, and contained the islands of Claude, Dia, Letoa, Ægilia, Calymna, Attypalæa, Thera, &c.

Claude. Claude, which is mentioned in the Actsⁿ, and had, in Pliny's time, a city called Gaulos, now Goza, lies south of Crete. Dia, now Standia, is about three leagues distant from Crete, and rather a rock than an island. Letoa is the modern Cristina, and Ægilia, Cerigo. The former lies near Crete; the other near to Peloponnesus. Calymna is celebrated for its once excellent honey^o. Attypalæa, now Stampala, lies off the south-west coast of Cos, is about sixty miles in compass, and had, formerly, a city of the same name with two safe harbours.

Thera. Thera is placed by Strabo between Crete and Egypt, and said to be twenty-five miles in compass; but the modern geographers more justly place it between Crete and

ⁿ Acts xxvii. 16.

^o Pomp. Mela, p. 211.

(Y) Divers other islands lie dispersed on this coast, and are mentioned by Pliny, Strabo, Ptolemy, Thucydides, &c. viz. Cafos, eighty furlongs in compass; Syme, opposite the continent of Caria, between Iorima and Cnidus; Chalæ, distant from Carpathus four hundred furlongs; Telos, over-against Triopium, a hundred and forty furlongs in circuit; Arconnesus, lying off Halicarnassus; with several other islands mentioned by Pliny (1) in the

Ceramic Gulf, that is, in the sea between the city of Halicarnassus and the island of Cos. This bay was so called from the city of Ceramus, which Pliny places in the island of Arconnesus; but all other geographers on the continent, between Cnidus and Halicarnassus. This bay is called, by some writers the Ceramian Bay, and the city, from which it borrowed its name, Ceramus (2).

(1) Plin. lib. iv. cap. 12.
Mela, lib. i. cap. 16.

(2) Strabo, lib. xiv. p. 451. Pomp.

the Cyclades, and allow it thirty-six miles in circuit. This island was first peopled by the Phœnicians; for Cadmus, as Herodotus^p, Pausanias^q, and Strabo^r, inform us, arriving here in search of his sister Europa, left some of his followers, under the command of his kinsman Memblares, to people the island, then called Callista. It was afterward, named Thera, from Theras, the Lacedæmonian, the son of Autesson, and grandson of Tisdamenes, who led into this island a colony of Lacedæmonians and Mynians. Herodotus mentions two of the descendants of Theras, who reigned here, viz. Atanias and his son Grynus. The latter went to Delphi, to sacrifice an hecatomb to Apollo, attended by the chief citizens of the place, among whom was Battus, the son of Polymneilus, or Cernus, a man of great eminence among the Mynians. While Theras consulted the oracle about other affairs, the Pythian commanded him to build a city in Libya; but, on account of his age, he desired the oracle to employ therein four young men their pick, pointing to Battus. On their return they flouted the oracle, and were ignorant in what part of the world Libya was; but a drought, which lasted seven years in Thera, and destroyed all the trees in the island except one, obliged the king to revert to the oracle, which commanded them again to build a town in Libya, and send a colony thither. To put an end to their calamity, they sent some of their citizens to Caræ, to inquire whether any of the Cretans had ever been in Libya. These messengers at length arrived in the city of Iræus, meeting with one Corobius, a dyer of purple, who told them, that he had, by stress of weather, been driven to an island of Libya, called Platea, they prevailed upon him, for a promised reward, to go with them to Thera. The Theræans persuaded him to conduct a small number of men to the island of Platea, who soon returned to give an account of the place to their countrymen, leaving Corobius there with provisions for two months; but as they exceeded the time appointed, Corobius was reduced to the last extremity, when a ship from Samos, bound homewards from Egypt, arrived in the port. The Samians, being informed by Corobius of all that had happened, left him subsistence for a year; in which time the Theræans returned with a numerous colony, and, having divided the lands among them, chose Battus for their king; who made many wise laws go-

So called from Theras.

Æanias and Grynus, his descendants.

^p Herodot. lib. iv. cap. 147.

^q Pausan. lib. iii. & vii.

^r Strabo, lib. viii.

*Cyrene in
Lybia
founded by
the Thera-
rans.*

verned his new kingdom with great prudence, and built a city, which, by order of the oracle, he called Cyrene. This city, in process of time, became one of the most powerful states of Africa, as we shall see in the sequel of this history *.

The islands of Thera and Melos were the only places that, in the Peloponnesian war, sided with the Lacedæmonians, and held out to the last against the Athenians, though solicited, with signal offers, to join the other islands. Thera made then, as Herodotus informs us †, a very considerable figure, and contained seven cities of good note (Z).

In Thera the ruins of the temples of Neptune and Minerva, mentioned by Strabo, Pliny, and the scholiast of Pindar, are still visible. The island was consecrated to Apollo, and thence is called by Pindar, the Holy island ‡. The many inscriptions that are still remaining, shew, that this island was of no small account even in the Roman times. It is now known by the name of Santorin, or Santorino, probably derived from St. Irene, the tutelar saint of the island.

The Cyclades.

WE shall now proceed to the Cyclades, the number and order of which is, according to Strabo †, as follows: Helena, Ceos, Cythnus, Seriphus, Melos, Siphnus, Cimolis, Prepesinthus, Olearus, Naxus, Parus, Syrus, Myconus, Tenus, Andrus, Gyarus. Most of these islands lie south of Delos; so that this is not strictly in the midst of the Cyclades.

Helena.

Helena, now Macronisi, and anciently Macris and Crane; but the name of Helena prevailed over the other two, and was adopted, according to Strabo, Pausanias ‡, and Stephanus, from the Grecian beauty of that name, Paris having resided some time with her in this island. It is about three miles in breadth, and eight in length, whence it is called Long Island. Pliny says it was separated from the island of Eubœa by an earthquake. This

* Herodot. *ibid.* cap. 151.
Od. 4.

† Strabo, lib. x p 334.

‡ Idem *ibid.*

§ Pindar.

¶ Pausan. in Atticis.

(Z) There are still five or six towns in this island, well peopled, viz. Apanomeria, Scaro, Castro, Pyrgos, Emperio, or Nebrio, and Acroteri.

island

island is very barren and inhospitable, being covered with a deep sand, and in want of water, having but one small spring. It is separated from the continent of Attica by a strait, eight miles over.

Ceos, Cea, or Cia, lies opposite to the promontory of *Ceos*. Achaia, called Sunium, and is fifty miles in compass. This island is commended by the ancients for its fertility and richness of its pastures. The first silk fluffs, if Pliny and Solinus are to be credited, were wrought here. Ceos was particularly famous for the excellent figs it produced ¹. It was first peopled by Aristæus, the son of Apollo and Cyrene, who, being grieved for the death of his son Aëleon, retired from Thebes, at the persuasion of his mother, and went over with some Thebans to Ceos, at that time uninhabited ². Diodorus Siculus tells us, that he retired to the island of Cos; but the ancients, as Servius observes, called both these islands by the name of Cos. Be that as it will, the island of Ceos became so populous, that a law prevailed there, commanding all persons upwards of sixty to be poisoned, that others might be able to subsist; so that none above sixty were to be seen in the island, being obliged, after they arrived at that age, either to submit to the law or abandon the country, together with their effects ³. Ceos had, in former times, four famous cities, viz. Julis, Carthæa, Coreissus, and Præcessa. The two latter were, according to Pliny, swallowed up by an earthquake ⁴. The other two flourished in Starbo's time. Carthæa stood on a rising ground, at the end of a valley, about three miles from the sea. The situation of it agrees with that of the present town of Zia, which gives name to the whole island. The ruins both of Carthæa and Julis are still remaining; those of the latter take up a whole mountain, and are called by the modern inhabitants Polis, that is, *the city*. Near this place are the ruins of a stately temple, with many pieces of broken pillars, and statues of most exquisite workmanship. The walls of the city were of marble, and some pieces are still remaining above twelve feet in length. Julis was, according to Strabo, the birth-place of Simonides, Bacchylides, Erastriatus, and Aristo. The Oxford Marbles tell us ⁵, that Simonides, the son of Leoprodis, invented a sort of artificial memory, the principles of which he explained at

¹ Plin. lib. xvi. cap. 27.

² Servius in Virg. Georg. lib. i.

³ Strab. lib. x. *Æt. in Var. Hist. lib. iii. cap. 37.*

⁴ Plin. ubi

supra. ⁵ Epoch. 55.

Athens, and add, that he was descended of another Simonides, who was a poet no less renowned than himself. One of these two poets invented those melancholy verses, which were sung at funerals, and are called by the Latins *naniam*^d. Strabo says, that the Athenians, having besieged the city of Julis, raised the siege, upon advice that the inhabitants had resolved to murder all the children under a certain age, that useful persons might not be employed in looking after them^e. Ceos was, with the other Greek islands, subdued by the Romans, and bestowed upon the Athenians by Marc Antony the triumvir, together with *Ægina*, *Tinos*, and some other adjoining islands^f, which were all reduced to one Roman province by Vespasian.

Cythus. Cythus, about twelve miles east of Ceos, is esteemed, by Strabo, to be one of the most fruitful islands of the *Ægean* sea. It was the birth-place of Cydias, an eminent painter, mentioned by Dionysius and his commentator Eustathius. The cheese of Cythus was, according to Stephanus and Julius Pollux, in great estimation among the ancients. The island is now called *Therma*, from the Greek word *thermos*, which signifies *hot*; it abounding with hot springs, which are much commended by the ancients. There are some remains of an ancient and very magnificent city on the southern coast.

Seriphus. Seriphus, now Serpho, is a barren rock rather than an island, whence Tacitus calls it the Seriphian rock^g. Pliny makes it only twelve miles in compass^h; but according to our modern travellers, it is thirty-six. The rugged and steep mountains of Seriphus gave the poets occasion to feign that Perseus transformed the inhabitants into stones. Herodotus says, the inhabitants of Seriphus, Siphnos, and Melos, were the only islanders that refused to admit the fleet and troops of Xerxesⁱ (A).

^d Vide Horat. lib. ii. Od. 1.

^e Strabo, ubi supra.

^f Ap-

pian. lib. 1.

^g Tacit. Annal. iv. cap. 25.

^h Plin. lib. iv.

cap. 12.

ⁱ Herodot. lib. viii. cap. 41.

(A) The same author adds, but of these we find only one that the Seriphians were originally Athenians, and that they assisted their countrymen with two galleys against the Persians. They were in ancient times governed by kings; mentioned in history, viz. Polydestes, and of him we know nothing but what we read in the poets. To this place the Romans confined enormous offenders.

Melos

Melos lies about twenty-four miles off cape Scyllæum, now Schilli, in Peloponnesus, is sixty miles in compass, and, according to Pliny^{*}, almost round. This island, though small, made a very considerable figure in the flourishing ages of Greece. Melos, says 'Thucydides', enjoyed its liberty seven hundred years before the Peloponnesian war. The inhabitants were originally Lacedæmonians, and therefore refused, in the time of the Peloponnesian war, to join the Athenians, declaring they would maintain a strict neutrality. They suffered severely for their attachment to Lacedæmon. All who were able to bear arms were put to the sword; the women and children were carried into Attica, and there sold for slaves. The island being thus desolated, a new colony was sent thither from Athens. But not long after, Lyfander, the Lacedæmonian general, having obliged the Athenians, in their turn, to surrender at discretion, released the captive Melians, and restored them to their native country, after having expelled the Athenian colony. Melos afterwards underwent the common fate of the other islands of the Ægean Sea, being reduced, with them, to a Roman province. Melos was the birth-place of the philosopher Diagoras, who was the first, as Lactantius informs us, that asserted there were no gods, whence he had the surname of Atheist. This island abounds with iron mines, and was formerly famed for its wine and honey; from the latter some are of opinion it took the name of Melos. Clemens Alexandrinus^m, and Julius Polluxⁿ, greatly commend the pastures and mineral waters of this island; but Hippocrates speaks of one, who, being cured of the itch by using the waters of Melos, fell into a dropsy, of which he died^o. The alum of Melos was in great repute among the Romans, who preferred it^p to that of any other country except the Egyptian.

Siphnus, now Siphanto, is about thirty-six miles distant from Melos, and, according to Pliny, twenty-eight in circumference, though our modern geographers allow it to be forty. It was anciently known by the name of Merope, or Merapia, and Acis. The name of Siphnus, if we credit Stephanus, is of a later date, and borrowed from Siphnus, the son of Sunion, who settled here with a

* Plin lib. iv. cap. 12.
lexand. Pædagog. lib. ii. cap. 7.
cap. 10.

¹ Thucyd. lib. v.

^m Clem. A-
ⁿ Jul. Poll. Onomast. lib. vi.
^p Plin. lib. xxxv. cap. 15.

colony. The air of Siphnus is exceeding wholesome, and the soil equally fruitful, producing great plenty of delicious fruits, and corn enough to support its inhabitants.

Cimolis. Cimolis is separated from Melos by a strait, scarce a mile over. It is, according to Pliny, twelve miles in compass, and was anciently called Echinusa, or the *Island of Vipers*. It is now known by the name of Argentiere, which it borrowed from the silver mines with which it is said to abound. The present inhabitants shew these mines to strangers, but are afraid to work them, lest the Turks should load them with taxes, under pretence that they reaped great advantages from their produce. This island is a very barren place, and encumbered with rocks and mountains. It is seldom mentioned in history, having always followed the fate of Melos.

Propefinthus. Propefinthus is a small island between Siphnus and Melos, about four miles in compass. It is mentioned only by Artemidorus and Strabo, and contains little worthy of notice.

Olearo. Olearo, or Oliaros, mentioned by Strabo, Pliny, Virgil, Ovid, &c. is sixteen miles in compass, and separated from the isle of Paros by a strait, seven miles wide. This island was, according to Heraclides Ponticus, as quoted by Stephanus, first peopled by a Phœnician colony from Sidon. It is now called Antiparos, and exhibits one of the greatest curiosities in nature, namely, the vegetation of stones, which is described at length by a modern traveller, to whom we refer our readers ¹.

Naxos. Naxos, now Naxia, formerly Strongyle, Dia, Dionysias, Callipolis, and Little Sicily. It was called Strongyle, from a Greek word, signifying *round*, though in reality it is rather square than round. The names of Dia, or Divine, and Dionysias, were given it as being consecrated in a peculiar manner to the fabulous god Dionysus or Bacchus. The appellation of Callipolis Pliny and Solinus derive from the metropolis of the island, formerly a most beautiful city, which is the import of the word Callipolis². The great fertility of the country gave rise to the name of Little Sicily, Naxos being the most fruitful of all the Cyclades, as Agathemerus informs us³, and no less fertile than Sicily itself. As for the name

¹ Tournefort, ubi supra, tom. i. epist. 5.
² Agath. lib. i. cap. 5.

³ Plin. lib. iv.

of Naxos, some assert that it was borrowed from one Naxos, under whose conduct the Carians possessed themselves of the island; others pretend it received this name from Naxos, the son of Endymion. Stephanus, Suidas, and Phavorinus, derive the name of Naxos from the Greek word *naxai*, signifying *to sacrifice*, and will have it to have been so called from the many sacrifices offered here to Bacchus. With these Bochart agrees, as to its being called Naxos from the sacrifices performed here in honour of Bacchus, but will have the word Naxos to be a corruption of the Phœnician *naefa*, or *niefa*, signifying a *sacrifice, offering*. Naxos is, according to Pliny, seventy-five, but reckoned by the present inhabitants one hundred miles in compass. It has Paros to the west, Myconos and Delos to the north, and Ios to the south. This island is the most fruitful of the Archipelago, and was formerly famed for the excellent wines it produced. Archilochus, as quoted by Athenæus, compares them to the nectar of the gods; and Asclepiades, cited by Stephanus, assures us, that Bacchus took more delight in Naxos than in any other place whatsoever, having himself taught the inhabitants to cultivate their vines (B). As to the inhabitants of Naxos, Diodorus relates, that the island was first peopled by the Thracians. These were in a little time subdued by a body of Thessalians, who having possessed the island for the space of two hundred years and upwards, were compelled to abandon it by a drought and famine.

First peopled by the Thracians.

After the Trojan war, the Carians settled here, and called the island Naxos, from their king, who was the son of Polemon. He was succeeded by his son Leucippus, and Leucippus, by his son Smardius, in whose reign Theseus coming out of Crete, landed here with Ariadne, whom he was, in his sleep, commanded by Bacchus to leave in this island¹. In process of time a colony of

¹ Diodor. Sicul. lib. v.

(B) The wine of Naxos maintains to this day its ancient reputation, being by some deemed the best of the Levant. Besides wine, this island abounds with all sorts of delicious fruits, the plains being covered with orange, olive, lemon, cedar, citron, pumgranate, mulberry, and fig-trees. It was formerly famous for

quarries of that sort of marble which the Greeks called *ophites*, from its being green, and speckled with white spots, like the skin of a serpent. The best emerald is found here, on mountains near the western coast, whence the neighbouring cape is called by the Italians *Capo Smeriglio*, or the *Emerald Cape*.

Cnidians and Rhodians settled here under the conduct of Hippothous and Xuthus; the last of all the Ionians, who, in time, possessed the whole island; whence the Naxians are, by Herodotus, called Ionians, and ranked among the Athenian colonies*.

Naxos was formerly a very flourishing republic, and by far the most powerful of the Cyclades, as Herodotus informs us, and had several cities of note; among others, Naxos, the metropolis of the island, mentioned by Ptolemy[†]; the present city of Naxia, which is the capital, was perhaps built on the ruins of the ancient Naxos.

*Govern-
ment.*

The Naxians were originally governed by kings, according to Diodorus; but afterwards formed themselves into a republic, and enjoyed their liberty till the time of Pisistratus, tyrant of Athens, who having subdued Naxos, bestowed it upon Lygdamis, a native of the island, for having assisted him with men and money, in usurping the sovereign power[‡]. Upon the death of Lygdamis they recovered their liberty, and even possessed themselves of the neighbouring islands of Paros and Andros: In the reign of Darius Hystaspis, Aristagoras, governor of Miletus in Ionia, formed a design of surprising Naxos, under colour of restoring the nobles, who had been driven out by the popular faction, and taken refuge in Miletus. Darius furnished him with two hundred ships, and a considerable body of land-forces, for the expedition. But the Naxians, being forewarned by Megabates, the Persian general, with whom Aristagoras had a difference, put themselves on their defence, and obliged Aristagoras, after a siege of four months, to drop the enterprize, and retire to the continent. The expedition failing, Aristagoras, as we have related in the history of Persia, revolted from the Persians, and prevailed upon the Ionians to join him in it, which brought endless calamities upon Ionia. Not long after the Persians made a second descent on Naxos, under the command of Datis and Artaphernes; and meeting with no opposition, the inhabitants having at their approach abandoned their habitations, and fled to the mountains, they possessed themselves of the island, ravaged the whole country, and laid the city with its temples in ashes. The Naxians being thus subdued by the Persians, were compelled to send some ships of war to their assistance in their expedition against Greece; but the officers who commanded them, at the persuasion of

*The city of
Naxos de-
stroyed by
the Persi-
ans.*

* Herodot. lib. viii. cap. 46.

† Herodot. lib. i. cap. 67, 69.

‡ Ptol. Geog. lib. iii. cap. 25.

emoeritus, the most powerful citizen of Naxos, instead of joining the Persians, went over with their ships to the Athenians. At the battle of Platæa, the Naxians gave many instances of their valour, as we read in Diodorus Siculus, being extremely zealous in the defence of the common liberties of Greece ^y. They were then, according to Herodotus, in a very flourishing condition, possessed many slaves, a squadron of ships well-appointed, and eight thousand land-forces. In the Peloponnesian war, they sided with the Athenians, as did most of the other islands of the Ægean sea; but being treated by them more like subjects than allies, they attempted to shake off the yoke. The Athenians sent a strong fleet against them, besieged their capital, and compelled them to accept what terms they were pleased to impose. Thucydides observes, that Naxos was the first of the confederate cities which the Athenians deprived of their liberty ^z. From this period they remained subject to the Athenians, till they fell under the Roman power in the Mithridatic war. After the battle of Philippi, Marc Antony bestowed Naxos, Andros, and some other islands, on the Rhodians, who oppressed them to such a degree, that he was soon obliged to expel them, and restore those islanders to their former liberty, which they enjoyed till the reign of Vespasian ^a.

The island of Paros was anciently called Pactia, Minoa, *Paros*.

Minoa, Demetrias, Zacynthus, Hiria, Hyleassa, and Cabarnis ^b. The name of Cabarnis is borrowed, according to Stephanus, from one Cabarnus, who first informed the Greeks of the rape of her daughter Proserpine, or, according to Hesychius, from the Cabarni, the priests of Ceres being so called by the inhabitants of this island. The name of Minoa is borrowed from Minos, king of Crete, who subdued this, as he did most of the other islands of the Ægean sea ^c. It was called Paros, which name it retains to this day, from Paros, the son of Parrhasius, or, as Stephanus will have it, of Jason the Argonaut. Paros, according to Pliny's computation, is distant from Naxos seven miles and a half, and twenty-eight from Delos. Some of the modern travellers will have it to be eighty ^d, others only fifty miles in compass ^e. Pliny says it is half as large as Naxos, that is, between thirty-six and thirty-seven miles in compass. It was a rich and powerful

^y Diodor. Sicul. lib. v.

^z Thucyd. lib. i.

^a Appian.

^b v.

^b Stephanus, Hesychius, Solin. &c.

^c Plin.

^d iv. cap. 12.

^d Ferrarius.

^e Porcachi.

island, being termed the most wealthy and happy of the Cyclades, and by Cornelius Nepos an island elated with its riches^f. The city of Paros, the metropolis, is styled by Stephanus a potent city, and one of the largest in the Archipelago: the present city of Paros, now Parichia, is supposed to have been built upon its ruins, the country abounding with valuable monuments of antiquity; the very walls of the present city are built with columns, architraves, pedestals, mingled with pieces of ancient marble of a surprising magnitude, which were once employed in more noble edifices. Paros was indeed formerly famous for its marble, which was of an extraordinary whiteness, and in such request among the ancients, that the best statuaries used no other^g. The island is provided with several capacious and safe harbours, and was anciently much resorted to by traders. Archilochus, the inventor of the iambic verse, was a native of Paros. This island was, according to Thucydides, originally peopled by the Phœnicians, who were the first masters of the sea. Afterwards the Carians settled here, as we are told by Thucydides and Diodorus^h. But these two authors differ as to the time when the Carians came first into the island; for Thucydides tells us, that the Carians were driven out by the Cretans under the conduct of Minos; and Diodorus writes, that the Carians did not settle here till after the Trojan war, when they found the Cretans in possession of the island. Stephanus thinks that the Cretans, mixed with some Arcadians, were the only people that ever possessed this island. Minos himself, if we believe Plinyⁱ, resided some time in the island of Paros, and received here the melancholy news of the death of his son Androgeus, who was killed in Attica, after he had distinguished himself at the public games.

We find the inhabitants of this island chosen from among all the Greeks by the Milesians, to compose the differences which had for two generations rent that unhappy state into parties and factions^k. They acquitted themselves with great prudence, and reformed the government in the manner we have related in the history of Miletus. They assisted Darius in his expedition against Greece, with a considerable squadron, but after the victory obtained by Miltiades at Marathon, they were reduced to great straits by that general, as we have related elsewhere. However,

The Parians reduced to great straits by Miltiades.

^f Corn. Nepos in Alcibiade.

xxv. vi. cap. c.

^g Herodot. lib. v. & seq.

^h Plin. lib. iv. cap. 12. & lib.

ⁱ Diodor. lib. v.

^j Plin. lib. iii. cap. 14.

after blocking up the city for twenty-six days, he was obliged to quit the enterprize, and return to Athens with disgrace. Upon his departure, the Parians were informed, that Timo, a priestess of the national gods, and then his prisoner, had advised him to perform some secret ceremony in the temple of Ceres, near the city; assuring him, that he would thereby gain the place. Upon this information they sent deputies to consult the oracle of Delphi, whether they should punish her with death, for endeavouring to betray the city to the enemy, and discovering the sacred mysteries to Miltiades. The Pythian answered, that Timo was not the adviser; but that the gods, having resolved to destroy Miltiades, had only made her the instrument of his death.

After the battle of Salamis, Themistocles subjected Paros and most of the other neighbouring islands to Athens, exacting large sums from them, by way of punishment for having favoured the Persians. It appears from the famous monument of Adulas, which Cosmos of Egypt has described with great exactness¹; that Paros, and the other Cyclades, were once subject to the Ptolemies of Egypt. However, Paros fell again under the power of the Athenians, who continued masters of it till they were driven out by Mithridates the Great. But that prince being obliged to yield to Sylla, to Lucullus, and to Pompey, this and the other islands of the Archipelago, submitted to the Romans, who reduced them to a province with Lydia, Phrygia, and Caria.

Paros subjected to Athens.

A Roman province.

Syros is placed by Strabo between Paros and Delos^m, and said by Pliny to be twenty miles in compassⁿ. This island had formerly a town of no small note bearing the name, as appears from an ancient inscription still to be seen in the present town of Syra, and from many ruins of stately buildings at a small distance from the harbour. Syros, according to Homer, abounded with corn, wine, and all other necessaries of life, and was esteemed one of the most healthy places of the Ægean Sea. It was frequented in the earliest ages by the Phœnician merchants, as we learn from the same poet, who, after having passed a whole year here, carried off with them one of the concubines of Ctesias king of the place, she being a native of Sidon, and the daughter of Arybas king of that city.

Syros.

¹ Vide Bernard. de Montfauc. in Typogr. Christian. de Mundo, lib. II. ^m Strabo, lib. x. ⁿ Plin. lib. iv. cap. 12.

Stephanus reckons Syros among the Ionian colonics; it is at present known by the names of Siro, Sira, and Zyra, and by many confounded with the island of Skyros, anciently Scyros, which we shall describe in its proper place. Off the eastern coast of Syros lie three small islands called Gadroniti.

Myconus. Myconus lies between Icaria and Delos, about three miles distance from the latter, and is thirty-six in circuit. It borrowed the name of Myconus, or Mycone, from Myconus the son of Ænius, and grandson of Carystus and Rhyas^a; but who these were, neither Strabo, nor Stephanus have acquainted us. This island was long uninhabited on account of its frequent earthquakes; but they ceasing, the inhabitants of the adjoining islands settled in it, and built a town to which they gave the name of the island. Strabo, and after him Eustathius^b, observe, that the Myconians grew bald very early; whence they were called by way of contempt, "The bald heads of Mycone." Our modern travellers also assure us, that the present Myconians lose their hair at twenty or twenty-five years old^c. Pliny tells us, that here the children are all born without hair, and that both men and women soon lose that ornament^d. They were reckoned arrant parasites; whence Archilochus, as quoted by Athenæus^e, taxes one Pericles with coming to a feast after the Myconian manner, that is, without being invited. In this island there is great scarcity of water, but the wine it formerly produced is highly commended by Pliny^f.

Tenos. Tenos was first called Hydrusia from the Greek word *hydor*, *water*, being more plentifully supplied with springs than the other islands; afterwards it had the name of Ophiusia, from the serpents which infested the island, the Greek word *ophis* signifying *a serpent*; and lastly, the name of Tenos was given it from one Tenos, the first who settled here. Pliny places Tenos one mile from Andros, fifteen from Delos, and says, it is fifteen miles in extent. Tournefort will have it to be sixty miles in compass, Porcachi forty, and Ferrarius but thirty-five. It is mountainous, yet abounding in excellent fruit. The wine of Tenos was anciently in high repute; whence several medals of this island are still to be seen with bunches of

^a Strabo lib. x.

nefort. vol. i.

no'oph, lib. i.

^b Eustath. in Dionys. ver. 526.

^c Plin. lib. xii. cap. 7.

^d Plin. lib. xiv. cap. 1.

^e Athen. Deip-

nosoph, lib. i.

grapes on the reverse ^a. The name of Tenos was common to the island and its capital ^w, which, according to Strabo, was not a great, but a well-built city, and had a stately temple, in an adjoining grove, dedicated to Neptune ^x. This temple and grove enjoyed the privileges of an asylum, which were abridged by Tiberius, as were those of the most famous temples in the Levant ^y. The Tenians adored Neptune as the god of physic. These islanders were once very powerful by sea, as Herodotus informs us ^z; nevertheless at the approach of the Persian fleet, they submitted without making the least opposition, and assisted Xerxes in his Grecian expedition. This island underwent the same fate as the rest in the Archipelago, being first subdued by the Athenians, who drove out the Persians, afterwards by the Macedonian princes, and lastly by the Romans.

The island of Andros lies between Tenos and Eubœa, *Andros.* being distant from the former one mile, and ten from the latter ^a. Pliny makes it ninety-three miles in compass; but the inhabitants say, it is a hundred and twenty. It had various names, viz. Cauros, Lafia, Nonagria, Epagris, Antandros, and Hydrusia. The name of Andros it borrowed from one Andreus, who was, according to Diodorus Siculus ^b, one of the generals whom Rhadamanthus appointed to govern the Cyclades, after their voluntary submission to him. Conon will have this Andreus to be the son of Anius, and grandson of Apollo and Creusa, and to have been the first who settled in this island. It received the name Antandros, signifying *for one man* ^c, from its being given as his ransom by Alcanius the son of Æneas, when taken prisoner by the Pelasgians. It had formerly a city of great note bearing the same name, advantageously situated on the brow of a hill, commanding the whole coast ^d. The territory of Andros is still one of the most fertile and pleasant countries in the Archipelago, producing all kinds of delicious fruit, and watered with numerous springs, whence it had the name of Hydrusia, a name given by the Greeks to all places plentifully supplied with water.

^a Vallant. Numism. Græc. Spon Voyage, &c.

ubi supra.

lib. iii. cap. 60, & 63.

lib. iv. cap. 12.

rat 41.
lib. ix.

^x Strabo, ubi supra.

^z Herodot. lib. viii. cap. 82.

^b Diod. Sic. lib. v.

^d Herodot. lib. viii. & Galen. de Simpl. Med. Facul.

^w Plin.

^y Tacit. Annal.

^a Plin.

^c Conon Nar-

*The city of
Andros be-
sieged by
Themis-
tocles.*

The Andrians were the first of all the islanders who joined the Persians; wherefore Themistocles, after the victory at Salamis, resolved to attack the city of Andros, and put it under large contributions for the maintenance of his fleet. Having landed his men in the island, he acquainted the magistrates, that the Athenians were come with two powerful divinities on their side, Persuasion and Force, and therefore they must part with their money by fair means or by foul. The Andrians replied, that they likewise had two mighty deities, who were very fond of their island, Poverty and Impossibility, and therefore could give no money. Themistocles, dissatisfied with this answer, laid siege to the town ^c. The event is not known; but we may suppose, that the Athenian general made himself master of the place, since Pericles, as we read in Plutarch ^d, a few years after, sent thither a colony of two hundred and fifty Athenians. It was not long after retaken by the Persians, and besieged in vain by Alcibiades, who, after having taken and fortified the castle of Gaurium, left Thrasybulus in it with a strong garrison, and retired first to Rhodes, and thence to the island of Cos ^e. This like the other Greek islands, submitted to Alexander, after whose death it took part with Antigonus, who was driven out by Ptolemy, whose successors held it to the Roman times, when Attalus king of Pergamus besieged the metropolis at the head of a Roman army, and, having taken it, the Romans granted him the possession of the whole island; but upon his death Rome claimed this island, as well as his other dominions, in virtue of his last will ^f.

Gyarus

Gyarus, Gyara, or Gyarae, lies near Delos, and, according to Pliny ^g, is twelve miles in circuit; and the most inhospitable island of the whole Archipelago. In Strabo's time it had but one small village, inhabited by a few beggarly fishermen, who, after the battle of Actium, sent deputies to Augustus, to obtain a diminution of their tribute, which was set at a hundred and fifty denarii. This island we are told was once infested by swarms of field-mice, of an uncommon size, which, after having expelled the inhabitants, were obliged to subsist upon the iron that was dug out of the mines, for want of better food. Therefore the Romans used to banish their of-

^c Herodot. lib. viii. cap. 111.

^d Plut. in Pericl.

^e Dio-

der. Sic. lib. xxi.

^f Liv. lib. xxxi. cap. 43.

^g Plin.

lib. iv. cap. 12.

fenders to this island; as the most wretched place in their vast dominions.

Delos, an island once of great fame, but at present an *Desol.* desolate rock, serving only for a retreat to pirates, is placed by Pliny at fifteen miles distance from Myconus, eighteen from Naxos, and fifty from Icaria^k. But that writer was certainly mistaken in his measures with regard to Myconus and Naxos, the former being distant from Delos but three miles, and the latter forty. Delos was *Names.* known to the ancients by the names of Cynethos or Cynthos, Asteria, Pelasgia, Chlamydias, Lagia, Pyrpilis, Scythias, Mydia, and Ortygia. It was named Ortygia, and Lagia, from the two Greek words *ortyx* and *λαγος*, the former signifying a *quail*, and the latter a *hare*, there being anciently great plenty of both in this island. As to the name of Delos, etymologists all agree in deriving it from a Greek verb signifying *to appear*, but vary as to the reason of its being appropriated to this island. Pliny, after Aristotle, pretends that the name of Delos was given it, because it rose unexpectedly out of the sea, and appeared floating on the water. The poets pretend that it was named Delos, because Latona, being delivered of Apollo and Diana, shewed herself first here, not having dared to appear before, for fear of Juno (C).

The native deities, Apollo and Diana, had three most magnificent temples erected to them in this island. That of Apollo was, according to Strabo^l, begun by Erychthon, the son of Cecrops, but afterwards enlarged and embellished at the general charge of all the Grecian states. Plutarch tells us, that it was one of the most stately buildings in the universe, and describes an altar therein, as deserving a place among the seven wonders of the world. The trunk of the famous statue of Apollo, mentioned by Strabo and Pliny, is still an object of great admiration to all travellers; and though without head,

The temple of Apollo in Delos.

^k Plin. lib. iv. cap. 12.

^l Strabo, lib. x. sub. fin.

(C) It is still called by the Greeks *Deli*, or *Deli* in the plural, because under that name they comprehend another island known to the ancients by the name of *Rhenæa*, which at some distance seems to be joined to Delos. These two

the present inhabitants distinguish by the epithets of *little* and *great*; the Delos of the ancients they style the Little Delos, it being but seven miles in compass, whereas the other is eighteen.

feet,

feet, arms, or legs, the parts remaining plainly evince, that the ancients with justice commended it as a curious performance. It was of a gigantic size, though cut out of a single block of marble, the shoulders being six feet broad, and the thighs nine feet round. At a small distance from this statue lies, amongst confused heaps of broken columns, architraves, bases, and chapiters, a square piece of marble, fifteen feet and a half long, ten feet nine inches broad, and two feet three inches thick, which probably served as a pedestal to this colossus. It bears, in very fair characters, this inscription in Greek, "The Naxians to Apollo." Plutarch tells us, that Nicias caused to be set up, near the temple of Delos, a huge palm-tree of brass, which he consecrated to Apollo; adding, that a violent storm of wind threw down this tree on a colossian statue, raised by the inhabitants of Naxos^m. Round the temple were magnificent porticos, built at the charge of various princes, as appears from inscriptions which are still very plain. The names of Philip king of Macedon, Dionysius Eutyches, Mithridates Euergetes, Mithridates Eupator, kings of Pontus, and Nicomedes king of Bithynia, are found on several pedestals. To this temple the neighbouring islands sent yearly a company of virgins, to celebrate, with dancing, the festival of Apollo and his sister Diana, and to make offerings in the name of their respective cities.

*Delos re-
vered by
all nations.*

Delos was so highly revered by most nations, that even the Persians, after having laid waste the other islands, and every where destroyed the temples of the gods, spared Delos; and Datis, the Persian admiral, forbore to anchor in that harbour; but from Naxos, where he had committed great devastations, and burnt the city with all its temples, he proceeded to Rhenea. There being informed that the Delians had, on his approach, abandoned their island, and retired with their effects to Tenos, he sent a herald to them with this message: "Sacred men, upon what account have you abandoned your habitations, and by your flight discovered the ill opinion you have of me? I am not your enemy by inclination; and, besides, I have been commanded by the king to forbear practising any sort of hostilities in a country where two gods were born, or using violence of any kind against the inhabitants or the place. Return therefore to your houses, and resume the possession of your lands." Upon the return of

^m Plut. in Nicia.

the messenger, he sent the weight of three hundred talents of frankincense, to be burnt on the altar of Apollo, and set sail with his whole fleet, without suffering any of his soldiers to land in the island.

The offerings that were here made to Apollo, were first wrapped up in wheat-straw.

Offerings made to Apollo in Delos. The oracle of Apollo.

The oracle of Apollo, in Delos, was one of the most famous oracles in the world, as well for its antiquity, as for the richness of the sacred presents dedicated to the god, and the multitudes that from all parts resorted thither for advice; in which respect it surpassed not only all the oracles of other gods, but those of Apollo himself, that of Delphi alone excepted. Some writers tell us^a, that the island had the name of Delos from the most clear and simple terms in which the answers were here given by the oracle, contrary to the ambiguity observed in other places; but it was consulted only while Apollo made Delos his summer residence, for his winter abode was at Patara, a city of Lycia^c. The presents, which the votaries offered here to Apollo, were laid on the altar before mentioned. Some tell us, that this altar was erected by

Apollo himself, when he was but four years old, and that it was formed of the horns of goats, killed by Diana on Mount Cynthus^d. It was preserved pure from blood, and all manner of pollution, as offensive to Apollo. The whole island was an asylum, which extended to all living creatures, dogs excepted, which were not suffered to be brought on thence, and therefore it abounded with hares^e (D).

The

^a Alexander ab Alexandro. ^c Servius in Virg. Æneid. iv. ver. 143. ^d Epistola Cydippes ad Acont. Callimachi Hymn. in Apoll. ver. 88. Politiani Miscel. cap. 52. ^e Thucyd. lib. 1.

(D) Pisistratus, tyrant of Athens, was commanded by an oracle, as Herodotus informs us (1), to purify the island, which he did accordingly, causing the dead bodies to be taken up, and removed from all places within the prospect of the temple. In the sixth year of the Peloponnesian war, the Athenians, by the advice of an oracle, purified it anew, by

digging up all the dead bodies, and carrying them over to the island of Rhenea, where they were interred. Having thus cleared it from sepulchres and graves, in order to preserve it from pollution, they published an edict, whereby it was enacted, that for the future no person should be suffered to die, nor any woman to be brought to bed in the island;

(1) Herodot. lib. i. cap. 64.

but,

*Annual
procession
of the A-
thenians to
Delos.*

The Athenians made an annual procession to the island of Delos. The author of this ceremony was Theseus, who, being sent with other Athenian youths into Crete, to be devoured by the Minotaur, made a vow to Apollo, that, if he granted them a safe return, they should make a solemn voyage to his temple in Delos every year.

*The city
of Delos.*

The city of Delos took up, as its magnificent ruins evince, that spacious plain which reaches from one coast to the other, and extends eastward as far as the isthmus. It was the richest city in the Archipelago, especially after the destruction of Corinth, merchants being allured thither from all parts, by the immunities they enjoyed there, and by its convenient situation between Europe and Asia. Strabo calls it one of the most frequented emporiums of the world^r; and Pliny tells us, that all the commodities of Europe and Asia were sold, purchased, or exchanged there^s. It contained many noble and stately buildings; namely, the temples of Apollo, Diana, and Latona; the porticos of Philip of Macedon, and of Dionysius Eutyches; a gymnasium; an oval basin, made at an immense expence, for the representation of sea-fights; and a most magnificent theatre.

*The river
Inapus.*

Strabo and Callimachus^t tell us, that the island was watered by the river Inapus; Pliny calls it a spring, and adds, that its waters swelled and abated at the same time with those of the Nile, as if there had been some communication between the Nile and the Inapus. There is now no river in the island; but one of the noblest springs in all the Archipelago, being twelve paces in diameter, and inclosed partly by rocks, and partly by a wall. Mount Cynthus is placed near the city, and said to be so high, as to cover the whole island with its shadow; but our me-

*Mount
Cynthus.*

^r Strab. lib. x. sub fin. ^s Plin. lib. iv. cap. 6. ^t Callim. ver. 263.

but, when they were near the time of the one or the other, they should be carried over into Rheuzæ (2). In memory of this purification, the Athenians instituted a solemn feast, which was celebrated every fifth year, people assembling on that occasion to Delos from the neighbouring islands, and all

parts of Greece. A few years after, the Athenians, to complete the purification of the island, expelled all the ancient inhabitants, whom they pretended to be polluted, on account of a crime by them committed in former times, but not mentioned by our historians.

(2) Thucyd. lib. iii

derm travellers speak of it as a hill of a very moderate height. Here Latona is said to have been delivered of Apollo and Diana; whence its great sanctity was derived. It is but one block of ordinary granite, cut on that side facing the city, in regular steps, inclosed with a wall. On the top of the mountain are the remains of a stately building, with a Mosaic pavement, broken pillars, and other monuments of antiquity.

The island of Delos was, in ancient times, governed by kings; for Virgil mentions one Anius reigning here in the time of the Trojan war. He was both king and high-priest of Apollo, and entertained Æneas with great kindness. This prince was descended from Cadmus, and had by his wife, Dorippe, three daughters, Oeno, Spermo, and Elais, who are feigned by the poets to have received from Bacchus the power of changing whatever they touched into wine, wheat or feed, and oil, as their name imports; alluding to the great quantity of wine, wheat, and oil which accrued to their father from the offering made to Apollo^u. In after-ages the Athenians made themselves masters of Delos, but were driven out by Mithridates the Great, who plundered the rich temple of Apollo, and obliged the Delians to side with him. Mithridates, in his turn, lost it to the Romans, who granted the inhabitants many privileges, and exempted them from all sort of tribute and taxes. The lands are now so covered with ruins and rubbish, as to admit of no sort of culture; yet the inhabitants of Mycone hold it, by paying ten crowns land-tax to the grand signor.

The island of Ρηναια, Rhenia, or Rhene, is separated from Delos by a strait above five hundred paces over. It is now called the Great Sdili, or Deli, and is about eighteen miles in compass. Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, having made himself master of this island, consecrated it to Apollo, fastening it to Delos with a long chain^w. It has excellent pasture-grounds, yet quite abandoned, none daring to settle there for fear of the pirates, who infest the Archipelago. On the coast facing Delos are still to be seen the ruins of a great city.

Scyrus, now Sciro, lies over-against Eubœa, from which it is about twenty-eight miles distant. It is sixty miles in

^u Vide Servium in lib. iii. Æneid. vc. 80. lib. iii.

^w Thucyd compass.

*Inhabi-
tants, go-
vernment,
&c.*

compass, but a very barren country, full of hills and rocks; as its name imports. However, in Strabo's time it yielded excellent wine, and was famed for its goats^x; but so destitute of corn, and all other necessaries of life, that any poor and barren country was proverbially called, 'The principality of Scyrus'. Its marble quarries are, however, commended, and Pliny speaks of a kind of stone found here, which swam when entire, and sunk when broken. Scyrus was, according to Plutarch^y, first peopled by the Pelasgians and Carians, though we do not find it mentioned in history before the reign of Lycomedes, who governed it; when Theseus retired to this island, to take possession of his paternal estate. That monarch, jealous of the abilities of Theseus, or unwilling to provoke Mnestheus, who had expelled him from Athens, by entertaining his exile, led him to the top of a rock, under pretence of shewing him his father's lands, and from thence threw him into the sea^z. In this island, and its royal court, Achilles lay concealed till he was discovered by Ulysses, and sent to the siege of Troy, which the oracle pronounced unconquerable without him. While he lived among the king's daughters, under female apparel, he had by Deidamia, who was one of them, Neoptolemus, called Pyrrhus, on account of his yellow hair. Neoptolemus was brought up in this island, where he raised the brave troops which he conducted to the war of Troy, to revenge his father's death. Many ages after this, Scyrus was reduced by the Athenians, under the command of Cimon, who brought from thence the bones of Theseus. This island was taken from the Athenians by the Persians, but restored to them by the peace of Antalcidas. After the death of Alexander, to whom this island submitted, Demetrius, surnamed Poliorcetes, or the Town-taker, became master of it, and restored the inhabitants to their ancient liberty^a, which they enjoyed till they, with the other Greek states, fell under the Roman yoke.

Sciathus.

The islands of Sciathus, Peparethus, Icos, and Halonessus, lie also in the *Ægean sea*, near the coast of Magnesia^c. Sciathus, now Sciato and Sciatta, lies about four leagues north of Eubœa, is thirty miles in compass, and separated from the continent of Magnesia by a narrow

^x Strab. lib. xiv. sub fin.

^y Erasim. Chiliad.

^z Plut.

in Theseo.

^a Idem ibid.

^b Diodor. Sicul. lib. xx.

^c Strab. lib. ix. p. 300.

straight.

streight ^d. Pomponius Mela places it more to the south, over-against the Pegafæan bay, called now the gulf of Vulo. It had formerly two cities, one of which, called also Sciathus, was demolished by Philip, the father of Perfes, lest it should fall into the hands of the Romans ^e; in whose time it served as a retreat for pirates; wherefore Brutius Sura having conquered it, crucified all the slaves he found in the island, and cut off the right hands of all the inhabitants he could find ^f. This barren island continues uninhabited on account of the pirates, who still infest it.

Peparethus is placed by Stephanus in the neighbourhood of Eubœa, wherein he disagrees with all the ancients, who speak of it as lying between the islands of Sciathus and Scyrus, thirty leagues from Mount Athos, and eight from the coast of Magnesia. It is twenty miles in circumference, and formerly abounded with excellent olives. Pliny boasts of its exquisite wines, telling us, that Apollodorus, a famous physician, preferred that of Peparethus to any other; though it was in little esteem, as being unpalatable, till it was seven years old ^g. From the excellence of its wines, it was called, in the most early ages, *Euœnus*, that is, *producing good wine, or the wine island*. In this island was a city of the same name, afterwards destroyed, together with Sciathus, by Philip of Macedon, in his war with the Romans ^h.

Icos ⁱ, by Stephanus, counted among the Cyclades, *Icos.* and placed near Eubœa; but by Livy ^j between the islands of Sciathus and Scyrus. It is a very small island, but nevertheless had anciently two cities, whence it was also called Dipolis.

Halonefus is placed by Pliny ^k between Samothrace *Halonefus.* and the Thracian Chersonesus, at the distance of fifteen miles from both. But Strabo ^l and Mela ^m speak of it as lying between Icos and Scyrus, over-against Magnesia. It had formerly a town of the same name, and being claimed both by the Athenians and by Philip of Macedon,

^d Herodot lib vii. cap. 159. ^e Liv. lib. xxxi. cap. 19.
^f Appian in Mithridat. ^g Plin. lib. xiv. cap. 7. ^h Appian ubi supra.
ⁱ Liv. lib. xxxi. cap. 46. ^k Plin. lib. iv. cap. 12. ^l Strabo ubi supra. ^m Pomp. Mela, lib. ii. cap. 7.

gave rise to a war between those two powers. Pelagnisi and Pelagiti are its modern names.

Chryse.

Between these islands on the coast of Magnesia, and Lesbos on the coast of Asia, lies a small island, called by the ancients Chryse, and now known by the name of S. Strato. There were formerly two islands bearing this name, whereof one, if Pausanias^a may be believed, sunk into the sea, and never again appeared.

Lemnos.

The island of Lemnos lies between Mount Athos and the Thracian Chersonesus, being, according to Pliny's account, distant twenty-two miles from Imbros, eighty-seven from Mount Athos, twenty-two from Samothrace, and five from Thasos; in compass a hundred and twelve miles; and Stephanus tells us, that it was called Lemnos from Iuno, whom the ancient inhabitants worshipped under that name, by the annual sacrifice of a young woman. It was also called Hypsipylea, from the daughter of Thoas, king of the island; but is now known by the name of Stalemene or Stalimini. Its two ancient cities were, Hephæstias and Myrina. The former was the capital of the island, and took its name from Hephæstos, or Vulcan, the tutelar deity of the place, and is now known by the name of Coching, as the latter is by that of Lemno and Stalimene. The country is full of hills and valleys, some of which are well cultivated, and produce all sorts of fruit. The eastern part of the island is dry and barren, but that lying on the western and southern coast, as it abounds more with springs, is very fruitful. It has no high mountains, one of which, called by Herodotus and Nicander, Méschile, emits flames like Mount Ætna in Sicily. This island has ever been famous for a certain kind of earth, or rather chalk, called Terra Lemnia, also Terra Sigillata, from the seal or character that is imprinted on it; deemed an excellent remedy against poisons, stings of serpent, wounds, and bloody fluxes. It was formerly, and is still, dug with many superstitious ceremonies, to which it owes most of its reputation.

*Cities,
and, &c.**Terra
Sigillata.**The laby-
rinth.*

The labyrinth of Lemnos is much spoken of by the ancients, and preferable, in the opinion of Pliny^c, to those of Egypt and Crete. It was a magnificent building, supported by forty columns of extraordinary height and

^a Pausan. in Arcad. cap. 33.

^c Plin. ubi supra.

thickness. Zmilus, Rhodus, and Theodorus, the last a native of the island, were the architects of this admirable edifice. Some remains of this stately fabrick were to be seen in Pliny's time.

The most ancient inhabitants of Lemnos were the Sapeans and Sintians, a people of Thrace, to whom Homer gives the epithet of *barbari*. They inhabited the island before the expedition of the Argonauts, whose descendents, the Minyans, also settled here, but soon relinquished the country, and retired to the city of Lacedæmon, from whence they went to Triphylia, and stopped in the neighbourhood of Arena, in a country which, in Strabo's time, was called Lypefia^p. Many years after their departure from Lemnos, the Pelasgians, being driven out of Attica, seized this and the adjacent islands, and governed them according to their own laws, till they were rendered subject to Athens by Miltiades. Hecateus, as quoted by Herodorus^q, affirms, that the Athenians, seeing the lands about Hymettus, which they had given to the Pelasgians in payment for the wall they had built round the acropolis, or citadel of Athens, improved from barrenness into a fruitful soil, without any other cause, drove them out, and resumed the country. But the Athenians alleged, that the Pelasgians frequently offered violence to their sons and daughters, who were sent for water to a place called the Nine Fountains. And that the Pelasgians, not contented with these attempts, conspired to possess themselves of Athens itself; which conspiracy being detected, the Athenians, instead of punishing them with death as their treachery deserved, commanded them only to depart the country. The Pelasgians, thus driven from Attica, passed over into Lemnos, and settled there; but, meditating revenge, they fitted out a fleet, and laid an ambush for the Athenian women, as they celebrated the feast of Diana in Brauron, and surprising a great number, carried them to Lemnos, and there kept them for concubines. These women taught their Pelasgian sons the language of Attica, and manners of the Athenians: being thus educated, they not only refused to converse with the sons of the Pelasgian women, but, if any of their number was injured by the Pelasgians, they all united to revenge the injury. By these means they gained such an ascendant over that race, that they were obeyed by them as masters are by their slaves. The Pelasgians, ob-

Inhabitants, government, &c.

^p Strabo, ubi supra.

^q Herodot. lib. vi. cap. 137. & seqq.

serving this their haughty behaviour, concluded, that if they began so early to usurp a superiority over the children of their lawful wives, they would not fail to treat them as their slaves when they attained to men's estate. This apprehension made so deep an impression in their minds, that they resolved to murder the children they had by the women of Attica; which barbarous resolution they executed accordingly, extending their cruelty likewise to their mothers. After this horrid massacre their lands, as we are told, became barren, their wives unfruitful, and their flocks ceased to yield their usual increase; the Delphian oracle was thereupon consulted about the means of deliverance from these calamities. The Pythian advised them to give satisfaction to the Athenians in the manner they should require. Having received this answer, they dispatched ambassadors to Athens, declaring that they were ready to undergo any punishment the Athenians should think fit to inflict. The Athenians, hearing their offer, prepared a magnificent feast in the prytaneum, and, shewing them the tables furnished with all kinds of provisions, commanded them to surrender their country in as good a condition. The Pelasgian, answered that they would comply with their command, when a ship should come in one day, with a north wind, from the territories of Athens to their island. This voyage they conceived impossible, Athens lying to the south of Lemnos; but, in virtue of this promise, Alcibiades, many years after, summoned them to deliver up their island to the Athenians.

*Their government
monarchical.*

The government of this island was at first monarchical; but Phros is the only king of Lemnos we find recorded. In his reign, and, if we believe Herodotus*, with his assistance, the Lemnian women killed all the males of the island, with a design to turn Amazons; from which action, and the murder of the Athenian women, which happened long after, any black treachery, or cruel murder, was called a Lemnian action†. Homer and other writers relate this matter variously. The Lemnians, after having enjoyed their liberty for many ages, were at last reduced by Miltiades under the power of the Athenians. In process of time they shook off the Athenian yoke, but were again subjected to their ancient masters by the Romans, after the Macedonian war, and continued in that state till Sylla made them tributary to Rome.

* Herodot. lib. vi. cap. 1; 8.

† Erasmi. Chiliad.

Imbros, now Embro or Lembro, lies opposite the Thracian Chersonesus, from which it is divided by a narrow stright, being distant, according to Thucydides¹, from Lemnos twenty-two miles; and thirty-two, as Pliny informs us², from Samothrace. The same author makes it twenty-seven miles in circumference, but modern travellers only twenty. It had formerly a safe harbour on the east shore, and a city bearing the name of the island. The whole island was sacred to the Cabiri and to Mercury; whence it is styled by Homer the Divine Imbros. Imbros, like the other Ægean islands, was governed some time by its own laws, but afterwards was subject to the Persians, Athenians, Macedonians, and the kings of Pergamus. At the peace concluded between Philip and the Romans, it was given up by the last to the Athenians, who held it till Rome, becoming powerful in the East, reduced this and the other islands to a Roman province.

Thasos, or Thassus, lies on the coast of Thrace, at a small distance from the mouth of the Nessus. It was formerly known by the names of Odonis, Æria, Æthria, Ogygia, Acte, Ceresis, and Chryse. This last name it borrowed from its rich mines of gold. It was called Thasos, from Thasus the brother of Cadmus, who built here a city of the same name, as Herodotus³ and Conon⁴ inform us. It is about forty miles in compass, and the fertility of Thasos was used by the ancients by way of proverb, expressive of a very plentiful country⁵. The wine of Thasos is highly commended by Apuleius⁶, and the Thasian marble by Seneca. This island was first inhabited by the Phœnicians, whom Cadmus, while he was going in search of his sister Europa, left here under the conduct of his brother, as we have hinted above. Some ages after the inhabitants of Paros sent a colony to Thasos, being directed by an oracle to build a city in the island of Æria, and to send thither a sufficient number of citizens to people it⁷. The city of Thasos was besieged in vain by Histiaeus, tyrant of Miletus; but afterwards taken and dismantled by Darius Hystaspis, king of Persia. The Thasians did not continue long subject to the Persians, but seized the first opportunity to join the Greeks against the common enemy, by making alliances with the Athre-

Imbros.

Thasos.

Inhabitant, government, &c.

The city of Thasos besieged in vain by Histiaeus.

¹ Thucyd lib viii. ² Plin. lib. iv. cap. 12. ³ Herodot. lib. ii. cap. 44. & lib. vi. cap. 47. ⁴ Conon. Narrat. 37. ⁵ Vide Erasmus Chiliad. ⁶ Apuleius, Apolog p. 289. ⁷ Strab. lib. x p. 335.

nians, from whom they revolted after the battle fought on the river Eurymedon in Pamphylia; but they were obliged by Cimon, the Athenian admiral, after enduring a three years siege, to submit upon very disadvantageous terms^b. In the twenty-first year of the Peloponnesian war, they revolted afresh from the Athenians, who were for establishing an oligarchy in their city, and, with the assistance of the Lacedæmonians, regained their ancient liberty, after having expelled all those who were attached to the interest of Athens. They continued free till the time of Alexander, to whom they voluntarily submitted, and remained subject to the kings of Macedon, till they were released from the Macedonian yoke, and declared free by an article of the peace concluded between Philip, the father of Perſes, and Flaminius, the Roman consul^c.

**Samo-
thrace.**

Samothrace was anciently known by the names of Melites, Leucasia or Leucania, Saosis, Electria, and Dardania. It was called Dardania, according to Pliny^d and Pausanias^e, from Dardanus, who retired thither. It changed the name of Dardania into that of Samothrace, from a colony of Thracians, who, together with some fugitives from the island of Samos, settled there. Before, and at the time of the Trojan war, it was called Samos, and distinguished from Samos on the coast of Ionia, and from Cephallenia, named likewise Samos, by the epithet of Thracian, Imbrian, or Lemnian. It is, by Homer, constantly styled the Thracian Samos, which appellation the Latins changed into that of Samothracia. Strabo^f is of opinion, that it took the name of Samos from a Greek word signifying *high*, this island being one of the highest in the Ægean Sea. Hence Priscian styles it the High Samos, and Homer tells us, that from this island Mount Ida, the city of Troy, and the Greek and Trojan camps, might be seen. It is, according to Pliny, about two hundred and thirty miles in compass, twenty-two distant from Lemnos, thirty-two from Imbros, and thirty-eight from the coast of Thrace. Modern travellers reckon it only at three leagues distance from the coast of Thrace, and give it but twenty miles in circumference. As to the first inhabitants of Samothrace, there is nothing handed down by antiquity, on that subject, to be depended on. They had anciently a peculiar language, not understood by the

**Inhabit-
ants.**

^b Thucyd. lib. i.

^c Liv. lib. xxxiii. cap. 30 Polyb. in Exc.

Legat.

^d Plin. lib. iv. cap. 47.

^e Pausan. in Atticis,

{ Strab. lib. x. p. 315.

other Greeks, whereof some words were used in the worship of their gods, when Diodorus Siculus wrote his history. The island of Samothrace was famous on account of the worship paid there to the gods called Cabiri (E), who were held in so great veneration, that it was thought an act of irreverence even to pronounce their names. All the great heroes of antiquity were initiated into the mysteries of these deities. Such as were admitted to partake of the sacred ceremonies, used to meet in a wood, which became a place of refuge for offenders, and was more respected than even the temple of Delphi, or the island of Delos. To this island Perseus, king of Macedonia, fled for refuge, and took up his habitation in a temple dedicated to Castor and Pollux, hoping that the Romans would not prophane a sanctuary revered by all the nations of the world; and, indeed, the Romans did not make any attempts upon his life or person so long as he continued there. Of all the oaths that were in use among the ancients, that by the gods of Samothrace was deemed the most sacred and inviolable. Such as were found to have falsified this oath, were looked upon as the curse of mankind, and persons devoted to destruction.

The Cabiri.

Diodorus Siculus speaks of an inundation, which laid great part of Samothrace under water, drowned all the cities on the coast of Asia, and overwhelmed several islands in the Ægean Sea, some of which never afterwards appeared. In Samothrace the waters rose near the tops of the highest mountains, and changed the face of the whole island. This deluge is supposed to have happened before the Argonautic expedition, and is said to have been occasioned by the overflowing of the Pontic sea; which, being swelled by the waters of the many great rivers that fall into it, discharged itself through the Bosphorus Thracicus into the Propontis, and through the Hellespont into the Ægean Sea. When the waters abated, the inhabitants of Samothrace consecrated to the gods the places where they had been preserved, erecting altars,

*Inundation
in Samothrace.*

(E) There is so much disagreement among authors in their accounts of these deities, that, notwithstanding all the mythologists have said of them, we are still ignorant of many particulars, and can only form a confused idea of their nature, origin, and attri-

butes. Those who would know the various opinions of the fabulous ages, touching the names, origin, number, attributes, mysteries, and worship of these deities, may consult the writings of Clemens Alexandrinus and Bochart.

and offering up yearly sacrifices in memory of their deliverance ^g.

*Govern-
ment.*

The island of Samothrace was, in ancient times, governed by its own kings; for Coritus, Dardanus, and his brother Jason, are said to have reigned there. The monarchical form of government gave place to the republican, which lasted till the reduction of the island by the Persians. Alexander restored this, as most of the other Greek islands, to the enjoyment of their ancient liberties; but his successors in Macedon brought the Samothracians again under subjection. The Romans, after the defeat of Perseus, declared them a free people. They lived according to their own laws from that time to the reign of Vespasian, who reduced all the states of Greece to a Roman province ^h.

Islands on the Coasts of Greece.

Salon.

FROM the Ægean we shall proceed with Strabo to the Ionian Sea (F), giving a succinct description of the islands on the coast of Greece, of which the most northerly is that of Salon, lying between Aulon, now La Valona, a city of Macedon, and Brundisium in Italy, at the entrance of the Ionian Sea. Lucan counts it among the islands of Italy ⁱ, and Ptolemy ^k among those of Macedon. It is mentioned by Polybius ^l, Scylax ^m, Mela ⁿ, Pliny ^o, &c. and described by Silius Italicus as a barren, sandy, and inhospitable place ^p.

Coreyra.

Coreyra, now Corfu, was, in more ancient times, called Drepane, Scheria, and Phæacia. The name of Coreyra, which was also given to another island lying in

^g Idem ibid.

^h Sueton. in Vespas.

ⁱ Lucan. lib. xi.

ver. 627.

^k Ptol. lib. iii. cap. 12.

^l Polyb. lib. v. cap. 110.

^m Scylax. in Illyr.

ⁿ Pomp. Mela, lib. iv.

^o Plin. lib. iii.

cap. ult.

^p Silius Italic. lib. v. ver. 48c.

(F) The Ionian Gulph, or the Ionian Sea, lies between Sicily and Greece, extending from the island of Crete to the Acroceraniau hills in Epirus; or, as others will have it, to the city of Apollonia in Macedon. It was so called either from Ionius, the son of Dyrshachius, Hercules having

given it that name to preserve the memory of his friend, whom he had killed by mistake, and thrown into the sea; or from Ionia, a country, according to Solinus, in the extremity of Calabria; or from Io, the daughter of Inachus, as Lycophron has it.

the Adriatic, opposite Illyricum, it took from a nymph so called, whom Neptune is said to have ravished in this island. It is about forty-five miles in length, twenty-two in breadth, and two hundred and ten in compass. Corcyra was famous for the delightful gardens of king Alcinous, who courteously entertained Ulysses after his shipwreck^q. The southern parts of the island are barren, mountainous, and ill provided with water; the northern coast is very fertile in all kinds of delicious fruit, excellent wines, olives, grain, &c. whence it is styled by Homer the Fruitful Scheria. It had anciently two cities of no small note, viz. Corcyra and Cassiope; the former was the metropolis of the island, and once very powerful, as appears from Thucydides and others; the latter is commended by Pliny^r and Ptolemy^s as a wealthy and well-built city; but Cicero calls it only a haven^t. This island is said to have been first inhabited by the Phæaces, whence it was named Phæacia; but afterwards the Corinthians sent thither a numerous colony. The Corcyrians were, for some time, masters of the sea. Their government was first monarchical; but afterwards they formed themselves into a republic, and made a very considerable figure in the flourishing times of Greece. Herodotus tells us^u, that they were very powerful by land; but he highly blames them for their deceitful conduct with respect to the assistance they promised the Greeks against Xerxes; for, being invited by the Athenian and Lacedæmonian ambassadors to join them in the common cause, they readily engaged to send powerful succours, assuring them, that they would not neglect the safety of Greece in so imminent a danger, being sensible, that if the enemy prevailed, they should soon be reduced to the condition of slaves. The ambassadors departed, and the Corcyrians fitting out a squadron of sixty ships, sailed to the coast of Peloponnesus, and, having anchored about Pylos and Tænarus, waited in that station to see the event of the war, being resolved to join the party that should prevail. When they heard that the Persians were defeated at Salamis, they left their station, and joined the rest of the Greeks, pretending that they had been prevented, by the Etesian winds, from doubling the cape of Malca, and being present at the battle. The Corcyrians submitted to Alexander, and remained subject to the kings of Macedon till

^q Homer. *Odyss.* *l.* vi. ver. 34. ^r Plin. *lib.* iv. cap. 12. ^s Ptol. *lib.* iii. cap. 4. ^t Cic. *lib.* xvi. *Epist.* 9. ad Tyron. ^u Herodot. *lib.* vii. cap. 168.

they were delivered by the Romans in the reign of Pessus, from which time they enjoyed their liberty till the reign of Vespasian, when they underwent the common fate of the other islands and Greek states both in Europe and Asia.

*Sybota,
Ptychia.
Paxi, &c.*

Between Corcyra and the continent lie two small islands, called by Strabo ^w and Thucydides ^v, Sybota; and at a small distance from the eastern coast of Corcyra, the island of Ptychia. Five miles east of Corcyra are the islands Paxi, or Paxæ, mentioned by Pliny ^r, but containing nothing remarkable. They are but two in number, and at present known by the names of Pachfu and Anti-pachfu. Pliny enumerates several other islands on the coast of Epirus, viz. Ericusa, Marathe, Elaphusa, Malthace, Trachie, Pythionia, and Tarachia, of which Ericusa was also known to Ptolemy, who places it between Corcyra and Cephalenia.

Leucas.

Leucas, now Santa Maura, was anciently a peninsula, joined to the main land of Acarnania by an isthmus, which was cut either by the Carthaginians, or the Corinthians. In the middle of this island was a stately temple, consecrated to Venus, the mother of Æneas, who is supposed to have landed here on his voyage to Italy. Homer speaks of three cities of no small note in this country, viz. Nericus, Crocylea, and Agylipe. Isaac Vossius is of opinion, that in the time of Thucydides it was still a peninsula, since that historian, in describing the countries of Leucas and Acarnania, makes no mention of the isthmus being cut ^z. In Homer's time it was undoubtedly joined to the land, as he calls it the coast of Epirus ². It is about seventy miles in compass, and was anciently called Neritis ^b.

*Taphia,
Teleboides.*

The islands of Taphiæ and Teleboides, lay to the east of Leucas, near the coast of Achaia. They were so called from Taphus and Telebous, the sons of Pterelas, and grandsons of Neptune by Hippothoe, the daughter of Nestor ^c. The Echinades were five small islands on the coast of Acarnania, opposite the mouth of the river

^w Strab. lib. vii. p. 224. ^v Thucyd. lib. i. p. 32. ^r Plin. lib. iv. cap. 12. ^z Vide Voss. in Scylacem. ² Vide Strab. lib. x. p. 311. ^b Plin. lib. iv. cap. 1. ^c Strab. lib. x. & Plin. lib. iv. cap. 12.

Achelous, from which the farthest distant is but fifteen furlongs, and the nearest only five.

Ithaca, between Dulichium and Cephallenia, was famous *Ithaca.* for being the birth-place of Ulysses, the son of Laertes. It is about twenty-five miles in compass, and at present known by the name of Val di Compare. It had a town, in former times bearing the name of the island, and situated, according to Homer ^d, at the foot of Mount Neius, which is thought to be the same with Mount Neritus, mentioned by Virgil ^e.

Cephallenia, or Cephallenia, known in Homer's time by *Cephallenia.* the names of Samos and Black Epirus, or Epirus Melana, is about eighty miles in length, forty in breadth, and a hundred and thirty in compass. It had anciently four cities, one of which bore the name of the island. Strabo tells us, that in his time there were only two cities remaining; but Pliny ^f speaks of three; adding, that the ruins of Same, which had been destroyed by the Romans, were still in being. Same was the metropolis of the island, and is supposed to have stood in the place which the Italians call Porto Guscardo. The names of the four cities were, according to Thucydides, Same, Prone, Cranii, and Palæ ^g. This island was subdued by the Thebans, under the conduct of Amphitryo, who is said to have killed Pterelas, who then reigned here. While Amphitryo was carrying on the war in Cephallenia, then called Samos, one Cephalus, a man of great distinction at Athens, having accidentally killed his wife Procris in shooting at a deer, fled to Amphitryo, who, pitying his case, not only received him kindly, but made him governor of the island, which thenceforth was called Cephallenia. After it had been long in subjection to the Thebans, it fell under the power of the Macedonians, and was taken from them by the Ætolians, who held it till it was reduced by M. Fulvius Nobilior, who, having gained the metropolis after a four months siege, sold all the citizens for slaves, adding the whole island to the dominions of his republic ^h.

The island of Zacynthus lies twelve miles south of Cephallenia, and is said to be twenty-five miles in length, *Zacynthus.*

^d Homer. Odyss. l. vi. ver. 81.

^e Virgil. Æneid. i. ver. 271.

^f Plin. lib. iv. cap. 12.

^g Thucyd. lib. ii. p. 120.

^h Liv.

lib. xxxviii. cap. 28, & 29.

The Strophades.

twenty in breadth, and sixty in circuit. The Strophades are two small islands, lying opposite Arcadia, in Peloponnesus, now known by the name of Strivali. They are about thirty-five miles south of Zacynthus, and, according to Strabo¹, four hundred furlongs from the continent, the largest of the two being but five miles in compass. They were first called Plotæ, that is, *swimming islands*², and afterwards Strophades, from a Greek verb signifying *to return*; because Zethus and Calais, the winged issue of Boreas and Orithya, are feigned to have pursued the Harpies to these islands, and thence to have returned, being admonished by Iris, or Jupiter, to give over the pursuit. They are inhabited by Greek friars; and in one of them there is a fine spring of fresh water, which is said to have its fountain in Peloponnesus, and to pass under the sea.

Letoia, the Sphagiae, Teganusa, &c.

The other islands mentioned by Pliny, as lying between Zacynthus and the Asinæan gulf, are Letoia, or Lætoia, now Cristina, near Cephalenia; the three Sphagiae, or Sphacteriae, opposite Pylus of Messenia; and as many known by the name of Oriusæ, lying over-against the city of Messene. The islands of Sphacteriae are celebrated for a victory gained there by the Athenians over the Lacedæmonians, after which Cleon possessed himself of the islands, taking the Lacedæmonian garrison prisoners. These islands are now called Le Sapienze, and the surrounding sea, Sapienza. In the Laconic gulf are, according to Pliny, the following islands; Teganusa, Cethon, and Cythera. Teganusa, or Theganusa, is placed by Strabo and Pausanias, not in the Laconic, but in the Messenian gulf, before the promontory Acritas, between Metho and Caron, two cities of Messenia. Pomponius Mela¹ places Cethon in the Ægæan sea, and Salmasius on the coast of Africa; but Stephanus agrees with Pliny. Over-against Gythium, in Peloponnesus, lies the small island of Cranæ, mentioned by Pausanias², and said by Homer to have been the first place, where Paris stopt, as he was carrying off Helena³.

Cranæ.

Cythera.

Cythera, now Cerigo, lies opposite Malea, a promontory of Laconia, from which it is distant, according to

¹ Strab. lib. viii. p. 242.

² Plin. lib. iv. cap. 12.

³ Pomp.

Mela, lib. ii. cap. 7.

⁴ Pausan. Lacon. cap. 22.

⁵ Homer.

Iliad. c' ver. 445.

Strabo forty furlongs^a. It was named Cythera, if Stephanus is to be credited, from one Cytherus, a Phœnician, who is said to have settled here. Before his arrival, it was named Porphyris, or Porphyrisia, either because it abounded with porphyry, according to Solinus, or because the best scarlet was dyed here, as Stephanus affirms, on the authority of Aristotle. It is about sixty miles in compass, blessed with a fruitful soil, and has several havens, one of them very safe and spacious, called anciently Scandea, about ten furlongs from the city of Cythera, a city once famous for the temple of Venus, surnamed Urania, or *heavenly* (G).

Islands in the Argolic Bay.

IN the Argolic Bay Pliny places the following^b, Pityusa, Irine, Ephyre, Tipareus, Aperopia, Colonus, Arileria, and Calauria. This last lay, according to Strabo^c, in the bay of Hermione, over-against Træzen, a maritime city of Argia, from which it was distant four furlongs, being thirty in compass. It was famous for a temple consecrated to Neptune, and an asylum^d. Here Demosthenes poisoned himself, and was buried within the temple^e. The other islands contain nothing remarkable.

In the Saronic gulf (H) are the islands of Ægina and Salamis, both equally famous in ancient history. The former was anciently known by the names of Oenone, or Oenopia^f, and Myrmidonia, but Æacus, who reigned here, called it Ægina, from his mother, the daughter of Æolus, king of Bœotia. It was called Myrmidonia, from

^a Strab. lib. viii. p. 255. ^b Plin. lib. iv. cap. 12. ^c Strab. lib. viii. p. 252. ^d Paus. Corinth. cap. 33. ^e Plut. in Vita. Pausan. ubi supra. & Pomp. Mela, lib. ii. cap. 7. ^f Plin. lib. iv. cap. 12.

(G) In this temple, which was believed to be the most ancient which Venus had amongst the Greeks, was a statue of that goddess in complete armour, holding, like Pallas, a javelin in her hand. She is said, upon her first springing out of the froth of the sea (or such was her origin), to have been by gentle zephyrs carried to this island, and from hence to Cyprus; on which account

both islands were in a peculiar manner sacred to her. From Cythera Venus had the surname of Cytherea, often used by Virgil, and other poets.

(H) The Sinus Saronicus, or Saronic gulf, now called the Gulf of Lægia, lies between Attica to the north, and Peloponnesus to the south, extending from Cenchrea, on the isthmus of Corinth, to the promontory of Saron.

its

its inhabitants the Myrmidons, so famous amongst the poets. It lies between the territory of Athens, and that of Epidaurus, a city of Argia, eighteen miles distant from the coast of Athens, and fourteen from Peloponnesus. It is about twenty-six miles in circuit, and had anciently a city of its own name^a, which being destroyed by an earthquake, the inhabitants were exempted by Tiberius, for the space of three years, from paying any kind of tribute^b. Pausanias^c speaks of two magnificent temples in this island, the one consecrated to Venus, the other to Jupiter: the ruins of a stately edifice, which are still visible not far from the present village of Engia, are probably the remains of one of these temples. The country is said to have been at first very stony and barren; but being cleared and cultivated by the labour of the inhabitants, it became very fruitful. From this their indoltry, they were surnamed Myrmidons, that is, *emmet*, as Strabo informs us^d. This island was first peopled by the Epidaurians, who were originally Dorians, and afterwards by colonies from Crete and Argos. These were, in process of time, driven out by the Athenians, who divided the lands among themselves, but did not hold them long, being expelled by the Lacedæmonians, who restored the island to the ancient proprietors. The Myrmidons, or Ægineans, applied themselves very early to trade and navigation, and sent colonies into the neighbouring islands, namely Imbros and Crete; and, according to Strabo, built and peopled the city of Cydon in the latter. In the reign of Amasis, king of Egypt, they erected a magnificent temple in Neueratis, a city of that country, to Jupiter, after the example, as Herodotus says^e, of the Samians, who had built one to the honour of Juno, in the same kingdom. Ephorus, as quoted by Strabo, tells us, that the first money was coined in Ægina by one Phidon. Pliny commends the brass of this island, in preference even to that of Delos; asserting, that the famous statue of brass, representing an ox, which stood in the forum boarium at Rome, was carried from hence to adorn that capital^f.

*Govern-
ment.*

The Ægineans were originally governed by kings, but afterwards they introduced a republican system, which in process of time became so powerful, as to vie with Athens.

^a Strab. lib. viii. p. 258.

^b Tacit. Annal. lib. ii.

^c Pausan.

in Corinth. cap. 12.

^d Strab. ubi supra.

^e Herodot.

lib. v.

^f Plin. lib. iv. cap. 12.

The first king that reigned there was Actor, the son of Dionæus, and grandson, as the poets feign, of Æolus. By his wife Argina he had three sons, Æacus, Menætius, and Irus. Æacus the eldest succeeded his father Actor in the kingdom of Cæne, which, from his mother, he named Argina, and peopled with new colonies invited thither from the continent and neighbouring islands. His piety and justice gave rise to the fable of his being appointed by Pluto judge of the Europeans, after their death. He had by his first wife, named Endeis, Telamon and Peleus, and by Phœmathe, his second, Phœbus. Æacus is said to have assisted the Athenians against Minos king of Crete, and to have been the first who paid divine honours to Hercules. His descendants, the Æacidae, reigned in different countries, and most of them with great power and reputation ^b. Æacus was, according to Macrobius ^c, lived about two generations before the Trojan war, and the first who built a temple in Greece. The monarchical form of government being dissolved, the Arginians became subject, on some occasion, to the Epidaurians ^d. But afterwards, applying themselves to navigation, and the building of ships, they acquired great power by sea, revolted from the Epidaurians, ravaged their territory, and carried off, among other things, the two famous statues of Danaus and Auxetias. (1) This gave

^b Cic. lib. ii. de Divinat.
lib. vi. p. 136.

^c Macrobi. adversus Gentes,
^d Herodot. lib. vi. cap. 83.

(1) The Epidaurians, seeing their country become unfruitful, sent to consult the oracle of Delphi about the cause of that calamity. The Pythia answered, that if they erected statues in honour of Læmia, or, as Herodotus calls her, Læmias, and Auxetias, their affairs would prosper. Læmia and Auxetias were two virgins, who coming from Crete to Træzen, a city of Argia, in time of a tumult, had fallen a sacrifice to the fury of the people, by whom they were condemned to death. The Epidaurians, having received the answer, consulted the

oracle anew, to know whether the statues should be made of wood or brass; the Pythia replied, "Of neither, but of the wood of an olive-tree." Upon this answer the Epidaurians desired leave of the Athenians to cut down an olive-tree in their territory, either because they believed those of that soil to be the most sacred, or, as others say, because the olive-tree at that time grew in no other country. The Athenians readily granted their request, provided they promised to come annually to Athens, and there to offer sacrifice to Minerva and Erechtheus. This condition

gave rise to the irreconcilable enmity between the Ægi-
neans and Athenians. This island was at last reduced
by the Athenians, and continued subject to them, till it
was, at the end of the Macedonian war, declared free by
the Romans; but in the reign of Vespasian, it underwent
the same fate as the other states of Greece.

Salamis.

Salamis, now Coluri, lies in the same Saronic gulf,
about three leagues west of Ægina, over against the city
of Eleusis, from which it is separated by a strait about
a league over, called anciently Porthmos, and at present
Perama^c. It was anciently known by the names of Cy-
cheria, from Cyclicus the first king of the island, and of
Pityussa, because abounding with pine-trees^f. The name
of Salamis is borrowed from Salamine the daughter of
Asopus king of Boeotia, whom Neptune is said to have
ravished, and carried into this island. By her he had Cy-
chreus, or Cycherus, as above mentioned. As Cyclicus
died without children, he was succeeded by Telamon, the
father of Ajax, by Hecione the sister of Priam, and
daughter of Laomedon king of Troy^g; whence Salamis
is styled by Virgil the kingdom of Hecione^h. It is, ac-
cording to Strabo, between seventy and eighty furlongs
in length; fifty miles in compass, and had anciently a
city bearing the same name, and facing the island of
Ægina. This city was destroyed, and another, called al-
so Salamis, built on the coast opposite Attica, which was
well peopled, and governed by its own laws, in the time
of Augustus. In this island the Greeks obtained the ever
memorable victory over the Persians. It was first peopled
by the Ionians, and afterwards by colonies from different
cities of Greece. Its first form of government was mo-
narchical; but of no long continuance, Cyclicus, Tela-

*Inhabi-
tants, form
of govern-
ment, &c.*

^c Strabo, lib. viii. Pausan. Attic. cap. 35.

^f Virg. cap. 11. Strabo, ubi supra.

^g Virg. Æneid. lib. viii. ver. 157.

^h Plin. lib.

ⁱ Scholiast. in Lycoph.

condition the Epidaurians ac-
cepted; and, having obtained
their request, they formed out
of that wood two statues, which
were no sooner erected than
their country became fruitful
again. In process of time the
Ægiueans, having overcome
the Epidaurians, carried off
these statues; and, having e-

rected them at a place called
Oia in the middle of their
island, to render them propi-
tious, they appointed sacrifices,
accompanied with dances, to be
performed by women in their
honour, assigning to each statue
ten men to preside in the so-
lemnity.

mon,

mon, Euryfaces, and Philæus, being the only kings who reigned over the Salaminians. Cychreus is said by Diodorus to have killed a dragon, which infested the island; whence he had the name of Ophis; but Stephanus tells us, that he was so named on account of his crafty and inhuman temper. As Cychreus had no male issue, he left Telamon, the father of Ajax, his successor. Telamon was succeeded by Euryfaces the son of Ajax, by Tecmessa the daughter of Teuthras the Mysian; Teucer the other son of Telamon being, on his return from the siege of Troy, banished by his father, as we have related in the history of Cyprus, for not revenging on Ulysses the death of his brother Ajax. After the death of Telamon, Teucer attempted the recovery of his paternal kingdom; but Euryfaces, entering into an alliance with the Athenians, defeated his designs, and gave the sovereignty of the island to his son, or, as others will have it, to his brother, Philæus, who voluntarily yielded the island to the Athenians, and retiring to Athens, led there a private life. From him the tribe of the Philiadæ, of which was Pisistratus, took their name¹; but his descendants, among whom were Miltiades and Alcibiades, were called Euryfacidæ from Euryfaces. The island of Salamis was taken from the Athenians by the Megareans, and held by them till the time of Solon, who, being originally a Salaminian, prevailed upon the Athenians to attempt the recovery of that island. The attempt succeeded, and the Salaminians again felt the dominion of Athens; in which state they remained till the reign of Cassander, whom they joined against the Athenians, but suffered an expulsion from their ancient habitations, a new colony being sent from Attica to possess their lands and estates. After the reduction of Athens by Sylla, Salamis was declared free, and enjoyed its freedom, till it was, with the other states of Greece, reduced by Vespasian to a Roman province.

The island of Eubœa went anciently by the names of *Eubœa*, Chalcis, Ellopie, Aonia, Abantis, or Abantia, Macris, Oche, Bomo², &c. The name of Chalcis, which was common to the island with its capital, Stephanus derives from Chalee the daughter of Asopus king of Bœotia, and Pliny from a Greek word signifying *brass*, which he supposes to

¹ Pausan. in Attic. Plato in Alcibiad. Calaber, lib. iii. Herodot. lib. vi. cap. 35. Plut. ubi supra.
² Strab. lib. x. sub init. Plin. lib. iv. cap. 12.

have been first made use of here ¹. It was called Ellopia from Ellops the son of Ion, who settled in this island; Aonia from the Aones; Abantia from the Abantes, or, as Strabo insinuates, from one Abas an ancient hero; Macris or Macra from its narrowness, that being the import of the Greek word, or from a nymph of that name, as the poets will have it, by whom they feign Bacchus to have been nursed in a cave of this island; Oelic from a high mountain; Bomo from the cattle, with which it was well stored, the ancient Arabian word bomo or bohmo, signifying, according to Hesychius, *cattle*, or *herds of cattle*. This appellation is, perhaps, the most ancient of all, the island having been first peopled, as Strabo informs us, by the inhabitants of Arabia and Phœnice. Eubœa, according to some writers, was the name of an ancient heroine, but others say, of a famous cave on the eastern coast of the island, called by the Greeks Bous Aule, or *the Ox-stall*; but the common opinion is, that it was so named from its excellent pastures. It was formerly joined to Boœtia, as Pliny informs us ^m, by an isthmus, as it is at present by a bridge; so narrow in some places is the Euripus (K), which divides it from the continent. It extends from north-east to south-west a hundred and fifty miles; but its breadth being, according to Pliny, and most of the modern geographers, only forty miles over where broadest, and only twenty where narrowest.

Remarkable promontories.

It is three hundred and sixty-five miles in compass, and has several remarkable promontories stretching a great way into the sea. Pliny and Melæ mention three, Gerastus and Cephareus to the south, and Cœnæum to the north; Gerastus faces Attica, Cephareus the Hellespont, and Cœnæum the country of Locris and Thermopylæ ⁿ. Strabo mentions a fourth, which he calls Petalia, and places over-against Sumum ^o. Artemisium, which faces the Pægæan Gulf, and is famous for the first victory gained by the Greeks over the fleet of Xerxes, is counted by

¹ Plin. *ibid*.

^m Plin. lib. iv. cap. 12.

ⁿ Plin. *ibid*.

^o Strabo, lib. x. sub. init.

(K) The modern name of Eubœa is Negropont, perhaps a corruption of Egripos, as this last is of Euripus, the canal or strait which divides Eubœa from Attica, Boœtia, and Locris. This canal is so narrow as scarce to admit a galley; and has been famous in all ages for the irregular flux and reflux of its waters.

Cornelius Nepos ^p, and Plutarch ^q, among the promontories of Eubœa. The doubling of Cape Caphareus, when navigation was in its infancy, was reckoned very dangerous, on account of the many rocks and whirlpools on that coast, much spoken of by the ancients ^r. Caphareus is at present, according to Sophian and Niger, called Capo d'Oro, Capo Chimi, and Capo Figera. Cape Ceneum, now Capo Liter, and Gerastus, now Capo Rosso; these two last promontories being, according to Strabo, twelve hundred furlongs distant from each other, measure exactly the length of the island, as set down by Pliny.

In Eubœa are several high mountains, covered great part of the year with snow; namely, Oche, the highest of the whole island, Telethrus, Dyrphis, Nedon, Cotelcus, and Chalcis, from which last the city of that name, which stood under it, was called Hypochalcis. On Mount Dyrphis was a famous temple dedicated to Diana, worshipped there under the name of Dryphas.

The following rivers are mentioned by Strabo, viz Callas, Budorus, Cereus, and Neleus, or Melas. The two latter, if he is to be credited, had very opposite qualities, the wool of the sheep that drank their waters turning white by those of the Cereus, and black by those of the Neleus ^s. That writer speaks of another river in Eubœa, called Lela, which watered the territory of Lelantum. The champaign country of Eubœa is exceeding fruitful, yielding great plenty of corn, oil, wine, and all sorts of delicious fruit; but it was chiefly famous for its rich pastures.

This island had in former times many cities of great note mentioned by Strabo, Pliny, Ptolemy, and Mela. On the eastern coast, between the two promontories of Gerastus and Caphareus, stood the cities of Gerastus, Petalia, and Carystus. Petalia is mentioned only by Strabo ^t; and Gerastus by Homer ^u and Livy ^w, who speak of it not as a city, but a famous haven. In the time of Stephanus it was a village. Carystus, or, as Ptolemy writes it, Coryste, now Castel Rosso, stood, according to Strabo and Livy, at the foot of Mount Oche, and was so called from Carystus, the son of Chiron. It had also the names of Clu-

^p Corn. Nepos, in Themist. cap. 3. ^q Plut. in Themist. p. 115. ^r Vide Senec. Agamem. v. 558. Virg. Æneid. lib. xi. ver. 260. ^s Strabo, lib. x. sub. init. ^t Strabo, ubi supra. ^u Homer, Odyss. l. i. ver. 176. ^w Liv. lib. xxxi. cap. 45.

ronia from Chiron, and Ægea from Ægon, who reigned here, and is supposed by Stephanus to have given his name to the Ægean Sea. The inhabitants of Carystus worshipped the giant Briareus, who, according to Homer, was the same with Ægeon, adored by the Chalcidians, the name of Ægeon being given him, as he tells us, by men, and that of Briareus by the immortal gods. Near Carystus were the two small villages of Styra and Marmarium, and at a small distance from the latter, the famous quarries of Carystian marble, in much repute among the Romans. Here also was dug up the wonderful stone called amianthos, or asbestos, whereof cloth was made, which, however stained, recovered its gloss and beauty, by keeping it some time in the flames. Styra was first peopled from Marathon, a city of Attica, and was destroyed in the Lamian war by Phædrus, the Athenian commander, who bestowed its territory on the Eretrians. About five miles from Carystus, on the coast opposite Attica and Boeotia, stood the village of Amarynthus, famous for a temple of Diana, surnamed from thence Amarynthia.

On the same coast, opposite Oropus in Attica, stood the ancient city of Eretria, the next, according to Strabo, in greatness, beauty, and wealth, to Chalcis. It borrowed the name of Eretria from Eretrius, the son of Phæton, one of the Titans; and was built, according to Strabo, by the Athenians, before the Trojan war. Herodotus tells us, that it was peopled by Æolus and Clothus, two Athenians, after the destruction of Troy. Eretria was in the earliest ages a place of great renown, and at the height of its glory, in the reign of Darius Hytaspis. They were long matters of the islands of Andros, Tenos, and Cos, and carried on a war with the Chalcidians, which Thucydides styles the ancient war. Strabo mentions a school of philosophers founded here by Menedemus, called the Eretrian school. The ancient city of Eretria was destroyed by the Persians, and another, known by the name of New Eretria, built near the ruins of the former, which were still to be seen in Strabo's time. The new city was overstocked with pictures, statues, and ornaments of the like nature. The city of Eretria in Thessaly, and those which stood in the neighbourhood of Pallene and Athos in Macedonia, are said, by Strabo, to have been built and peopled by the Eretrians of Eubœa. In the territory of Ere-

tria stood Oechalia, formerly a city, but in Pliny's time a village. Strabo likewise calls it a village, and adds, that the ancient city was destroyed by Hercules, which is also asserted by Ovid ^v.

On the same coast, opposite Aulus in Boeotia, stood Chalcis, the metropolis of the whole island, then known by the names of Eubœa, Stymphilos, Halicarna, and Hypochalcis. The name of Chalcis, which chiefly prevailed, is supposed to have been taken from the daughter of Aëolus, king of Boeotia, called Combe, and surnamed Chalcis, from her having first invented brazen armour. Chalcis was built by Æolus and Clothus, but whether before or after the Trojan war is uncertain; and is celebrated by antiquity as a most magnificent, populous, and wealthy city. The Chalcidians applied themselves early to navigation, and sent numerous colonies into Thrace, Macedon, Sicily, Corecyra, Italy, Lemnos, &c in all which places were cities built and peopled by the inhabitants of Chalcis ². The Chalcidians are more commended by the ancients on account of their courage and bravery, than for their morals, having been in all times infamous, even among the Greeks, for their unnatural lust: and their avarice was a standing topic of ridicule among the ancient comedians ³. Chalcis stood on the narrowest part of the Euripus, being joined to Boeotia by a bridge; which situation agrees with that of the present city of Negropont. It was one of the three cities, which Phulx, the son of Demetrius, used to call the fetters of Greece ⁴. Between Chalcis and the promontory Cænæum stood the cities of Ædæpsum and Oreos. The former was famous for its hot baths, commended by Pliny and Strabo, under the name of the hot baths of Hercules. Near these issued suddenly out of the earth, if Athenæus is to be credited, in the reign of Antigonus, a spring of cold water, which, as it performed most surprising cures, drew crowds of people to it from the most remote nations. But the governors of Antigonus, to whom Eubœa then belonged, obliging the water-patients to pay a certain tax, the spring immediately disappeared. The city of Oreos, built, according to Homer, during the Trojan war, was formerly one of the most powerful cities of Eubœa, the fourth part of the island, in the time of Philip, the father of Alexander, belonging to the Oreans.

Chalcis, the metropolis of Eubœa.

Other cities.

^v Ovid de Ponto, lib. iv. epist. viii. ver. 61.

² Strab. ibid.

³ Vide Eras. Chiliad.

⁴ Polyb. lib. xvi. cap. 40.

This island, in the several revolutions of Greece, became subject to different masters; and, among the rest, to the Athenians, by means of Pericles. They sent thither a new colony, after having driven out the ancient inhabitants, and obliged them to retire into a canton of Thessaly, called Hestiotides. The newly-transplanted Athenians changed the name of Oicos, because built on a hill, to that of Ilixa, or Hestia, which was the name of their tribe. In Pliny's time this city was quite inconsiderable, and now it is only a small village, called Oreo. These are the cities of note on the coast opposite Attica and Boeotia.

Dia, Cerinthus, &c.

On the north side of the island, opposite Thessaly, and extending from Cenæum to Artemesium, stood Dia, or Athenæ Diades, founded by Dias, an Athenian, who called it after his own name, and that of his native city Athens, Diades. This Dias was, according to Stephanus, the son of Abas, and brother of Aleo and Arethusa. The inhabitants of Dia peopled the city of Canæ in Æolis. On the coast, which is washed by the Ægean Sea, stood the city of Cerinthus, built, according to Strabo, by Ellops, the son of Ion, and brother of Aklus and Clothus. Pliny counts this among the ancient cities of note in Eubœa^c. Homer calls Dium a high town, and Cerinthus a maritime city^d.

Ellopie, Nyfa, Eubœa, &c.

The inland cities mentioned by Strabo, Pliny, Ptolemy, &c. are Ellopie, Nyfa, Eubœa, Orabix, Rhamnus, Porthmus, Algæ, and Tamyne. Ellopie, according to Strabo, stood at the foot of Mount Telebrium, and was, as well as the whole island, so called, from Ellops its founder, the son of Nuthus, and grandson of Helleus. The inhabitants of this city, after the battle of Leuctra, were compelled, by the tyrant Philistides, to leave their native country, and settle at Ilixa^e. Algæ stood opposite to Anthedon, the last maritime city of Eecotia on the side of Locris; Strabo calls it the Euboic Algæ, and also Æges, to distinguish it from two other cities of that name, the one in Achaia, near the river Cnatis; the other in Æolis: and imagines that from this place, once famous for the temple of Neptune, the Ægean Sea borrowed its name. In the sixth year of the Peloponnesian war, the city of Orobix was in great part overthrown by an earthquake, and laid under water by the sea, which on that occasion broke in^f.

Inhabitants.

The most ancient inhabitants of Eubœa were the Titans, according to Solinus^g; but this opinion arose from

^c Plin. lib. iv. cap. 12.

^d Homer. Catal. ver. 45.

^e Strab

lib. x. sub init.

^f Thucyd. lib. i. i.

^g Solin. cap. 10.

the religious worship which the inhabitants paid to Briareus and Ægeon, two of that race, or rather one known by two different names. Other writers suppose the Abantes to have first peopled the island, from Abas, a city of Thrace; upon which occasion Eubœa obtained the name Abantis and Abantia (L). Herodotus counts the Abantes of Eubœa among the people of Ionian extraction^h. Homer gives them the epithet of brave, and describes them with a long lock of hair on the back part of their head; from which similarity his interpreter Eustathius concludes the Curetes and Abantes to be one and the same race; as Archemagus, an ancient Eubœan writer, quoted by Strabo, likewise believed. It is observable that Homer, who often styles the island Eubœa, yet never calls the inhabitants Eubœans, but constantly Abantes. The Pelasgians also, abandoning Peloponnesus, settled in this islandⁱ, which is, therefore called Pelasgia by the scholiast of Apollonius. To these Diodorus Siculus adds the Dorians, Æolians, Eleans, and Dryopes. The latter being driven from Phocis by Hercules, after the death of their king Phylas, settled partly in Eubœa, where they built Carystus, and partly in Cyprus and Peloponnesus^j.

The first form of government which prevailed in Eubœa was monarchical. Solinus dates the beginning of the Eubœan kingdom from the time of the Titans, which it is not easy to define. Others, wholly disregarding the Titans, suppose Abas to have been the first who reigned in Eubœa. Abas, according to Homer, and the scholiast of Apollonius, had, by his wife Aglaia, two sons, Chalcodon and Canethus. Chalcodon, who succeeded his father, made war upon the Thebans, reduced their city, and obliged them to pay an annual tribute. He was afterwards overcome and killed by Amphytrion, the father of the Theban Hercules; after which the Thebans regained their ancient liberty. Plutarch calls the place, where the battle was fought, and Chalcodon killed, Leuctra^k. From this king Homer styles the Eubœans Chalcodontidæ^l. Canethus

Government.

^h Herodot. lib. i. cap. 146.

ⁱ Dion Halicar. lib. i.

^k Diod.

Sic. lib. x.

^j Plut. in Amat. Narrat.

^l Vide Eustath. in

Iliaid. l. 7.

(L) This is the opinion of Aristotle, as quoted by Strabo; but others pretend, that they were called Abantes, from Abas, their leader, who was the first that reigned in the island. The learned Reinccius takes the Abantes to be the Arabians, who, according to Strabo, followed Cadmus into Eubœa, and settled there.

*King of
Eubœa.*

thus, who, according to Apollonius^a, gave his name to a mountain of Eubœa, had a son named Canthus, who attended Jason in his expedition into Colchis, and lost his life in that adventure. Chalcodon had, by his wife Imonarete, two sons, Elephenor and Pyrachmes. The latter renewed the war against the Thebans and Boeotians; but being overcome and taken prisoner by Hercules, he was tied to two horses, his arms to one, and his legs to the other, and cruelly torn asunder^c. Elephenor was banished for killing his grandfather; but, as his countrymen were preparing to set out for the Trojan war, he ascended a rock on the Boeotian side of the Euripus, where he invited them to assemble, convinced them of his innocence, and prevailed upon them not only to restore him, but to entrust him with the command of the fleet, consisting of forty ships, which was ready to set sail for Troy. In this war, Elephenor, if we believe Homer^d, gave signal proofs of his valour; but was at last killed by Agenor.

After the destruction of Troy the Abantes, or Eubœans, on their return home, joined the Locrians of Thronium, and, landing near the Ceraunian mountains, seated themselves in the adjacent country, and built there a city, which they called Thronium, but the country Abantis, and held them both till they were, many years after, ejected by the inhabitants of Apollonia^e. We are told, that upon the death of Elephenor, Nauplius, the father of Palamedes, mounted the throne of Eubœa; but others assert, that the Eubœans, immediately after the Trojan war, formed themselves into a republic, or rather into several small states, most of their cities being governed by their own laws, and quite independent of each other. In the reign of Darius Hystaspis, the cities of Chalcis, Eretria, Carystus, and Orcos, were so many distinct republics, governed by the nobles, whom they called hipobates, or horsemen, none being received into the government who could not maintain a certain number of horses, whence it is plain that oligarchy was their prevailing system.

*Tyrants of
Chalcis.*

But this form of government was seldom undisturbed either by the multitude introducing a democracy, or by domestic tyrants, who seized all power to themselves, ruling in their several cities uncontrolled. Among these the following tyrants appear from the ancients to have reigned in the city of Chalcis, Antileon, Phoxus, Mene-

^a Apollon. Aigonaut, lib. i. & iv. ^c Plut. in Parall. ^d Homer. Iliad. E.
^e Paulan. in Boeot.

farchus, Callias and Taurosthenès. Of the two first Aristotle tells us, that Phoxus was put to death by an enraged populace^r. Menefarchus committed great havoc in the Athenian territories without any provocation; but, in the mean time, the Thebans having made a descent in the island, in order to expel the tyrants, and reinstate the cities in their former liberties, Menefarchus had recourse to the Athenians, who, notwithstanding his injurious treatment of them, speedily assisted him, and, in thirty days, drove the Thebans from the island, and left the tyrants in the free enjoyment of their usurped power. Menefarchus was succeeded by his eldest son Callias, who, regardless of the favours his father had received from the Athenians, joined Philip of Macedon, but, being overcome by Phocion, the Athenian general, and disgraced by Philip, he was forced to sue to the Athenians, who generously granted him peace, and even assisted him powerfully against Philip and the Thebans, who had invaded his territories. Whether Taurosthenès, the younger son of Menefarchus, succeeded his brother, or died before him, is uncertain, as no mention has been made of him by the historians.

In the city of Eretria reigned the following tyrants; *Tyrants of Eretria.* Diagoras, who, as Aristotle informs us^s, after driving out the hippobates, engrossed the whole power^t. Themison, who took the city of Oropus from the Athenians, and excited the Thebans against them; but afterwards entered into an alliance with Athens, and assisted his new allies in the recovery of Oropus^u. Plutarchus, who, being vanquished in a battle by the Macedonians, notwithstanding the succours he received from Athens, was deposed by his subjects, and forced to abandon the island. Upon his flight the Eretrians recovered their ancient liberty, but for no long time, divisions and parties arising among the citizens, some of whom favoured Philip of Macedon, and others the Athenians. Philip availed himself of these troubles, and, by means of Hipponicus, having made himself master of the city, velted the whole power in Hipparchus, Automedon, and Clitarchus, the heads of the Macedonian faction. But they were soon vanquished by Phocion the Athenian, who restored the Eretrians to the enjoyment of their former liberty. The city of Oreos was cruelly harassed by Philistides, who was

^r Aristot. Polit. lib. v. cap. 4. & 12.

^s Ibid. lib. v. cap. 6.

^t Diod. Sic. lib. xv.

^u Plut. in Phocione. Paulan. in Attic. Ulpian. in Orat. contra Midiam. Æschin. ubi supra.

supported in his tyranny by Philip. He kept also the city of Ellopiea, which he obliged the inhabitants to relinquish, and retire to Oreos^w. Besides the tyrants of particular cities, Tynnondas is mentioned by Plutarch as lord of the whole island. He was contemporary with Solon the legislator, and displayed great equity and moderation in his tyranny^x. The wars of the Eubœans with the Athenians, Persians, and Spartans, we have described elsewhere; and therefore shall only add here, that they submitted first to Philip, and then to his son Alexander, after whose death they shook off the Macedonian yoke, but were, by Antigonus, brought anew under subjection. When the Romans first passed into Greece, the kings of Macedon ruled the island of Eubœa, but soon after it was declared free by a decree of the senate, in order to weaken the power of Philip in those parts. Antiochus the Great, and Mithridates king of Pontus, were, in their turns, masters of Eubœa; but the Romans prevailing in the East, restored the Eubœans to their former state of liberty. Marc Antony subjected them to Athens; but Augustus, incensed against the Athenians for assisting his rival, first gave freedom to the city of Eretria, and soon after to the whole island, which remained in a flourishing condition, under the enjoyment of its own laws, till the reign of Vespasian, when it underwent the same fate as the other states of Greece.

*Atalanta,
and the
islands Pe-
talæ.*

In the Euripus, now Gulf of Negropont, Pliny places the island of Atalanta and the Petalæ, so called, because they lie opposite the city of Petalæ in Eubœa. They are four in number, but rocks rather than islands.

Anticyra, famous for its hellebore (M), is placed by some writers among the islands of the Ægean sea, but as neither Pliny nor Gellius give any account of its situation, we shall not consider it as an island.

^w Strab. lib. x. Demosthen. Orat. iii. in Philip. & Orat. pro Ctesiph.
^x Plut. in Solon.

(M) Strabo mentions two cities of the name of Anticyra; the one on the coast of Phocis, near Cissa, on the side of Bœotia; the other on the banks of the Sperchius, equally distant from Mount Oeta and the Maliac Gulf (4): but no where speaks of an island bearing this name.

(4) Strab. lib. ix. p. 299.

C H A P. XXIII.

The History of the Macedonians.

S E C T. I.

A Description of Macedonia.

AS this country was anciently inhabited by various nations, so it was, in a long succession of ages, distinguished by different appellations, sometimes ^v called by the name of one of its districts, and sometimes by that of another, as the nations inhabiting those regions chanced to prevail. Thus, in the most ancient times, it took its name from *Æmathia* ^z, which received its appellation from *Æmathius*, a prince of great antiquity; but afterwards the whole country, which the Greeks called Macedonia, derived that denomination from ^a king Macedo, a descendent from Deucalion, as some think, or, as others affirm, by an easy mutation of Mygdonia, the name of one of its provinces, into Macedonia.

The bounds of this country are not easily determined, ^{and} as depending much on the good or bad fortune of its princes, to render them sometimes larger and sometimes less. We shall, however, endeavour to adjust our description to the ensuing history in such a manner, as the reader may readily observe the accessions it received from time to time under its ancient kings. It was bounded originally on the east by the *Ægean Sea*, on the south by *Thessaly* and *Epirus*, on the west by the *Adriatic* or the *Ionian Sea*, and on the north by the river *Strymon* and the *Scardian mountains*, afterwards by the river *Nessus* or *Nestus*.

Pliny ^b tells us, that no less than a hundred and fifty ^{Cities} different nations were seated within its territory; and ^c Pomponius Mela says, it had as many nations as cities. Of those the ^d *Taulantii* inhabited the western part on the coasts of the *Adriatic Sea*. Within this tract stood the city ^e *Epidamnus*, or *Epidamnus*; which, for its un-

^v Justin. lib. vii. cap. 1. Liv. x. cap. 3.
iv. cap. 10.

^a Cluver. Geog. lib. iv. cap. 9.

^z De Situ Orbis, lib. ii. cap. 3.

^b Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. ii. cap. 1. ^c Strab. Geograph. lib. vii. p. 326. edit. Paris. 1640. ^d Arrian. Exped. Alex. lib. i. cap. 3. ^e Dio Cass. lib. xli. p. 176. Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. iii. cap. 23.

^b Plin. Hist. Nat. lib.

^c Hist. Natur.

^d Strab.

^e Arrian. Exped. Alex.

^f Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. iii.

^g cap. 23.

*Apollonia,
&c.*

lucky appellation, the Romans afterwards thought fit to change into Dyrrhachium, now Durazzo^f. Apollonia stood also within the confines of this country, seven Roman miles from the sea-shore, a city remarkable for its excellent laws, and, in latter times, celebrated as a seat of learning, though now fallen into such decay, that authors are not well agreed about its modern name. South of the Taulantii, but still on the coast of the Adriatic, lay the country of the Elymiotæ, whose chief cities were Elyma and Bullis^g, both sea-ports, and mentioned by Pliny^h. Eastward of the Elymiotians lay a small inland district, the kingdom of Orestes, said to have received its name from the son of Agamemnon, who settled here after he had slain his motherⁱ. Its capital was Gyrtone, mentioned by Pliny. The Eordians lay behind the country of the Taulantii, and between it and the kingdom of Orestes^k. To the north of these was the territory of the Dassaretæ, whose chief cities were Lychnides and Evia. Polybius, indeed, calls the former Lychnidia. It was a place remarkable for its fine situation, near a lake of the same name, and is at this day called Ochrida^l. East of this country lay Æmathia^m, properly so called, a region from whence, as we have said, the whole country, since called Macedonia, derived its ancient name. It stretched quite to the Sinus Tharmaicus, or, as it is now called, the Gulf of Salonichi; and contained several considerable cities, particularly Ægea or Edeffa, the ancient capital of the Macedonian kingdom, of which we shall have, hereafter, occasion to speak at large, it having been the royal seat of Caranus, the first king of Macedon, and the burial-place of the kings of his line to the time of Alexander the Greatⁿ.

Ægea.

Pella.

Pella, anciently called Bunomos, or Bunomia, seated at the mouth of the river Ætius, famous for being the birth-place of Philip, and his son Alexander, and for having in its neighbourhood the tomb of Euripides, the celebrated tragic poet^o. Europus, a place on the river Ætius^p, and Berœa, where a sedition was raised against

^f Strab. Geograph. lib. vii. p. 322. Cicer. Philip. lib. ii. cap. 11. Vell. Paterc. lib. ii. cap. 59. ^g Thucyd. Bel. Pelop. lib. xi. p. 169.

^h Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. iv. cap. 10. p. 53. lib. iii. cap. 5. p. 40. ⁱ Liv. lib. xxxiii. cap. 34. & lib. xlii. cap. 38. ^k Herodot. lib. vii. cap. 185. Strab. Geogr. lib. vii. p. 223. ^l Bunon.

in Cluver. Geog. lib. iv. cap. 9. ^m Justin. lib. viii. cap. 1. Lucan. lib. i. ⁿ Justin. ubi supra. Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. iv. cap. 10. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xix. cap. 52. ^o Herodot. lib. vii. cap. 223. Liv. lib. xlii. prop. fin. P. Mela, de Sit. Orb. lib. ii. cap. 3.

^p Strabo, Excerpt. lib. vii.

the apostle Paul by the Jews ¹. South-east from Æm-
thia, and close on the shore of the gulf of Saloniotis, lies
the little country of Pieria, famous in poetry for its being
the fancied region of the Muses, who were from thence
styled Pierides. Its chief cities were Pydna, anciently *Pydna.*
called Citron, standing between the mouths of the rivers
Aliaemon and Lydius, in which Olympias, the mother
of Alexander, Roxana his wife, and Alexander his son,
were put to death by Cassander ². In its neighbourhood
was fought the decisive battle between Paulus Æmilius,
the Roman consul, and Perseus king of Macedon, wherein
the latter was totally defeated ³. Phylace, and Dion, or *Phylace,*
Dium, a strong town, in which Alexander the Great is *&c.*
said to have seen a vision, wherein he was promised the
conquest of the Persian empire ⁴. On the north side of
Æmæthia lay the country of Mygdonia, in which were
the cities of Antigonæ, Letæ, and Teipilus. East of this
lay the region of Amphaxitis, in which stood the noble
city of Thessalonica, anciently called Therma, or rather *Thessalo-*
built near the place where that old city stood. Its founders *nica.*
were Cassander, and Thessalonica, the daughter of Phi-
lip, and sister to Alexander the Great. It is at this day
the most considerable place in Macedonia, under the name
of Salonichi. Stagira, a city famous for producing Hip- *Stagira.*
parchus the philosopher, and the celebrated Aristotle,
preceptor to Alexander the Great, whose knowledge was
as extensive as the conquests of his pupil (N). South-east
of this country lies the region of Chalcidica, in which

¹ Acts, chap. xvii.

² Diodor. Sicul. lib. xix. Just.

lib. xiv. cap. 6.

³ Tit. Liv. lib. xlv. cap. 8.

⁴ Encycd.

lib. iv. p. 305. Polyb. lib. iv. cap. 42. Arrian. lib. i.

(N) Thessalonica had the
good fortune to remain always
considerable, in the midst of
that almost total ruin, which
various conquests brought on
Macedonia. Strabo tells us,
that in his time it was the most
flourishing city in the king-
dom (1). St. Paul found it
no less flourishing, when he
preached the gospel therein;
and how great regard he had

for the church there, appears
from the Epistles directed there-
to (2). Even at this day it
makes a very great figure, un-
der the name Salonica; and
is not only remarkable for the
great trade carried on there,
by which its inhabitants are
still rich, at least in proportion
to their neighbours; but also
for the noble ruins, which tes-
tify its ancient magnificence.

(1) Geograph. lib. vii. p. 330.
Thessalonians.

(2) Two Epistles to the
were

*Augæa,
Singus,
&c.*

were the towns of Augæa, Singus, and Acanthus, now called Eristo^u.

*Palena,
Potidæa,
Torone,
&c.*

Next lay the country of Paraxis, full of gulfs and inlets, formed by the *Ægean Sea*. In it were the cities of Palena^z, anciently called Phlegra, as Herodotus tells us, in the neighbourhood of which there dwelt of old certain cruel and inhospitable giants, who were extirpated by Hercules^y. Potidæa, a colony of Corinthians, but afterwards possessed by the Athenians, from whom it was taken by Philip, the father of Alexander. It was afterwards re-edified by Cassander, who called it, from his own name, Cassandria^z. Torone, from whence the neighbouring bay received the appellation of *Toronæus*^z. Olinthus, a city famous for the several sieges it sustained, and for being the birth-place of Callisthenes the philosopher. The Bisaltæ inhabited a small country bordering on the *Sinus Strymonicus*, in the northern part of Macedonia. Their chief cities were Euponia, Ossa, and Caliterra^b. North-west from them lay the region of Edonia, on the confines of which ran the river Strymon. In it stood the cities of Amphipolis, Scotusa, and Berga; the first famous for being a colony of the Athenians^c; and some think, that the ancient city Crenides stood also within its bounds, which Philip, the father of Alexander, rebuilt, and called Philippi. North-west of this territory lies the country of Pelagonia, bordering on Mount Hæmus, the chief city of which was Stobi, now called Starachino. West of it lies Orbelia, in which were seated the cities of Orma and Gariscus^d. Next, bending to the south-west, lies the country of Joria, in which stood the city of Jorum. West from it is situate the territory of the Almopians, in which stand the cities of Europus, Albanopolis, and Apfalus. Full south of these we find the region of the *Æstrians*, the chief city in which was anciently called *Æstrium*. East of them, and in the center of Macedonia, lies the country of the Lyncesti, whose chief city was called Heraclea; north of which lay the inland country of Sintica, the principal towns in which were Paræcopolis and Tristolus.

*The extent
of Macedonia.*

Macedonia, according to M. de l'Isle's map of Greece, lies between the 40th and 42d degrees of north latitude,

^u Herodot. lib. vi. cap. 22.

^z Thucyd. lib. i. p. 41.

^y Herodot. lib. vii. cap. 123.

^z Tit. Liv. lib. xlv. cap. 11.

Strab. Excerpto, lib. vii.

^b Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvi. cap. 55.

Pompon Mela, lib. ii. cap. 3.

^c Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. iv.

^d Thucyd. lib. iv. p. 320. Herodot. lib. vii. cap. 114.

^e Cluver. lib. iv. cap. 9.

and between the 37th and 42d degrees of longitude. Brictius reckons from Mount Oibelus to Pindus, that is, from north to south, two thousand stadia, and from Epidamnus to Mount Athos two thousand five hundred stadia, from west to east. According to the map before mentioned, it is from north to south about one hundred and sixty miles, and from west to east about two hundred and twenty. Its form is very irregular; but its situation is excellent, its shores being washed on the east by the *Ægean*, and on the west by the *Ionian Seas*; which advantages, however, were never well improved, nor were the Macedonians ever powerful at sea, notwithstanding the many noble bays and excellent harbours to be found on their coast.

Amongst the most considerable mountains in this region, we may reckon that great ridge running across the north part, called the *Scardian mountains*. In this part also of Macedonia stood Mount *Pangæus*, lofty, and well covered with wood, yet infinitely more valuable from its contents, which were both gold and silver. *Hæmus*, or rather *Aemus*, the western spur of which, joining the *Scandinian hills*, divide this country from *Thrace*. *Athos*, in the *Chalcidian region*, one of the most celebrated mountains in the world. *Mela* reports, that it is so high, as to reach above the clouds. *Martianus Capellus* affirmed it to be six miles high; and it was firmly believed, that it never rained thereon, because the ashes left on the altars erected near its summit were always found as they were left, dry and unscattered; but it is no less celebrated among the moderns, than it was among the ancients. The Greeks, struck with its singular situation, and the venerable appearance of its towering ascent, erected on it so many churches, monasteries, and hermitages, that it became in a manner inhabited by devotees, and from thence received the name of the *Holy Mountain*, which it still retains, though many of those consecrated works are now decayed (O). *Olympus*, another

Mountains.

e *Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. iv. cap. 11.* *Dion. Cass. lib. xlvii. p. 347.*
f *Diod. Sicul. lib. iv. cap. 84.* g *Herodot. lib. vii. cap. 22.*

(O) *Plutarch* and *Pliny* have asserted, that this mountain projects its shade in the summer solstice, on the market-place of the city *Myrina*, on the island of *Lemnos*. On account of this it is said, that the inhabitants of this city erected a brazen calf at the termination of the shadow, on which was inscribed this motto: *nos*

other lofty mountain, supposed not only to surpass the clouds, but to reach almost the confines of heaven; whence the poets took the liberty of making it the seat of the gods^b; yet men of cooler imaginations, conceived it no impossible task to measure it. This Xenagoras performed with success; and found, that it did not much exceed an English mile in height (P).

We

^a Strab. Geogr. lib. ix. Virg. Georg. i. ver. 281.

^b Ἄλως κατέψιτο πλεῖστα Ἀθωσίας βόας.

“Half Lemnos’ cast doth Athos’ shadow hide.”

Pliny asserts the distance between the foot of Mount Athos, and the island of Lemnos to be eighty-seven thousand paces; in which case, the observation of the shadow must be fabulous. That which our geographers call Monto Santo, comprehends not only Mount Athos, but the whole chain of mountains which unite it to the continent of Macedonia. This chain is seven or eight leagues long, and three or four broad; and it is true, that the Greeks call this ridge Oros Agion, or the Holy Mountain; but when they speak of Mount Athos in particular, they call it still Athos. Of the twenty monasteries erected in this solitude, there is but one, which stands on this mountain, and that is dedicated to St. Laura, which is indeed richer and more considerable than all the rest; and it is owned, that from the monks inhabiting therein, the rest took the rule under which they live. These convents, generally speaking, resemble fortresses rather than religious houses. They are surrounded with good walls, flanked with towers, or at least surmounted by a vast donjon, well furnished with artillery,

and all things else necessary for defence. This is a very necessary precaution, considering their situation in the midst of robbers. As these monasteries are generally five or six stories high, the apartments in them are numerous, and very large, but not conveniently disposed. They are covered with lead, which, by the reflection of the sun-beams, shines like silver; and all things considered, we may rather wonder at their being in so good a state, than at their being in no better. These monasteries are independent of each other in point of government; and though in the centre of these monasteries there is an episcopal see, in a pretty large town called Kapiarb, yet the monks pay no sort of obedience to this bishop. The cathedral, however, is styled acrotaton, i. e. *the most high*, and is served by monks sent by the superiors of the respective convents for that purpose (5).

(P) As Athos astonished by its bulk, the mountain Olympus struck the beholder with reverence by its amazing loftiness; and at the same time invited his ascent by the beauty and variety of prospects which it afforded. The river Peneus,

(5) Voyages de sieur P. Lucas, tom. i. p. 206.

one

The Scardian hills and Mount Athos were well covered with woods; and indeed the whole kingdom of Macedonia, being every where intermixed with mountains, and rising grounds, abounded with all sorts of trees, which are valuable, either on account of timber, fruit, or shade. No part of Europe was more thoroughly peopled in former ages; but since it has been under the dominion of the Turks, great part of it is become uninhabited.

*Woods, de-
serts, &c.*

The Adriatic sea washes its western coast, and, besides the great haven of Epidamnus, now Durazzo, forms several safe ports, which are now most of them neglected. On the east of the Ægean sea was still more advantageous, opening to Macedonia not only the trade of Greece, but that of Asia also; which commerce was chiefly promoted by the spacious bays every where formed on the coast. Four of these were especially remarkable, viz. Sinus Strymonicus, having on its north side part of Thrace, and on the south the long extended promontory of Athos, inclosing in its bosom the island of Thasus. It was called the Strymonic bay, because the Strymon there emptied itself into the sea: it is now called Golfo di Contessa. Sinus Singiticus, having on one side Mount Athos, and on the other a long slip of land, once full of rich and populous towns; the bay, therefore, takes its present name from a neighbouring mountain, and is styled Golfo di Monte Santo. Sinus Toronaicus, having the ridge of land before mentioned on the one side, and part of the region Paraxia on the other: its old name is derived from the city Torone; but it is now called Golfo d' Aiomama. Sinus Thermaeus, having on the one side Macedonia, on the other Thessaly: it is at least sixty miles in length, and received its name from the ancient city Therma, called afterwards Thessalonica, now Salonichi^b.

*Seas,
rivers,
lakes, &c.*

Bays.

^b Cluver. Geog. lib. iv. Cellar. Geog. Antiq. lib. ii. cap. 13.

one of the clearest, gentlest and most beautiful streams in the universe, washed its foot, dividing it from Ossa, and making a multitude of small, but delightful isles, covered with shady trees, and adorned with magnificent temples, grottoes, porticoes, and other stately buildings (1). On the south-east side of the hill ran the famous river Helicon, and near it stood a noble temple of Jupiter, in the midst of a shady grove. The mountains Ossa and Pelion were in the neighbourhood, and very considerable for their height, though they come far short of Olympus.

(1) Tempe, secund. Descript. Ortelii.

*Rivers
running
into the
Adriatic.*

In speaking of the rivers of Macedon, we will begin with those which run into the Adriatic, and afterwards mention such as fall into the *Ægean* sea. Panyasus rises not far from the city Pitheum, and, after a winding course of upwards of a hundred miles, from the southern borders of Macedon to the neighbourhood of Epidamnus or Durazzo, discharges itself into the Adriatic¹. The Apus, rising not far from the city of Eordea, after a short course of thirty miles, disembogues itself about ten miles below the mouth of the Panyasus. The Laous, called also *Æas* and *Aous*, has its source near the city of Antigonia, and, after a north-west course of forty miles, enters the Adriatic a little below the city of Apollonia. Celydnus, or Pepylichus, running from the Acroceraunian mountains directly into the Adriatic, but undeserving notice, were it not considered as the boundary between Macedon and Epirus.

*Rivers
running
into the
Ægean
sea.*

The rivers running into the *Ægean* sea are these. The Aliacmon; rising in the mountains lying above the city Elymea, and, running for some time parallel to the Panyasus, after a course of seventy miles almost due east, enters the bay of Thessalonica, between the cities of Pydna and Diium. The Erigon rises in the country of the Lyncestæ, and running directly north about thirty miles, turns then to the east, and declining by degrees to the south, falls, after a farther course of forty miles, into a lake formed by the waters of the river Axios, and with them runs into the sea. The Axios, which is by far the greatest river in Macedon, rises from two fountains in the Scardian mountains; and, after a course of eighty miles, it spreads itself into a large and noble lake below the city of Edeffa. Having received the Erigon there, it falls into the bay of Thessalonica, almost opposite that city. The river Strymon rises in Thrace, and, rolling with a rapid stream almost directly south, after a course of seventy miles, enters that bay by two broad and deep mouths, which from it was styled the Strymonic. This river was the ancient boundary of Macedon towards Thrace; but Philip, the father of Alexander, took in all the country between it and the river Nestus, or, as some write it, *Nestus*; which running almost parallel to the river Strymon, falls into the same bay near the city of Abdera, about forty miles distant from the mouths of the Strymon.

¹ See, in the Map, the course of this and other rivers.

Smaller rivers there are many, such as the Chidorus, *Smaller rivers.* Astræus, Pontus, &c. As to lakes, besides those formed by the overflowing of the river Strymon, and the junction of the rivers Axios and Erigon, there is almost in the centre of Macedon, not far from the Candavian mountains, a large and famous lake, called the lake of Lychnidus, or the lake of Prespa. There is also another lake in the province of Mygdonia, and a third near the ancient city of Sintia, called afterwards Heraclea Sintica.

The air of Macedonia is, generally speaking, clear, *The climate, soil, produce, riches, &c.* sharp, and wholesome, inasmuch that people live there commonly to a very great age. The soil is every where tolerable, in most places fruitful, on the sea-coast especially, abounding with corn, wine, and oil, and indeed with every thing that could be desired, either for the use or convenience of men; but the principal riches of Macedonia consisted in its mines, of almost all kinds of metals, but of gold particularly. In Pieria, under its ancient kings, there were found large quantities of this precious metal in the sand, in lumps of considerable bigness^k. There were also gold mines in the country between Thessalonica and Stagira, which mines are said to have been wrought by the Turk; but by far the most considerable were in the mountain Pangæus, which king Philip added to his dominions. The Thasians, inhabitants of a little island lying in the Strymonic bay, had rendered themselves very considerable by the wealth they drew from them. This circumstance made the Athenians so covetous of this tract of country, which, after many expeditions, they attained, and lost it to the Thracians afterwards. Philip drove them out, and, having rebuilt the ancient city of Crenides in a magnificent manner, called it by his own name, Philippi. Having there established persons skilful in the art of refining, he made great advantage of those mines; nay, it is said, that he obtained the empire of Greece chiefly by means of the treasures which they afforded; an assertion which must appear very probable, if what Diodorus tells us be true, that he received annually a thousand talents of gold^l. The Romans, when they reduced Macedonia into a province, restrained the inhabitants from digging or refining gold or silver, leaving them at liberty, however, in regard to any other metal^m.

^k Aristot.

^l Diod. Sic. lib. xvi.

^m Tit. Liv. lib. xliv.

Animals. Macedonia, in ancient times, abounded with horses above all the other countries of Greece. Three hundred stallions, and thirty thousand mares were kept in the royal stud near Pella^a.

Rarities. As to the rarities of Macedonia, we will begin with the Pierian hills and shades, which, on account of their lovely verdure, and pleasant solitude, were styled the habitations of the Muses, who thence also were called Pierides. Amongst them rose the fountain Pimplia, from whence they were called Pimpliades^o. Vitruvius tells us, that, near the sepulchre of Euripides, there flowed from a fountain waters of so poisonous a nature, that, if swallowed, they brought on immediate and inevitable death. We might add to these abundance of other curiosities, could we give credit to all the fragments of natural history left us by the ancients, or to the ordinary collections on the same subjects, which have been made by the moderns.

S E C T. II.

Of the Antiquity, Government, Customs, Laws, Manners, and Military Discipline of the Macedonians.

The Macedonians originally Argives.

WE have observed above, that Macedonia was originally inhabited by many nations. Those from whom that race sprung, which from small beginnings became lords of Greece, were Argives. Under the conduct of Caranus, who was descended from Hercules by his son Temenus, they came into this country, and with their swords cut out for themselves fair possessions^p. By degrees they enlarged their dominions, not more by their valour than their prudence; for erecting no trophies after victories, and treating those they subdued with the tenderness of brethren, they engaged the affections of the conquered, with whom they associated as one people. Thus strengthened and united, they in time reduced various tribes into one nation, which of course became too potent for its neighbours, and continually made encroachments upon them, unless when restrained by their united force, or the fear of provoking the Persian monarch, or some of the most powerful Greek republics

Their form of government.

The Macedonians, though always governed by kings, preserved as great or greater liberty than most of the

^a Ælian.

^o Cluver. lib. iv. cap. 9.

^p Justin. Hist. lib.

vi. cap. 1. Euseb. Chron. p. 47.

Grecian commonwealths^q. Their monarchs ruled, but they ruled according to the maxims of natural equity. This was the original constitution, and it may be said to their glory, that it was not subverted but with the kingdom. In cases where the punishment was capital, the cause was heard by the army, or by the people; and, till they condemned the party, the king did not pretend to put him to death. We shall meet with many instances of this in the reign of Alexander, who maintained the customs of his native soil when far from it. But it must be confessed, that this rigid regard to the constitution of his country, was not always the ruling principle in a Macedonian monarch, as Polybius informs us.

The throne was hereditary, and continued in the race of Caranus till the slaughter of Alexander's family; but the Macedonians were not very strict as to the succession, provided it was in the royal house, though generally the eldest son succeeded. The ancient kings of Macedon were very modest in the ensigns of their dignity; Alexander the Great appears to have been the first who wore a diadem, and rich robes of state; which however he transferred to his successors; yet the ancient kings were sufficiently distinguished from their subjects by their splendid armour, and a chair of state^r. The generality of the people were extremely loyal, and zealously attached to their prince; nay, they have carried their affection towards his person rather too far, by making a law, or else adopting it from the Persians, that not only conspirators, but all who were related to them, should be put to death^s. Their love for their princes, nevertheless, did not carry them into any indecent or idolatrous submission, when they approached them; on the contrary, they conversed with them freely, and saluted them with a kiss^t. When, therefore, Alexander would have introduced the Persian custom of adoring him, the Macedonians were displeased, and declared, "that reverence was due to kings, but adoration to the gods^u." In point of marriage the Macedonian kings seem not to have been very nice; for it appears from history, that they had frequently several wives, besides a number of concubines^w.

They were exceedingly exact in the education of their children; their sons were brought up under the best

The crown hereditary.

The education of their kings children.

^q Arrian. Exped. Alexand. lib. iv. p. 265.

^r Justin. Hist.

lib. xii. cap. 5. Curt. lib. vi. cap. 6.

^s Curt. lib. vi. cap. 11.

^t Ibid. lib. x. cap. 5. Justin. Hist. lib. xii. cap. 15.

^u Arrian.

lib. iv. p. 264.

^w Plut. in Anton. circa fin.

*The kings
remarkably
moderate.*

*Learned,
or favour-
ers of
learning.*

*They heard
causes.*

*Their con-
d. scension.*

masters, in the love and knowledge of great and glorious actions; and their daughters in the practice of every virtue. What Alexander said to Sisygambis will better demonstrate this than any description; "Mother, the robe I have on, was not only the gift of my sister, but the work of her hands." In the conduct of their affairs the kings of Macedon were remarkably moderate, and behaved with the greatest prudence; they did not affect magnificent entertainments, but ate plainly with their friends. They admitted all men to their presence, and by a continual habit of business, made themselves at once necessary and agreeable to their subjects. Hunting was their chief diversion, and Alexander would pursue it for a whole day without any refreshment ^a. These princes were generally learned, or at least favourers of learned men. Archelaus was the great patron of Euripides, and not only honoured him living, but mourned for him when dead. Philip, the father of Alexander, was one of the best speakers of his age; he was generous to such men of learning as sought his friendship, because he thought himself honoured thereby; and he pardoned libellers, because he would not punish wit even in an enemy ^y. If his son Alexander had not been the most active prince in the world, he would have been celebrated for being the most learned ^z.

As in the ordinary concerns of life, the kings of Macedon did not affect that pomp, so customary in those days with other princes; so in the most solemn acts of their administration they preserved such a decorum, as rather endeared them to, than awed, their subjects. They heard causes in person, and suffered those, who pleaded before them, to speak with the greatest freedom. Thus, when Philip, after drinking hard, had decided contrary to justice against a woman, she cried out, "I appeal:" "To whom (said the king)? Why (replied she), from Philip, with his head disturbed by the fumes of wine, to Philip when he shall be sober, and in his right senses ^a:" a remonstrance which the king received as a just rebuke, and without the least resentment. This custom, by a felicity peculiar to this people, continued as long as they had kings; for Livy relates of Perseus, the last of them, that, alter the manner of his ancestors, he sat in an ivory chair, and heard all sorts of causes, even those which were of little consequence ^b. The kings of Macedon spoke

^a Plutarch in Vit. Alex. ^y Justin lib. ix. cap. 8. ^z Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. viii. cap. 16. Athenæus Deip. lib. ix. cap. 13.
^a Plut. Apophthegm. ^b Tit. Liv. xlii. lxxvii. & xli. cap. 20.

even to private soldiers with great freedom and condescension; they took as much care of them as if they had been their children, or at least their intimate friends, and such of them as fell in the wars were always interred with military honours. Such as behaved themselves with extraordinary valour were honoured with particular marks of distinction; and it is especially recorded of Alexander the Great, that he suffered no man to go without a just recompence of his merit^c.

The great men of the kingdom were honoured with the titles of the king's friends and counsellors, nor were they so in name only, but in reality; they gave their advice as statesmen, but they gave it with all the freedom the most intimate friendship could suggest^d. Hephæstion, the friend of Alexander, was not afraid even of the resentment of the queen-mother, answering her angry letters with a manly freedom, telling her that, secure in his innocence, he was in no pain from her threats, since Alexander was to judge of all things^e. And that this freedom was not peculiar to Hephæstion or Alexander, we may guess from the observation in Justin, "That the friends of the Macedonian kings were not only companions in war, but associates in empire. They were allowed to wear purple; were entrusted with armies to be used at discretion; and when the Macedonian greatness triumphed over kingdoms, they were appointed governors of them with the court and state of kings^f". The king's life-guard, which consisted but of a small number, was a post of high honour; Oxathres, the brother of Darius, was received into the number: besides these, there were other household troops, the commanders of which were not only honourable persons, but even the private men, who, as occasion served, were from thence preferred to great commands^g. With respect to civil officers, we find that the king's secretaries were very much considered; they not only drew up orders, but saw them executed.

Their friends and counsellors.

Their household troops.

The king's seal, or signet, which was on his ring, remained, generally speaking, in his custody; but sometimes he delivered it for special purposes to one of his friends, because whatever was sealed therewith was by the Macedonians held sacred and inviolable.

The king's seal, or signet.

^c Curt. ix. 6. Arrian. lib. ii. p. 113. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvi.
^d Justin. lib. vii. cap. 2. Arrian. lib. ii. p. 113. & lib. i. p. 49.
^e Valer. Max. lib. v. cap. 1. ^f Curt. lib. iii. & vii. ^g Tit. Liv. lib. xlv.
^h Curt. lib. x. cap. 6. Arrian. lib. ii. p. 113. lib. iii. p. 128 & lib. iv. p. 268.

*The royal
physicians.*

The royal physicians were highly considered in the court of Macedon, and were treated by their masters, as if they had been their intimate friends. When the kings were sick, the whole nation made prayers and vows for their recovery, the meanest people expressing the same sorrow in their looks, their habits, and lamentations, as if their nearest relations were on their death-beds. After their deaths the Macedonian kings were interred in the royal sepulchre, built by Argeus at the command of his father Perdiccas, with this assurance, that, while the kings were buried there, his race should never fail; and after their interment, the people mourned for them as for their common parents ^b.

*The affection of the
people for
their
princes.*

*The customs of the
Macedonians, religious
and
civil.*

The Macedonians, in point of religion, followed the opinions embraced by the rest of the Greeks, worshipping many gods, and indulging a great variety of vain and ridiculous rites. Jupiter, Hercules, and Diana, were particularly revered by them. The first as their protector; the second as the patron of the brave; the last as the goddess of hunting, to which they were universally addicted ^c. As they were strict in their morals, so, according to the mode of those times, they were very religious. Their princes disdained not to act on special occasions as priests, and to offer sacrifices for themselves and their people.

*Magnificent in
their feasts.*

In their ordinary manner of living this nation was remarkably temperate; but when they feasted, they were always magnificent, and indulged their appetites to excess. Caranus, the first monarch of Macedon, is recorded to have made a marriage feast remarkably splendid ^d; and the same taste appeared in his successors, particularly in Philip, who was a prince of high spirit. At these feasts the young men were admitted to sit down, as soon as they had killed a wild boar fairly, that is, with their spears, without toils or nets ^e. From their very infancy they were accustomed to ride to hunt, and, as soon as they were able, to serve in the camp. At their feasts no women were admitted; and it was an inviolable rule that nothing should be repeated, which had passed at their convivial meetings. Their captives they made use of as concubines, but it was held dishonourable to marry them; yet Alexander broke through this custom by his marriage with Roxana, and numbers followed the example. It is certain his victories changed the manners of his soldiers, as well as his own;

*Miscellaneous
customs.*

^b Justin. Hist. lib. vii. cap. 2. ^c Arrian. lib. i. p. 32. Justin. Hist. lib. xi. cap. 12. Curt. lib. iii. cap. 12. ^d Athen. Deipnosoph. lib. iv. ^e Hegesand. apud Athen. Deipnosoph. lib. 1.

for, whereas before they were content with plain and light arms, they afterwards adorned themselves with the spoils of the vanquished, and became not only well, but richly dressed, at the expence of the Persians^m.

In affairs of government we have shewn them to be wise and prudent; in one thing however they were very defective, viz. in their management of maritime affairs, which, notwithstanding the great advantage they had, they neither practised nor understood. Philip had not time to think of naval affairs before he was cut off by an immature death; his successor, amongst other great designs, had formed that of settling and increasing his navy, when he died at Babylon.

*Little
verged in
maritime
affairs.*

We have observed, that in capital cases judgment was given by the voice of the army; here it is necessary to observe, that the accused was always suffered to defend himself with the utmost freedom, though even at his trial he appeared bound, in a habit of distress, and without any ensigns of dignity, let his quality be what it would. In doubtful cases the torture was permitted without any respect to birth or former services, of which we shall find frequent instances in the history of Alexander, whose reign, as it was tinged with the blood of his enemies, so it was also stained with the gore of his countrymen. The punishments among them were of different kinds; sometimes the criminal was thrust through with darts, at other times crucified with his head downwards; sometimes they were thrown chained into rivers; yet these seem to have been either foreign customs or punishments inflicted in extraordinary cases; that which was most frequent, and which consequently seems to have been legal, was stoningⁿ to death, wherein the army, as they had been made judges, were executioners.

*Their
laws.*

*Their pu-
nishments.*

As there were very rich mines in Macedonia, so under several kings there were great variety both of silver and gold coins; of the latter sort were the Philippics, so called from bearing the bust of Philip, the father of Alexander, which are so often mentioned in ancient authors, and were for a long time the most current money in Greece; and such were many others, descriptions of which are to be found among the writings of antiquaries, as some of the pieces are yet extant in the cabinets of the curious.

Their coin.

^m Curt. lib. ix. cap. 3.
lib. ii. cap. 4.

ⁿ Croph. Antiquitat. Macedon.

Their language.

The Macedonian tongue differed very much from the Greek, that is, from all the several dialects of that language, as is evident from Strabo^o, and Athenæus; but especially from Curtius, in his account of the proceedings against Philotas; from whence it is clear, that the natives of Greece, who served in Alexander's army, were not able to understand a discourse delivered in the Macedonian tongue^p.

Their military discipline.

We come last of all to the military discipline of the Macedonians, which was their peculiar glory, and which raised them from a mean and obscure people to be lords of Greece. They were in their first beginning obstinately brave, as well as naturally warlike; by degrees they acquired knowledge in discipline, and became at last invincible, from a happy mixture of superior courage with superior skill. We are indebted for these observations to Polybius, an author of equal character for veracity and penetration, who, in his description of the military virtues of the Macedonians, does them all the justice that the best of writers could afford the bravest men^q.

Their soldiers.

The Macedonian army consisted of their natural-born subjects, their allies, and mercenaries. The native Macedonians served at their own expence, and contented themselves with the spoil of their enemies^r. The allies were composed of the respective quotas of Thessaly, Pæonia, and other dependent provinces, as also of the auxiliary troops furnished by Greece, after the kings of Macedonia were elected captains general^s. The mercenaries were soldiers of fortune, who served only for pay^t. When Alexander marched on his grand expedition, his infantry consisted of thirteen thousand Macedonians, seven thousand auxiliaries, and five thousand mercenaries^u: the Thessalians furnished horse, and there were also many troops of Macedonian cavalry; their discipline was strict, for, in case the private men lost their horses, either by sickness or in action, their officers were obliged to furnish others out of their own stables^v.

The order of the Macedonian troops.

The infantry were composed of three bodies, viz. the light-armed^x, the peltastæ, who were better armed^y, and the heavy-armed soldiers, of whom the phalanx was composed^z. These troops were adapted to all sorts of en-

^o Strab. Geograph. lib. vii. p. 687.

^p Curt. lib. iv. p. 9.

^q Polyb. Hist. lib. iv. cap. 11.

^r Curt. lib. iii. cap. 10.

^s Just. Hist. lib. xii. cap. 4.

^t Curt. lib. v. cap. 1.

^u Diod.

Sicil. lib. xvii.

^v Arrian. lib. vi. p. 426.

^x Ælian.

Tact. cap. 6.

^y Tit. Liv. lib. xxxi. cap. 36

^z Curt.

lib. vii. cap. 9.

terprizes; for if a post was to be attacked suddenly, the light-armed foot were employed; if steadily, and in expectation of an obstinate resistance, then the peltastæ or targeteers were sent; the heavy-armed foot were generally drawn up in the centre of the army in a square body, which was called the phalanx ^a. Polybius tells us, that it consisted of sixteen in flank, and five hundred in front, all pikemen, the soldiers standing so close, that the pikes of the fifth rank reached their points beyond the front of the battle. It is evident from hence, that the pikes of the last ranks were of no use according to this disposition; These last, however, were far from being useless: the hindermost ranks leaned their pikes on the shoulders of those who were before them, and, locking them fast, pressed vigorously against them when they made the charge, so that the first five ranks had the impetus of the whole phalanx, which was the reason why its shock was, generally speaking, irresistible ^b.

The phalanx.

With respect to the arms of the Macedonians they were offensive and defensive. At first their targeteers were furnished only with wooden bucklers, or such as were made of a kind of wicker; but, in process of time, they had them of leather and brass. The Macedonians had a large strong shield called in Greek aspís, and a small light buckler called pelte, the former used by the heavy-armed troops, the latter by those who were between the heavy and light-armed, from thence called peltastæ or targeteers ^c. As to the Macedonian swords, we do not find that they differed from those of the rest of the Greeks; they were made both for pushing and cutting, as will appear from various incidents in the succeeding history: the Macedonians also made use of daggers. As to their spears, they were of different kinds, viz. long and short; ^dthe former were used by the soldiers composing the phalanx, and were sometimes sixteen, at the least fourteen cubits, or twenty-one feet in length; the shorter spear was used by the light-armed troops ^e. The head-piece was made of a raw ox's hide untanned, for the sake of its toughness; Livy speaks of horns to it. It is very probable, that these were the wings of a double crest, one of which, as Plutarch tells us, was struck from the head-piece of Alexander at the battle of the Granicus. They had also breast-plates made of linen quilted ^f, to a proper

Their arms.

Their bucklers and swords.

Spears.

Breast-plates.

^a Arrian. & Curt. mult. in locis.

^b See Potter's Archæol.

vol. ii. lib. iii.

^c Arrian. lib. iv.

^d Polyb. Eclog.

xviii.

^e Croph. Antiquitat. Macedon. lib. iii. cap. 4.

thickness;

thickness; and a particular kind of military shoe. The horsemen used the same defensive arms as the foot, except that their bucklers were lighter and smaller, and their spears shorter. All these arms were well contrived for the times in which they were used; and it is observable, that the Roman authors speak of the Macedonian discipline as very complete, and acknowledge that the phalanx was almost an equal match for the legion.

Their discipline in the field.

When the army was in the field, the phalanx was drawn up generally in the centre; the horse and light-armed troops in two lines on the right and left. In all engagements the phalanx marched slowly, but was particularly quick in its evolutions; that is to say, it did not press precipitately upon the enemy, but, receiving its orders from the king, took what form he directed, sometimes extending itself in front, at others deepening its files, till it had the shape of a wedge, fighting steadily and obstinately, till the force of the enemy was entirely broken. The fugitives were then pursued by the light-armed forces, and the horse, the phalanx remaining in the field of battle, and carefully preventing the enemy's rallying their troops^f. It is not evident from any of the ancient historians, that the phalanx was divided into very small corps; a phalanx of sixteen thousand men consisted but of ten battalions; and, as they were seldom intended to march in separate bodies, there was no great occasion for these subdivisions, which were in use in other armies^g. Immediately before battle, the king or general usually made an oration: if the soldiers were pleased with the speech, they signified their approbation by clashing their arms; but, if it did not affect them, they remained silent. When they charged, they cried out, Alala! Alala! Lastly, when they desired quarter, their method was to hold their spears aloft in the air^h.

Their general discipline, or art of war.

With respect to the hardiness, frugality, and good order of the Macedonian troops, all authors are agreed; and though, it may be, their discipline was in some measure relaxed, when Alexander distributed amongst them the spoils of the East, yet by degrees the ancient rules were restored, so that the very last Macedonian armies were much admired for the regularity of their discipline. Their camp was always fortified with a good ditch and intrenchment. When the army was to march, part of

Their camps.

^f Potter's Antiquities, vol. ii. lib. iii. ^g Appian. in Syriacis. Tit. Liv. lib. : xxiii. cap. 4. Xiphil. in Carac. ^h Arrian. lib. i. p. 15.

this intrenchment was levelled, that they might march in order. The tents were small, as being intended to supply only a necessary covering against the inclemency of the weather. They were made of skins, and therefore, when they were folded up, they sometimes made use of them in passing rivers: two soldiers lay in a tent. As for the king, his tent was pitched in the centre, wherein he lay by himself; it seems to have consisted but of two apartments, one where the king slept, the other where he saw company; before the door of it his guards did duty ^k. The military signals among the Macedonians were either trumpets or fires. On a march the cavalry and light-armed troops took post in the van, the phalanx in the centre, and the baggage in the rear, except when there was reason to apprehend a sudden engagement; then they marched in order of battle: every soldier had a kind of knapsack, and there were also carts and waggons which attended the army, but not in such numbers as were used by other nations, because among the Macedonians neither women nor useless servants were permitted to follow the camp ^l.

The tents.

*Military
penals.
Order of
marching.*

As to the plunder, it was sometimes distributed amongst the soldiers, at others collected together, and sold for the use of the king, or for the army ^m. When in quarters, to keep up discipline, and to preserve the army from corruption, military games were instituted, wherein rewards both honorary and lucrative were bestowed. After victories obtained, their kings were used to reward all such as particularly distinguished themselves; as for such as died in the service, they were honoured with public monuments, and their children and relations freed from tribute: in all other respects, they were treated with the greatest humanity and condescension; and when the time limited for their service expired, or their wounds rendered them incapable of serving, they were dismissed, with ample provision for themselves and families, that they might enjoy the fruits of their labour, and, by living in ease and peace, excite younger and more robust men to serve chearfully in their stead ⁿ.

*Plunder
how dis-
posed of.*

^k Curt. lib. iv. cap. 10.
rian. lib. i. p. 6.

^l Idem, lib. vi. cap. 2.
ⁿ Diod. lib. xvi. Vell. lib. i.

^m Ar.

S E C T. III.

The History of the Macedonian Kingdom, from its Foundation to the Reign of Philip, the Father of Alexander.

THOUGH we have no regular account of the Macedonian kings in any one ancient historian, yet, from the scattered relations in Herodotus, Thucydides, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Justin, Pliny, Solinus, and other ancient writers, we have been able to collect such a number of passages as, when ranged in their just order of time, afford us a very probable account of the Macedonian affairs during the period assigned at the head of this section; and thenceforward we shall meet with fewer doubts and obstacles, and scarce any chasms in the narration, to the very end of the Macedonian monarchy under Perseus, the son of Philip. But, in the first place, it will be necessary to exhibit a list of those kings, and the years of their reigns, as they are set down by the learned Petavius, who has adjusted these intricate points with wonderful judgment and perspicuity.

A Table of the Macedonian Kings, from the Foundation of that Monarchy, to the Reign of Philip, the Father of Alexander the Great.

1. Caranus .	28	12. Archelaus	14
2. Coenus	28	13. Orestes	0
3. Thurimas	45	14. Arcopas	4
4. Perdiccas I.	48	15. Pausanias	1
5. Argeus	32	16. Amyntas II.	1
6. Philippos	35	17. Argeus	2
7. Æropas	42	18. Amyntas II. again	21
8. Alcetas	28	19. Alexander	2
9. Amyntas I.	49	20. Ptolemæus Alorites	3
10. Alexander	43	21. Perdiccas III.	5
11. Perdiccas II.	23	22. Philippos	24

Caranus.

Caranus, the founder of this kingdom, was an Argive by birth, and a descendent from Hercules; though authors are not well agreed at what distance. On what account Caranus quitted his native country, no authors inform us; but all agree, that he left it at the head of a considerable body of Greeks, with whom intending to settle, as the custom of those times was, in some other country, he consulted the oracle as to the measures which
he

he ought to take; he was answered, that he should establish his empire according to the direction of the goats. It is very probable that Caranus, when he received this response, knew not what to make of it; however, in pursuit of his first intention, he entered that country, since known by the name of Macedonia, and particularly the little kingdom of Amathia, at that time governed by king Midas, and drew near to its capital, which was then called Edessa. On a sudden the sky being overcast, and a great storm coming on, Caranus observed a herd of goats running for shelter to the city; immediately recollecting the oracle, he commanded his men to follow them closely; and, entering the city by surprize, he possessed himself first of it, and afterwards of the kingdom. In gratitude to his conductors he changed the name of the place into *Ægea*, and called his people *Ægeates*; he likewise made use of a goat in his standard, in order to perpetuate the memory of this extraordinary event.

Settles in Macedonia.

Telegonus, the son of *Atropæus*, the friend of Priam, and one of the heroes in the Trojan war, governed *Præonia*, and other petty princes ruled the several regions of which Macedonia is composed*. Caranus subdued, by degrees, such of his neighbours as were inferior to him in force, and added their dominions to his own, laying, by this means, the foundation of that kingdom, which his successors afterwards raised to such splendor. Chronologers are by no means agreed as to the beginning of this prince's reign; but after considering what has been offered on all hands, and comparing the conjectures of the learned in this science, with the facts mentioned by ancient historians, the most probable opinion seems to be, that he founded this kingdom about seventeen years before the first Olympiad, that is to say, about the year specified in the margin, according to the tables of the judicious archbishop *Uther*†.

Subdues the neighbouring princes.

Yr. of Fl.
1553.
Ante Chr.
795.

To Caranus succeeded his son *Cœnus*, of whom we know very little more, than that his mother was the daughter of *Cnopus*, a Colchian, who quitted his country, came into Macedonia, and resided with Caranus, who married his daughter. This *Cœnus* began his reign in the last year of the third Olympiad, and, having governed twenty-eight years, left his throne to *Thurymas*, or *Thurimas*, his son‡.

Yr. of Fl.
1584.
Ante Chr.
764.

Cœnus.

* Justin. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 6.
† Helvic. Theatr. Chron. p. 51.

‡ Uther. ad A. I. P. 3920.

Thurymas,

Yr. of Fl. 1612. **Thurymas**, **Thurimas**, or **Thyrmas**, succeeded to the Macedonian throne about the eleventh Olympiad. As to the particulars of his reign we are totally ignorant, no ancient author having recorded any thing concerning it.

Ante Chr. 736.

Thurymas. After possessing the crown of Macedon forty-five years, he transmitted it to his son **Perdiccas** ¹.

Yr. of Fl. 1657. **Perdiccas** the first was a monarch of great parts, and happy in his fortune; he extended his dominions at the expence of his neighbours, and performed so many great exploits, that, like most other heroes, his glory hath received some diminution from the shade of fiction which hath followed it ². When full of years he is said to have shewn his son the place where he desired to be buried, and where he, likewise, exhorted him to order his own body to be laid, and those of his posterity; signifying, at the same time, that, till this custom was abolished, there should not want one of his line to sit upon the throne; and some have been superstitious enough to imagine, that this prediction was fulfilled on the interring Alexander the Great's body elsewhere ³.

Perdiccas I.

Argæus. **Argæus**, the son of **Perdiccas**, succeeded his father, about the thirty-fourth Olympiad; he was a prince of great affability and goodness, whereby he gained the love of his people, and governed with much tranquility and applause. In his time the Illyrians, a fierce and barbarous nation, invaded the Macedonians, and did them considerable mischief; but **Argæus**, who was a wise and valiant, as well as a mild and peaceable prince, put himself at the head of his troops in order to oppose them. Having, by stratagem, drawn the enemy into his power, he fell upon them, and put them to the sword, with great effusion of blood. He enjoyed the sceptre thirty-two years, and dying, left the kingdom to **Philip** ⁴.

Philip I. **Philip** the first became king of Macedon about the beginning of the forty-second Olympiad; he was a good, as well as valiant monarch; but as to the transactions of his reign, there is little or nothing recorded, farther than that he fought with great courage in defence of himself and his people against the Illyrians, by whom he was slain in battle, and so left the crown to his son, an infant ⁵.

Æropas I. **Æropas** became king of Macedon about the beginning of the fifty-first Olympiad; when the Thracians and

¹ Usser. ad A. I. P. 3966.

² Herodot. lib. ii. cap. 22. & lib.

viii. cap. 137, 138.

³ Justin lib. vii. cap. 2.

⁴ Herodot.

lib. viii. cap. 139. Justin. ubi supra.

⁵ Justin. ubi supra.

Illyrians

Illyrians ravaged all his country, and were continually successful in their battles against his subjects, till the Macedonians, enraged by the misfortune, they had suffered, and superstitiously conceiving that they could never fight successfully but under the auspice of their king, caused the young *Æropas* to be carried into the midst of the battle in his cradle; and, either encouraged by the presence of their infant prince, or disdaining to leave a child in danger, they fought with such obstinate resolution, that they entirely defeated the Illyrians, and obliged them to retire. What were the future fortunes of a prince so prosperous in his infancy, no ancient historian has told us; and therefore we can only say, that, after ruling Macedonia forty-two years, he died, and left his dominions to his son *.

Alcetas.
Alcetas began his reign over Macedonia at a time when the several states of Greece exerted their increasing power, and endeavoured to extend their fame and their dominion both by sea and land, when the affairs of Asia, and the whole East, were strangely altered by the fall of the Assyrian empire, and the conjunction of the Persian and Median power in the person of the great Cyrus; and when the petty princes in his neighbourhood began to feel the effects of the Greek power on the one side, and of his new-erected empire on the other. What precautions this king of Macedonia took, either to preserve his own dominions from insults, or to extend their boundaries by subduing his neighbours, is not to be distinguished in the Greek histories now extant; but if we may conjecture from what they relate of the transactions happening in his son's time, it will appear most probable, that he contented himself with the kingdom left him by his ancestors, and chose rather to preserve that in peace, than to run the hazard of war, through an ambitious desire to increase it.

He was succeeded by Amyntas; to whom Megabizus, *Amyntas. The Persians require him to acknowledge Darius.*
the Persian general, sent seven of the principal commanders of his army to require him to acknowledge king Darius. Amyntas complied, and feasted them magnificently. Being elevated with wine and good cheer, they desired that the women might be produced according to the custom of Persia. It this particular they were also gratified; but as their intoxication increased, they began to behave

* Justin. ubi supra.

in a brutal manner, and were all slain by the contrivance of Alexander, the son of Amyntas¹.

*Bubaris
sent to re-
venge their
deaths.*

*Is pacified
by Alexan-
der.*

Megabizus hearing nothing of the messengers he had sent into Macedonia, and disdaining to march against so poor a kingdom himself, sent Bubaris, one of his principal officers, with a considerable body of troops, instructing him, as soon as he entered the frontiers of Macedon, to summon Amyntas, and make a strict inquiry after the ambassadors he had sent. Alexander, who had been the author of the death of the Persians, likewise contrived a method to pacify Bubaris. He went directly to confer with him as soon as he entered the country, carrying with him Gygæa his sister, a very beautiful woman; with whom Bubaris became so much in love, that, for the sake of obtaining her for a wife, he adjusted all things to the satisfaction of Amyntas. Thenceforward the kings of Macedon became dependent on the Persian emperors, but were always regarded as faithful allies, and therefore worthy of good usage and esteem.

*Amyntas,
and his son
Alexander,
continue
faithful to
the Per-
sians.*

Mardonius, Darius's general, is said, by Herodotus², to have added Macedonia to the Persian dominions; but this assertion must be understood in a restrained sense; for it is universally agreed, that the Persians did never deprive Amyntas, or any of his posterity, of the kingdom, but, on the contrary, treated them always with kindness and respect. When Xerxes, the successor of Darius, marched, with his army into Macedonia, in order to fall upon Greece, the diligence and fidelity of Amyntas, his son Alexander, and their subjects, appeared in so fair a light to the Persians, especially through the representation of Bubaris, who had married Alexander's sister, that he thought fit to add to the Macedonian kingdom the country lying near Mount Hæmus and Olympus; at the same time Amyntas, the nephew of Alexander, obtained the city of Alabanda in Phrygia. When the Greeks first heard of Xerxes' invasion, they had thoughts of sending a body of forces into Thessaly, in order to check him there, and to prevent his easy entrance into Greece; but the Alluadæ princes of Thessaly, and Alexander of Macedon, adhering to the Persian interest, the Greeks were constrained to abandon this scheme, and content themselves with disputing the pass at Thermopylæ. After the famous battle of Salamis, Mardonius being left with an army of four hundred thousand men, to attempt the conquest of

¹ Herodot. lib. v. cap. 20.

² Ibid. lib. vi, cap. 44.

the Greeks by land, whom his master had found invincible by sea, sent for the principal persons of the adjacent countries, to whom he represented the great confidence the Persian king reposed in them, and exhorted them, by their zeal on this occasion, in bringing troops to join his army, to demonstrate their being worthy of his friendship. This address made such an impression on the Macedonians and the rest, that, exerting themselves to the utmost, they, in a short time, augmented the Persian army with two hundred thousand men. However, the city of Potidea, in Macedonia, in the midst of these preparations, absolutely refused to send any succours to the Persians; but, on the contrary, declared for their enemies, the confederated states of Greece: with these the Pallenians joined, and the Olynthians shewed some inclination to increase the defection, which began now to be very formidable to the Persian power. Mardonius, that he might, as soon as possible, put a stop to this evil, detached Artabazus, at the head of sixty thousand men, to reduce these rebels. Against the Olynthians and Pallenians this commander was very successful; but the Potideans gave him a great deal of trouble. It is likely, that the inhabitants of this place, being free, and subsisting chiefly by their traffick with the Greeks, were better disciplined, and consequently more capable of defending themselves against the Persians. At first Artabazus contented himself with blocking up Potidea, because he, at the same time, besieged the city of Olynthus, then inhabited by the Bottizeans, who had been driven out of the coast of the bay of Therma, by the Macedonians; but after the reduction of this city, and putting most of the inhabitants to death, he came, with his whole army, before Potidea, and entered in earnest on the siege. How strong soever the place might be, and whatever valour the citizens might exert, it narrowly escaped the fate of Olynthus; for Tymoxenus, commander of the Scyonæans, entered into a conspiracy to betray the city. The manner in which he carried on his correspondence with Artabazus, was, by putting a letter into the head of an arrow, afterwards affixing the feathers, and then shooting it to a certain place. But Artabazus, having the misfortune to shoot when the people were about the place, it so happened, that his arrow struck into the shoulder of one of the Potideans; upon this accident several persons gathered about him, and, drawing out the arrow, the letter was discovered, and thereby the conspiracy defeated. This

The Potideans, Pallenians, and Olynthians refuse to send succours to the Persians.

Olynthus taken, and the inhabitants put to the sword.

A conspiracy discovered in Potidea, besieged by the Persians.

*The siege
raised, and
the Per-
sians either
drowned
or put to
the sword.*

was not the only misfortune; after Artabazus had continued the siege three months, the sea broke into his camp; upon which he raised the siege, and marched as expeditiously as he could to Pallene; but before the army had reached half way to that city, the waters overtook them; and, what was still more fatal to him, the Potideans pursued him in their boats; so that such as could not swim were drowned; and such as could were slain by the enemy. Mardonius lying in Thessaly, Artabazus found means to march, with the small remains of his army, which had taken the higher road, to his camp, and thereby finished this unfortunate expedition; which, as Potidea is a city of Macedon, fell properly within this section of our history.

*Alexander,
the son of
Amyntas,
sent by
Mardonius
to negotiate
a separate
peace with
the Athe-
nians.*

In the beginning of the spring, Mardonius sent one Mus, of European extraction, to consult the most famous oracles on the present state of affairs. At his return, he took a sudden resolution of treating with the Athenians, whom he justly looked on as the most dangerous enemy his master had. In order to negotiate a separate peace with them, and thereby weaken the force of Greece, he made choice of Alexander, the son of Amyntas, king of Macedonia, to be his ambassador.

Alexander, having received his answer, returned to Mardonius, who, when he found that the Athenians would not hear of a treaty, immediately determined to march his numerous army into their country, and destroy Athens a second time; a design which he executed accordingly. Having thus gratified his revenge, he quitted Attica, and marched into Boeotia, because, being a champaign country, it was more proper for his horse. Here he encamped, on the banks of the river Ælopus. The confederated states of Greece, having drawn together their army, marched towards the enemy, and encamped once against them, in the neighbourhood of Mount Cnidian. For some time the armies looked upon each other, motion of them caring to act offensively; it having been declared, by such as inspected the sacrifices, that the victory would be on that side that should be attacked. Mardonius at length, growing weary of this lingering kind of war, whereby they were reduced to the want both of provisions and forage, resolved, against the opinions of Artabazus and the Thebans, to fight the Greeks. Having one day discovered his opinion, and ordered all things to be disposed for the attack early in the morning, Alexander of

^a Herodot. lib. viii. cap. 127, 128, 129.

Macedonia, when the night was far spent, mounting on horseback, advanced to the Athenian guard, desiring to speak with their leaders, whom he named distinctly. Notice being given them, they came immediately to the barrier; then Alexander addressed himself to them in these terms: "I come to deposit a secret with you, O Athenians, on condition that you will conceal it from all men, except only Pausanias, lest you should ruin me. I would not make this discovery to you, if I were not extremely concerned for the safety of Greece; and being myself of Grecian original, were not very unwilling to see the liberty of Greece oppressed. Know, then, that Mardonius would have fought long before this time, if the sacrifices offered for him and his army had been found favourable; but now he has taken a resolution to have no regard to the sacrifices, and to attack you at break of day, fearing, as I conjecture, that more forces may come in to your succour. Be therefore in a readiness to receive him. But if Mardonius should defer the execution of his purpose, and not come to a battle, continue in your camp; for his provisions are not sufficient to last many days. And if this war terminates happily on your side, some of you ought to remember me; who, for the sake of the Grecians, and out of a desire to preserve their liberty, have voluntarily undertaken so dangerous an enterprize, and acquainted you with the intentions of Mardonius, to the end that the Barbarians may not surprise you, and fall upon your forces before you are prepared to receive them." Of this advice the Greeks made great use, and no doubt retained a grateful sense of Alexander's favour.

Not long after a decisive battle was fought, in which Mardonius was slain, and his prodigious army cut to pieces, excepting only a body of forty thousand men, commanded by Artabazus, who retired as soon as he saw that victory declared against him. With these he passed safely, though with precipitation, through Thessaly and Macedon, dissembling the defeat which the Persians had received, and affirming that Mardonius, with the gross of the army, was marching after him^b. The subsequent actions of Alexander's life are most of them covered with oblivion, because we have no ancient writer left, who treats expressly of the Macedonian affairs, before the time of Philip; and therefore we are forced to join such circumstances from general historians as regard that people, in

^b Herodot. lib. ix. cap. 43, 44. Plutarch. in Vit. Aristid.

order to fill up that obscure period between the accession of Caranus, and that of the famous monarch we have before mentioned. Alexander had three sons, Perdiccas, Alcetas, and Philip. The first succeeded to his throne; but the latter maintained for a long time a claim thereto, and thereby created great disturbances in their native country*.

*Perdic-
cas II.*

Perdiccas, the son of Alexander, in the very beginning of his reign, discovered such prudence and forecast, as seemed to demonstrate that he succeeded to his father's abilities, as well as to his dominions. He found himself environed on all hands either by open enemies, or suspicious friends. The inhabitants of Thrace, and other barbarous nations, looked on his increasing kingdom with an envious eye; the Persians treated him as their vassal; and, on the other hand, the Athenians became so powerful, by their colonies and allies on the sea-coast, that he was in no small danger from their ambition. Awhile he amused them with a shew of friendship; but when he found that they treated him with an air of superiority and haughtiness, he resolved to check their progress in this part of the world; nor did he long want an occasion.

*Disturb-
ances in
Epidam-
nus.*

The city of Epidamnus, or Epidamnium, being alike distracted by seditions at home, and terrified with the approach of foreign enemies, were in the utmost distress. The weaker party had called in the Illyrians to their assistance, by which the government was brought so low, that they sent first to the Corcyrians, and afterwards to the Corinthians, for aid; they being a colony immediately from the former, who were themselves a colony of the latter. The Corinthians sent relief to Epidamnium, which the Corcyrians resented, and sent a fleet on the coast of Macedonia, in order to compel the Epidamnians to submit to such terms as they were pleased to prescribe. Thus a war was begun between the two states, in which the Corcyrians had the better in the beginning; for they beat the Corinthians by sea, and took the city of Epidamnium by storm.

*War be-
tween the
Corinthi-
ans and
Epidam-
nians.*

*The Athe-
nians take
part in the
war, and
besiege Po-
tidea;*

The Athenians also took part in this business, and assisted the Corcyrians; whereupon the Corinthians tampered with the city of Potidea, to revolt from Athens, at the same time that king Perdiccas declared himself against that state, and persuaded the Chalcidians to abandon their sea-ports, and to inhabit and fortify the city of Olynthus.

* Thucyd. lib. ii. Diod. Sic. lib. xi. Pausan.

The Athenians, highly provoked at these proceedings, determined to revenge themselves on those who had deserted them, and especially on king Perdiccas, whom they looked upon as the principal author; to which end they sent Agnon with a fleet, and a considerable army, to besiege Potidea, and to reduce the Chalcidians: but the plague infecting his army, he was able to effect little; and therefore soon after failed back to Athens, leaving Potidea as he found it, blocked up by a small army the Athenians had there before. By the end of winter the Potideans, finding themselves reduced to the utmost extremity, their provisions being quite exhausted, and despairing of receiving supplies, treated with Xenophon, Hestiodorus, and Callimachus, the Athenian generals, to surrender the place on honourable terms, which were granted them; so that they had leave to depart with their wives and children, every man having one suit of cloaths, and every woman two, with a small sum of money to bear their charges into Chalcidia, and other places where they thought fit to retire ^d.

which submits.

Next year the Athenians, under the command of Xenophon, made war upon the Chalcidians, but without success. Perdiccas, in the mean time, foreseeing that in the end the Athenians would be too powerful for him, endeavoured to reconcile himself to that state, or rather, made a shew of reconciliation, in which he was assisted by Sytacles, king of Thrace, a very powerful prince, and one who sought to augment his dominions at the expence of his neighbours. But how artfully soever the Macedonian managed his affairs, the Athenians suspected him anew, and Sytacles took umbrage at his behaviour. The Athenian ambassadors, then at the Thracian court, solicited this king to make war upon Perdiccas, and exalt Amyntas, the son of Philip his brother, to the throne of Macedon, into which design Sytacles was easily drawn. That the invasion might be attended with all imaginable success, the several nations of Thrace, and all its allies, were invited to contribute their quotas to the war, which in hopes of plunder, they readily espoused; the Athenians also promising to send a strong fleet, with a considerable number of land-forces on board. Sytacles, taking with him the ambassadors, and young Amyntas, entered Macedon at the head of a hundred and fifty thousand men. Perdiccas, knowing it was impossible for him to

The Athenians stir up Sytacles king of Thrace against Perdiccas;

who enters his dominions, at the head of a formidable army.

^d Thucyd. lib. ii. Diod. Sic. lib. xii.

make any resistance in the field against so great an army, withdrew his forces into the strong towns, that he might thereby protract the war. At first Sytacles went on as prosperously as he could wish; for the principal cities in that territory, which formerly belonged to Philip, readily submitted to his son; Mygdonia, Grestonia, and ~~which were so waited without opposition; Europus, however, he attacked in vain; and the Macedonian horde,~~ attacking him in defiles, and other advantageous places, where his numbers could be of no use, did him considerable mischief: in the end, however, it appeared, that though the Macedonian horse were excellent, yet numbers would over-power them; and therefore Perdiccas would not any longer hazard his forces in these skirmishes.

Perdiccas finds means to appease so formidable an enemy.

He found, indeed, an easier and safer way of getting clear of this formidable enemy; for having engaged one Seuthes, the king's near relation, in correspondence with him, he offered him his sister Stratonica, with a vast fortune, in case he could bring about a peace. Seuthes immediately applied himself to the work, with an eagerness suitable to the reward which was promised him; nor did he want very plausible arguments to induce Sytacles to enter into his measures. In the first place he insisted, that the Athenians, instead of a fleet, had sent ambassadors only with inconsiderable presents, notwithstanding the war was entered into at their request, and carried on chiefly for their advantage: he observed next, that though this war had not profited the king much, yet it had created a multitude of enemies; for the Thessalians, not knowing what turn hostilities might take, were in arms in the south; and in the north, the Thracians inhabiting the champain country, with the Panaeans, Odomantians, Drons, and Derseans: but above all, he argued from the situation he was in, unsupported by his allies, harassed by his enemies, and already straitened for provisions, as well as pinched with cold. After eight days consideration, Sytacles yielded to his kinsman's arguments; and, quitting the Macedonian territories, marched with all imaginable speed into his own. Within a short space after this retreat, Seuthes received his wife, with a large sum of money; and Amyntas, in support of whose title the war was undertaken, was left in the same melancholy state in which he was before.

* Thucyd. ubi supra.

Perdiccas being rid of this formidable enemy, and retaining a most implacable enmity against the Athenians, who had stirred up Sytales to this invasion; privately negotiated with the Lacedæmonians to send an army into these parts; promising to do all in his power to drive the Athenians out of all their colonies and conquests in Thrace and Macedon. The Lacedæmonians having had lately many and great misfortunes in the course of the Peloponnesian war, gladly accepted this offer, in hopes of retrieving the honour of their arms: in order to which they dispatched Brasidas, one of their best and bravest commanders, with a well-provided army, to march through Thessaly into Macedonia. The Thessalians, when he first entered their country, were in great confusion; they were well inclined to the Athenians, but had never done any thing to provoke the Lacedæmonians, and therefore looked upon Brasidas's coming amongst them as an invasion. But this general, being a person of a very moderate temper, as well as invincible courage, behaved with great affability, and gave them general assurances of friendship and kindness, till he reached Dion, a small city in the neighbourhood of Mount Olympus, and the first in the Macedonian dominions: then giving Perdiccas notice of his progress, that prince declared openly against the Athenians, and owned, that he called in Brasidas to expel them out of his own country and Thrace.

Perdiccas's enmity to the Athenians.

Openly declares against them.

Perdiccas had framed a design of subduing the Lyncestheans, a bold and warlike people, very troublesome to himself, as well as to his ancestors; and though he had pretended, he sought only to protect his own dominions, and the Chalcidians, who at his persuasion had revolted from the Athenians; yet, when Brasidas arrived, he would have immediately employed him and his forces against Arrhibæus, king of the Lyncestheans; but Brasidas desired to be excused, till he had sent a herald to that prince, to acquaint him with his arrival, and to demand, whether he would be a friend or foe to Sparta. Perdiccas took this caution very ill; and could not forbear saying, that he did not send for him thither to be an arbitrator, but to fight against such enemies as he should point out. The Chalcidians, however, hoping to attach Brasidas more strongly to themselves, commended his conduct; and Arrhibæus, laying hold of this favourable opportunity, declared himself the friend of Sparta; upon which Brasidas removed from his frontiers. This retreat so offended the king of Macedon, that whereas before he had furnished

Offended at the conduct of Brasidas.

ed half the expences of the army, henceforward he would furnish but a third. The moderate behaviour of Brasidas wrought greater effects than an army twice as numerous as his could possibly have done, and many cities opened their gates to him; for wherever he had an opportunity of treating, his words rendered his sword unnecessary. About this time died Sytacles, king of the Odryans, and was succeeded in all his dominions by Seuthes, the brother-in-law of Perdicas.

*Amphipolis
blocked up
by Brasidas.*

In the winter, Brasidas, with the confederate army, blocked up Amphipolis, a famous city; for the possession of which the Athenians and Thracians had long struggled, but it was at present in the hands of the former, who had also an army not far from it, under the command of Thucydides. Brasidas after some time determined to attempt surprising the place, having very good intelligence therein; and he marched with such expedition towards it, that he had well nigh effected what he proposed; as it was, he threw the inhabitants into such confusion, that they sent to Thucydides the historian, who then commanded in Thrace, to entreat him to come to their relief. Brasidas having intelligence of this message, offered the townsmen their liberty, either to reside in the city under their own government, or to remove in five days, if they thought fit; which proposition they accepted, notwithstanding all that Eucles, the Athenian general, who commanded in the place, could say to prevent their submission.

The inhabitants submit to his terms.

Brasidas and Perdicas gain several advantages over the Athenians.

After this success Perdicas joined him, and they together made many other conquests. They marched to reduce the country about Athos, which in a great measure they effected, and then turned their arms against Torone, a strong city in Chalcidia, which was still held by the Athenians, and which Brasidas surprised in the night, without fighting^f. The campaign being ended, the Athenians procured a truce, designing to make use of the time it would afford them, to put their affairs in Thrace in better order, and to contrive the utter destruction of Perdicas, whom they now held for their most bitter and implacable enemy. On the other hand, Perdicas, having a just idea of the situation in which his affairs stood, neglected nothing which might restore them, or tend towards establishing the Macedonian power so ef-

^f Thucyd. lib. iii. Diod. Sic. ubi supra.

fectually, as to leave him for the future without apprehensions, either of Greeks or Barbarians.

With this view he strongly solicited Brasidas to undertake that expedition which he had so much pressed on his first coming into Macedonia, to wit, against king Arrhibæus; which solicitation, on account of that prince's not performing his promises, the Lacedæmonian general readily assented to. This expedition once resolved upon, was immediately undertaken; Brasidas leading his own army, and Perdiccas at the head of his Macedonians; but with a promise to act for each other's benefit, and to unite their forces, if there should be occasion. When they entered the country of the Lyncestheans, they found Arrhibæus very strongly encamped on the brow of a hill, with a plain before him; whereupon Perdiccas and Brasidas encamped on the descent of an opposite hill, having the same plain betwixt them and the enemy. In this situation the armies did not continue long before an engagement ensued. At first only the horse acted; but Arrhibæus sending some of his infantry to support his cavalry, Perdiccas and Brasidas did the same: upon which the battle became general, in which the Lyncestheans were defeated with very great slaughter, and constrained to betake themselves to their fortresses. Thither the king of Macedonia would have pursued them; but Brasidas opposed this resolution, because he was desirous of returning immediately to the sea-coasts, from an apprehension that the Athenians would attempt somewhat in his absence. During some days the army was in suspense, Brasidas consenting to march on, in case a body of Illyrians, whom Perdiccas had taken into his pay, should join them; but it was not long before they were constrained to think of a retreat. The Illyrians, fearing to aggrandize Perdiccas, deserted to the Lyncestheans, and thereby enabled them to take the field a second time, with such vigour, that the Macedonian forces, were struck with a panic, and fled in the night, carrying their king with them by force, without so much as suffering him to confer with Brasidas. The Lacedæmonian, however, made a retreat, though with some difficulty, and great loss; and from this time there was no right understanding between the king and that general, each conceiving himself to be ill-treated; Perdiccas resenting his refusal to prosecute the war after their victory, when he conceived it to have been entirely in their power to have subdued Arrhibæus; and Brasidas having been greatly offended with the precipitate

Both march against Arrhibæus, king of the Lyncestheans;

whom they defeat.

But are obliged to retire.

retreat

retreat of the Macedonians, which left him and his troops exposed to great danger.

*Perdiccas
treats with
the Athenians.*

The state things were now in, gave the advantage to Perdiccas, because it inclined the Athenians to court him, notwithstanding all the injuries he had done them; and he, on the other hand, beginning now to dislike the Greeks in general, from an apprehension that they all sought their own interest, and to aggrandize themselves at the expence of others, determined to lay hold of this opportunity of closing with Athens, in hopes that it would enable him to rid himself both of it and of the other party². He accordingly began to treat with Nicias, and at last concluded a peace; but the Athenian general suggesting, that it would be proper for him to give some open proof of his sincerity, the king resolved to gratify him, and at the same time do himself a kindness; he therefore undertook to stop a body of Spartan troops under the command of Ischagoras, which was ordered to march through Thessaly to join Brasidas. This he effected by his great interest in Thessaly, and thereby prevented such an accession of strength to the Lacedæmonian army, as would in all probability have rendered them far superior to their enemies; whereas, a short time afterwards, the Athenians sending over fresh troops, under the command of Cleon, Brasidas was forced to fight in defence of Amphipolis; and though he gained the victory, yet he was slain in the battle; a circumstance which determined the Lacedæmonians to make peace, and freed Perdiccas from his apprehensions on that subject.

The Athenians jealous of him.

Some time after this event, the Athenians began to entertain new jealousies as to the intentions of Perdiccas. They charged him with treachery, or at least with coldness in their affairs, and especially with his not assisting Nicias so effectually as they thought he might have done; for which reason they posted troops in such a manner, that Perdiccas had no communication with the sea, a constraint which was exceedingly detrimental to his affairs. Next year they ordered a body of horse to be transported to Methone, from whence they made inroads into Macedonia, and did much mischief. The Lacedæmonians were unable to give Perdiccas any considerable assistance; however they did all they could, which was to send orders to the Chalcidians, their allies, to assist him; but the Chalcidians, being apprehensive of the power of Per-

² Thucyd. lib. iv. Diod. Sic. lib. xii.

diceas, did not think fit to act as they were directed.^b From this time we meet with very little concerning him in the Greek historians; because there is not one of them who treats professedly of the affairs of Macedon; all, therefore, that we can add of this Perdiceas the second, is, that he died, after a long reign, full of years and glory.^c

Certain it is, Perdiceas was succeeded by his son Archelaus, a prince of great ability and indefatigable industry; but with respect to his title to the crown, his personal character, and the number of years that he reigned, authors speak so differently and obscurely, that it is impossible to deliver with tolerable clearness the story of his reign. He began his reign with fortifying some of his principal cities, that his neighbours, who were powerful in horse, and who could easily draw assistance from Athens, might not over-run Macedonia with the same facility as in the days of his father, when Sitalces, king of Thrace, ravaged the richest provinces, without incurring loss, or running any great hazard in his retreat. He likewise took other measures for raising the courage of his people, and the reputation of the Macedonian monarchy, which did not a little disturb his neighbours. The city of Pydna, more apprehensive than the rest, after soliciting the aid of the Athenians, declared against him; upon which he raised a powerful army, and laid siege to that city. The Athenians, according to their promise, sent a fleet and army, under the command of Themenes, to relieve Pydna; but that general found king Archelaus's army in so good condition, and so advantageously encamped, that he was obliged to retire without succouring the place. After a long siege, and a very brave defence, it fell into the hands of the king, who obliged its inhabitants to remove twenty furlongs farther from the sea, that their friends the Athenians might not so easily visit them.

Archelaus.

*Besieges
Pydna;*

and takes it.

Archelaus was distinguished for nothing more than his love of learning and learned men. He had always many about his court, whom he not only maintained with a magnificence worthy of a prince, but conversed with them as familiarly as if they had been his equals; in so much, that many of his sayings at table are recorded: for it was the peculiar wisdom of the Greeks to preserve from oblivion such sentences as were either remarkable for sprightly wit, or solid sense.^k Amongst others, Socrates

*He loves
learning,
and learned
men.*

^b Thucyd. lib. v. ⁱ Diod. Sic. lib. xii. ^k Plut. in Apophth.

was of the number of the learned, whose friendship was strongly solicited by Archelaus; but on account of the violences he had committed in the beginning of his reign, it is said that great philosopher declined corresponding with him. Euripides, the tragic poet, was his guest, and lived in the greatest intimacy with this monarch, who is thought to have honoured his memory with a tomb, deservedly commended by ancient authors. It is clear from these passages, that Archelaus spent his days in peace and honour. It seems to us most probable, that he reigned fourteen years, and that he was succeeded in the throne by his son Orestes. As for the manner of his death, it was by treason, Craterus his favourite conspiring against him; but this assassin also was murdered four days afterwards, and so reaped little benefit from his treachery.

Is murdered.

Orestes.

Orestes being but a child, Æropus, one of the royal blood, governed as protector, and, by degrees, increased his power so much, that he acted as absolutely as if he had been king. It was in his time that Agesilaus, king of Sparta, returned by land out of Asia into Greece. He sent to Æropus, and to the rest of the princes, whose dominions lay in his way, to desire the liberty of passing. Æropus answered his messengers, that he would consider of it: which answer being reported to Agesilaus, "Let him consider (said he), but let us march¹;" which accordingly he did through the country of Macedonia, without waiting for any farther permission. This instance of intrepidity made such an impression upon Æropus, that he gave orders for treating him and his army with the utmost civility, by which he preserved his country from being pillaged; for, in Thessaly, where the people was not so tractable, Agesilaus suffered his troops to live at discretion. The only reason assigned for transferring the regal authority from the family of Perdiccas to this Æropus, was, that the kingdom could not bear the want of a prince, or that the sceptre should remain in the hands of an infant; however, it is very likely, that the family of Perdiccas had many friends, and that, after the death of Orestes, Æropus stood so much in fear of them as to act very cautiously, for we hear of no act of hostility against any of his neighbours; but that, after a troublesome reign of six years, he was succeeded by his son

Pausanias.

Pausanias, who held the sceptre of Macedon by no better title than that of his father; and therefore Amyn-

¹ Plut. in Vita Agefil. in Apophthegm. Lacon. Diod. Sic. ubi sup.

tas, the son of Philip Tharaleus, conceiving that neither possession nor succession could sanctify an usurpation. cut off Pausanias before he had reigned a year, and placed the crown on his own head^m.

Ætropus had several sons besides Pausanias; and of these one named Argæus, who was the most capable. He, on the murder of his burther, immediately began to intrigue, both with the Macedonian nobles, and with the neighbouring princes, by whose assistance he raised a numerous army. With this he entered Macedonia, and asserted his right to the crown, which Amyntas not being able to contest, was forced to abandon almost as soon as he had assumed itⁿ.

Amyntas.

Driven out by Argæus.

Argæus remained in possession of Macedon about two years. We are not informed either how he governed, or what it was that induced his people to wish for Amyntas again; but, at the expiration of that term, the Thessalians furnishing that exiled prince with an army, he entered Macedon, and forced his competitor to retire.

Amyntas, being restored to his kingdom, found himself quickly engaged in a quarrel with the Olynthians, on this account: at the time he quitted his kingdom, he made over to them part of his territories, which lay next to their city, being in doubt whether he should ever come into Macedon again; but now, when he was thoroughly re-established on the throne, he demanded the restitution of these lands, which the Olynthians peremptorily refused, and prepared to defend their title by force. Amyntas saw clearly that, as things stood, he should not be able alone to contend with so powerful a people; he therefore determined to call in the Lacedæmonians to his assistance. That republic, having long had a jealous eye on the power of the Olynthians, readily assented to his request, and sent Phœbidas, with ten thousand men, to support the king in this war. Soon after they appointed his brother, Eudamidas, general, and dispatched him, with three thousand men, into Macedonia. The Olynthians, not at all discouraged at these formidable armies, prepared to defend themselves; and, having assembled a great body of troops, an engagement ensued, wherein Amyntas and his allies were defeated. The Spartans, as soon as they received the news, raised a new army, under the command of Talutius, the brother of king Agesilaus, to join Amyntas.

Amyntas restored. Makes war on the Olynthians.

Is assisted by the Lacedæmonians.

^m Diodor. Sic. lib. xiv.

ⁿ Petav. ubi supra.

*Both de-
feated by
the Olyn-
thians.*

This general, being a man of great courage, immediately entered upon action; and, before the Olynthians were ready to take the field, wasted their country, and enriched the soldiers with the distribution of the booty; but when the Olynthians had received the succours they expected, immediately quitted their city, and offered Amyntas and Tallutius battle. The action was long and obliquate, but, in the end, the Olynthians were victors, Tallutius, with twelve hundred Spartans, being killed on the spot. This slaughter served only to exasperate the Lacedæmonians, by whom a third army was raised, and Agefipolis, their king, entrusted with the command. The Olynthians, perceiving plainly that they should be at last beleagued, raised strong fortifications, laid up vast quantities of corn, and other provisions, in their magazines, and found means to protract the war for a year, without coming to an engagement. About the end of this space Agefipolis died, and Polyudas was sent from Sparta to command in his stead. This new general gained several victories, and, at last, shut up the Olynthians in their city, pressing them with so close a siege, that they were at length constrained to submit to the Macedonians, and accept of such terms as they were pleased to prescribe.

*Who are
obliged to
submit to
Amyntas.*

Amyntas was not only happy to engage Lacedæmon thus heartily in his cause, but he was also successful in his negotiations with the Athenians, who had not hitherto shewn any great kindness to the kings of Macedon. He artfully insinuated, that, in his opinion, Amphipolis belonged to them, and promised to do all in his power to put it into their hands, whereby he procured their friendship without any expence to himself. In all other respects he behaved like a great politician, strengthening the interest of his family, raising the credit of the Macedonian monarchy, and binding most of his neighbours, particularly the Thessalians, to his interest, by good offices, till, after a reign of twenty-four years, he died, much respected by all the Grecian states, and greatly beloved by his own subjects. He left behind him three legitimate sons, Alexander, Perdicas, and Philip, under the tuition of Eurydice, their mother; as also an illegitimate son called Ptolemy, surnamed Alorites, and several others.

*Amyntas
was much
respected by
all the Gre-
cian states.*

Alexander. proved a prince of great abilities though of little probity.

* Diod. Sic. ubi supra.

† Æschin. de Fals. Legat. p. 400.

The Theſſalians were, at that time, oppreſſed by Alexander of Phærea, who attempted to make himſelf abſolute lord of the whole country; the nobility applied themſelves to Alexander king of Macedon, who was not backward in promiſing them aſſiſtance. Alexander, the Phærean, having intelligence of theſe negotiations, immediately raiſed an army, and entered Macedon. The king met him with another army, and an obſtinate engagement enſued, wherein the Macedonian gaining the victory, he marched ſtraight to Lariffa, the capital of Theſſaly, the inhabitants of which opened their gates to him, and their example was followed by the moſt conſiderable places in that country, the king promiſing to reſtore them all to their liberty; which, however, he was ſo far from performing, that he put gariſons into every one of them, ſo that the Theſſalians quickly found they had only exchanged one tyrant for another[†]. Upon this they applied to the Thebans, to deliver them from both. Pelopidas was choſen to command a body of troops ſent for this purpoſe; and the reputation of ſo great a captain effected almoſt as much as could have been expected, had the whole power of Thebes been employed in this enterprize; for Alexander immediately began to execute the treaty he had formerly made with the Theſſalians, and to quit Lariffa, and other cities, which had been put into his hands. Alexander of Phærea alſo began to act with greater moderation, and the preſence of Pelopidas diſſuſed a tranquillity hitherto unknown in theſe parts[‡].

Aſſiſt the Theſſalians againſt Alexander their tyrant;

but keeps them himſelf in ſubjection.

At this period Ptolemy Alorites, the baſe ſon of Amyntas, began to plot againſt Alexander, and drew ſuch a number of Macedonian lords to his intereſt, as made the king's authority very precarious; he therefore applied to Pelopidas, intreating him, ſince he had quitted Theſſalia, to act as umpire in the diſputes between him and Ptolemy in Macedonia. Pelopidas, conſenting to what he deſired, marched immediately into Macedonia, and, having ſettled all things to the ſatisfaction of both parties, it was agreed, that Philip, the king's youngeſt brother, ſhould be put into his hands as a hoſtage, and, with ſome other young noblemen of Macedon, be carried to Thebes, to which city Pelopidas at that time departed. Immediately after Alexander was ſlain, and the kingdom transferred to his brother[§].

Conſpiracy againſt Alexander;

who is ſlain.

[†] Diod. Sic. lib. xiv. Juſtin. lib. vii. cap. 4.
Pelop. [‡] Plut. ubi ſupra.

[‡] Plut. in Vita

Perdiccas
II.
Pausanias
sets up a-
gainst him.

Perdiccas should have mounted the throne on the demise of Alexander, and he accordingly claimed it, but was far from obtaining peaceable possession. Pausanias, a prince of the royal house, likewise, claimed the kingdom and was at first so favoured by the people, that the whole family of Amyntas were in the utmost danger. It happened fortunately for them; that the Athenians about this time sent Iphicrates, with a small fleet, to prepare for the siege of Amphipolis; to him, therefore, on his arrival, Eurydice, the widow of Amyntas, addressed herself, imploring the assistance of the Athenians in favour of her two orphan sons. Iphicrates, moved by the queen's tears and intreaties, espoused her cause, turned his arms against Pausanias, and compelled him to retire out of Macedonia.

But is ex-
pelled by
Iphicrates.

A new pre-
tender to
the throne.

Perdiccas had but little more quiet from this friendly interposition of the Athenians; for scarce was Pausanias retired, before Ptolemy Alorites pretended to the throne, and, by degrees, insinuated himself into such favour with the people, that he expelled his brothers, assumed the ensigns, and discharged the functions of a king. Perdiccas did not however quit his title, though only a small part of the country owned it. He had always hopes, that either the Athenians or Thebans would support him; but they, being much embarrassed at home, neglected all his solicitations; till at last Pelopidas, moved with compassion towards the brother of a king with whom he had lived amicably, drew together a few mercenaries, and, with no other authority than what he derived from the reputation of his virtue, marched towards Macedonia, in order to restore the deprived prince. Ptolemy raised an army to oppose him, and when their forces drew near to each other, he made privately such offers to Pelopidas's mercenaries, that they immediately deserted him, and went over to the enemy; yet this desertion did not quit Ptolemy's fears, who looked upon this as an escape only for the present, and, fearing the resentment of Pelopidas much more than many armies, he voluntarily laid down his arms, and referred the difference between himself and his brother to that general's decision. Pelopidas having declared, that the crown belonged to Perdiccas, the Macedonians so readily came into his sentiments, that Ptolemy was forced to submit.

Both refer
their dis-
ferences to
Pelopidas,
who ad-
judges the
crown to
Perdiccas.

Pelopidas fearing that, as soon as he was withdrawn, all things might fall again into confusion, took hostages

• *Æschin. de Fals. Legat. p. 400.*

• *Diod. Sic. ubi supra.*

on both sides; from Perdiccas, his brother Philip, who was to have been sent to Thebes before; from Ptolemy, his son Philoxenus, with several young men his companions; and thus an end was put to all disturbances for the present. Eurydice, doubtless, was not a little fearful of giving up her darling Philip into the hands of strangers; her concern however was somewhat abated, from the consideration of the worth of Pelopidas, whom she earnestly besought to take care of his education; a charge which he not only undertook, but very exactly fulfilled. On his return to Thebes, he placed the young prince in the hands of his friend Epaminondas, who had in his house a Pythagorean philosopher of great reputation. Under his care Philip learned the principles of philosophy, and under Epaminondas himself he acquired the art of war. Thus his exile became beneficial, not only to himself, but his country; and he acquired amongst foreigners those abilities, which enabled him afterwards to triumph over them. This was especially owing to his making Epaminondas his model; for, by studying that great man's temper and disposition, he joined qualities, which are seldom met with together; that is, indefatigable activity to a steady composure. As for his temperance, justice, disinterestedness, and candour, those Philip meddled not with, as suiting little with his temper and circumstances *.

Perdiccas in the mean time governed Macedon with a mediocrity of fortune, till he came to be engaged in a war with the Illyrians, a very martial nation, the ancient hereditary enemies of his subjects. Against these Perdiccas, at the head of a very considerable army, marched as soon as possible, that he might hinder them from plundering the country. A general engagement quickly ensued, wherein the Macedonians were routed, with great slaughter, and which was still worse, with the loss of their king, who left behind him a son named Amyntas, then in his infancy; who, though the lawful heir of the kingdom, was unable to govern it; so that now a field was opened to civil dissensions, while at the same time the kingdom groaned under the weight of a foreign war *.

*Perdiccas
routed and
slain by the
Illyrians.*

* Plut. ubi supra. Justin lib. vii. cap 5.
Sicul. lib. xvi.

* Diodor.

S E C T. IV.

The Reign of Philip.

Yr. of Fl.
1988
Ante Chr.
360.

*The miser-
able state of
Macedon
at Philip's
accession.*

IT was the peculiar felicity of the prince, whose actions we are now to record, that his fame suffers no diminution, which ever part of his reign we consider, and whether we enquire from what condition he raised his kingdom, or to what height under his auspice it arrived. When he went suddenly and secretly from Thebes to Macedon, on the news of his brother's death, he found the people dejected, and the state in the utmost confusion; a king just slain, the whole strength of the kingdom routed, the Illyrians preparing for a new invasion, the Pæonians on the point of making another; a child, named Amyntas, the son of Perdiccas, on the throne; and two powerful competitors contriving to dispossess him; that is to say, Pausanias supported by the Thracians, and Argæus, to whose assistance the Athenians had sent their general Mantias with an army: yet was Philip, though but twenty-two years old, so far from sinking under this mighty load, that he not only kept up his own spirits, but invigorated and encouraged his despairing countrymen. He applied especially to the army, whom he caressed with the tenderest expressions; and the nobility, whom he bound to his interest by the strongest testimonies of confidence, and great promises. Things thus quieted at home, he began immediately to provide for what was requisite to put his foreign affairs in a better situation. In order to give a check to the Athenian army, king Philip caused Amphipolis to be declared a free city, and left its inhabitants to govern it according to their own ideas. By this step, though it seemed a disadvantage to his kingdom, on account of the importance of the place, yet he was a great gainer; because the Athenians undertook the war chiefly for the sake of this city, and supported his competitors, and, by leaving it free, he took away all ground of quarrel with respect to himself; and yet added nothing to the power of the Athenians in these parts. To the chief men in Pæonia he made considerable presents, and thereby avoided a dispute in the field, for which as yet he was unprovided. By the same arts he took off Pausanias.

† *Diod. Sic. lib. xvi. Justin. lib. vii. cap. 5.*

That

That the best use might be made of this interval of quiet, Philip, who at first acted as guardian only to his nephew Amyntas, the son of Perdiccas, laying the child aside, stepped into the throne, with the unanimous consent of the Macedonians, who declared, that necessity ought to supersede loyalty; and that, since the public safety required a man, they ought not to pay allegiance to a child. He then proceeded to introduce a new and more strict discipline among the troops, which probably he had learned from the Thebans. He particularly instituted, or rather modelled, the phalanx, and taught the soldiers how to become more formidable from order, and a just conception of the rules of war, than from mere force; and by the help of frequent instructions, kind language, and, when it was necessary, some bold acts of severity, he attained his end. Argæus, with a body of mercenaries, advancing as far as *Ægæ*, and being constrained by the citizens to retire, Philip determined to try the mettle of his troops by pursuing them; which he accordingly did, and coming up with them, engaged and defeated them with great slaughter; an action which greatly revived and encouraged the Macedonian army, taught them to confide in their prince, and to discern the singular advantages the received from regular discipline. The king, however, displayed on this occasion the moderation which distinguished his character from most of the chieftains of his age, by granting a capitulation to a great body of troops which had retired to an eminence. By this composition he secured a present victory, and established a reputation of clemency, which proved of infinite service to him in the sequel².

His prudence in settling civil and military.

Immediately after this victory he dispatched ambassadors to Athens, and having instructed them to give up all his right to Amphipolis, easily procured a peace; for though the Athenians drew great benefit from their colonies and conquests in Thrace and Macedon, yet the great expence of maintaining armies there discouraged them much, and inclined them to make peace whenever it was offered on honourable terms. Another circumstance which contributed to the speedy conclusion of this peace, was the mean opinion the Athenians had of Philip's power, which inclined them to believe all his ambassadors told them, and made them little apprehensive of his breaking the accommodation. Thus delivered from one potent

He makes peace with the Athenians, subdues the Pæonians, and conquers the Illyrians.

² Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra.

enemy by his own address, death quickly freed him from another, by taking off Agis, king of Paonia. The news of this event no sooner reached the ears of Philip, than he determined to embrace this opportunity of revenging himself on the Pæonians. He accordingly invaded their country, took their cities, and reduced them to such extremities, that they were constrained to submit, and become his subjects. This war thus happily concluded, he without delay marched against the Illyrians with an army of ten thousand foot, and six hundred horse. They were one of the boldest and most martial nations in those parts, and had within a few years often beaten the Macedonians. Bradyliis, however, who was their king, offered to treat of a peace with Philip, on this condition, that each should keep what he possessed. Philip answered, that he always preferred peace to war; but could not think of preserving it, by quitting his claim to those places in Macedonia, that were at present in the hands of the Illyrians. Bradyliis, upon this refusal, encouraged his troops, from the consideration of their former victories, to behave gallantly; and with ten thousand foot, and five hundred horse, offered Philip battle. The engagement was obstinate and bloody, and, as Diodorus Siculus intimates, the Illyrians had their phalanx as well as the Macedonians. In the end, however, chiefly through the conduct of Philip, who brought a body of horse to attack the Illyrians in flank, whilst he himself with the phalanx charged in front, the enemy was routed, and the Macedonians pursued, and slew in the whole no less than seven thousand men; a slaughter which exceedingly broke and disordered the Illyrians, and constrained them to purchase a peace at the expence of all their conquests[†].

Yr. of Fl.
1990.
Ante Chr.
358.

*Takes Amphipolis,
Pydna,
Purtida,
&c.*

By this time the affairs of Macedon were in a tolerable posture, and Philip, from the success which he already had obtained, was animated to greater undertakings. It is not probable, that he already meditated the subjection of Greece, because as yet he was master of no force adequate to such an enterprize; but it is most likely he proposed even now, the rendering his kingdom not only independent, but raising it to a state of pre-eminence over its neighbours. Whatever his views were, he did not continue long at rest, but suddenly, and when it was least expected, attacked Amphipolis. This city, as we have already seen, was always an offence to the Macedonian

[†] Diod. Sic. ubi supra

princes; and therefore, from the beginning of his reign, Philip had kept his eye continually upon it, watching a fit time for its reduction. The Amphipolitans, sensible of their danger, sent Hierax and Stratocles to Athens, to offer themselves and their city to that commonwealth. Demosthenes, and those who, with him, foresaw how formidable Philip would one day become, seconded the deputies of Amphipolis; but the agents of Philip insinuating, that the king intending to deliver it up to the Athenians when taken, they suffered themselves to be amused, and denied the Amphipolitans relief. Philip prosecuted the siege eagerly, both by force without, and by negotiation within. At last he took it by storm, put to death or banished such as were not in his interest, and treated the rest of the inhabitants kindly. This blow being once struck, he proceeded to reduce Pydna and Potidea; in the last of which was an Athenian garrison, which he drew out, and dismissed with all the marks of honour. He afterwards delivered the city to the Olynthians, according to his maxim, "That those are to be obliged, whom we cannot overcome." These conquests made a great noise, and Philip now began to grow terrible to all his neighbours ^b.

We have heretofore shewn, in our description of Macedonia, that the tract of country between the river Strymon and Nessus was extremely rich in gold. Indeed the fame of its mines had made it often change its masters. When the Athenians were first powerful at sea, it belonged to the Thasians, from whom they wrested it by conquest. This republic declining, it fell into other hands; and a few years before this time the Thracians had possessed themselves of it, and fortified Crenides its capital city. Philip, who looked upon gold as the best weapon, and the surest resource in every difficulty, resolved to seize upon this country, and to extract out of its bowels a treasure sufficient to buy that empire for which he so passionately longed. He executed this scheme before it was known that he had formed it; and, having taken Crenides, he not only altered its government, but changed its name into Philippi ^c. He likewise gave directions for working the gold mines to greater advantage than had hitherto been done; and, having by these means established a certain revenue of a thousand talents per an-

Yr. of Fl.
1991.
Ante Chr.
357.

*Subtues
the country
between
the rivers
Strymon
and Nessus*

^b Demost. Olynth. i. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvi. Isocrat. ad Phil.
^c Died. Sicul. ubi supra. Dion. Cass. lib. xlvii.

num, which was in itself a large sum, and so much the more beneficial, as it was extracted out of the earth, and not from his subjects, he began to turn his eyes towards other conquests.

Yr. of Fl.
1992.
Ante Chr.
356.

*The birth
of Alexander the
Great.*

In the first year of the one hundred and sixth Olympiad, Philip, being then in the field, received advice, that his wife Olympias, the daughter of Neoptolemus, king of Epirus, was brought to bed of a son at Pella. This son was the famous Alexander, justly surnamed the Great. At the same time Philip received advice, that his chariot had gained the prize at the Olympic games; and upon the heels of this a third courier came, with an account that Parmenio had defeated the Illyrians. This surprising run of good fortune is said to have affected Philip so much, that he wished it might be tempered by some slight mishap; not that he was insensible of felicity, but because he was afraid that his fortune might ebb as swiftly as it had flowed ^a.

*King Philip
proceeds,
and extends his
conquests
towards
Thrace,
and the
sea coast.*

At this time all Greece was in confusion; the Phocion, or, as it was otherwise called the Sacred War, raged with prodigious fury, which gave Philip an opportunity of securing and extending his frontiers without interruption. It also produced various applications from the contending parties, in order to procure his assistance; the effects of which we shall hereafter see. In the mean time let us follow the track of his conquests. The little city of Methone had given him some umbrage; he conceived his conquests in Thrace might be in some danger, if it fell into the hands of his enemies; to prevent which event he immediately invested the place. The inhabitants made a very vigorous defence, and submitted at last, on condition that they might have free leave to quit the town; then Philip caused the city to be razed, and divided its territories among his soldiers ^b. At this siege he had the misfortune to lose an eye, by a very extraordinary accident, if the circumstances transmitted to us may be believed (P). This evil was, however, in some measure alleviated

^a Plut. in Vit. Alex. Justin. lib. xii. Plut. Apophthegm. Usser. Annal. A. I. P. 435^b. ^b Diodor. Sic. ubi supra. Demosth. Phil. i.

(P) There is something so fabulous in the story we are told of Philip's losing his eye before this place, that we could not judge it fit to appear with those circumstances in the body of our history. It is said, that, when Philip invested Methone, one Aster, a most excellent archer, was recommended

ed by the skill of his surgeon, who, though he could not save its sight, preserved the form of the king's eye from suffering any disfigurement¹; yet the king was so much chagrined thereat, as never afterwards to hear the word cyclop, or even an eye, mentioned with patience²; a strange weakness in so great a man!

As soon as Philip was recovered, he began to think of marching into Thessaly, where the petty princes of the country earnestly desired his presence, to redress those mischiefs which the ambition of a single family had brought upon all Thessaly. Alexander of Phærea, the original tyrant, had been murdered for his insupportable arrogance by his wife and his brethren, who thereupon grew into great reputation with the Thessalians; but Lycophron, the elder brother, assuming the government, and acting no better than Alexander had done, the aleuadæ, so the Thessalian chiefs were called, addressed themselves to Phi-

Yr. of Fl.
1995.
Ante Chr.
353.

*Marches
into T. of
Jaly.*

¹ Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. vii. cap. 37.
Elocut. cap. 3.

² Demet. Phaler. de

ed to him with this commendation, that he could strike the swiftest bird in its flight. "Very well, (replied Philip), we will call for him, when we make war with starlings." This sarcasm so stung the archer, that he immediately threw himself into the besieged city, from the walls of which, when Philip was one day viewing the place, he discharged an arrow, with this inscription, "For the right eye of Philip;" which it accordingly struck, and extinguished. The king shot back the same arrow, with this answer on the opposite side, "Philip, when the town is taken, will cause Ailer to be hanged;" a promise which he also performed. It was not here only that Philip felt in his own person the effects of war; his courage pushed him into all places of danger; and darts,

stones, and javelins, make no distinction of persons. Demosthenes therefore, who cannot be suspected of flattering Philip, could not forbear, when the subject afforded him a proper occasion, painting his personal bravery in such a light, as might have roused the Athenians: "I will shew you, (said that glorious orator), this same Philip, with whom we dispute for sovereignty and empire; I will shew him to you as he is covered with wounds, blind of an eye, his skull cracked, lame of a hand and of a leg, ready to throw himself into the midst of new dangers, and to put it into the power of fortune to deprive him of some other limb, in hopes, with the remainder of his body, to live with glory and honour; such, Athenians, is Philip (1)!"

(1) Orat. pro Ctesiphon.

*Defeats
Lycophron
tyrant of
that coun-
try.*

*Is twice de-
feated by
Onomar-
chus.*

*But in the
end gains a
complete
victory.*

lip, and besought his protection. He, having settled his affairs in Thrace, and on the sea-coasts, marched into Thessaly, and made war on Lycophron; who finding himself too weak to contest with the Macedonian foot, joined with the Thessalian cavalry, demanded aid of the Phocians, or rather of Onomarchus their general, who sent his brother Phayllus with seven thousand men, to maintain Lycophron in his dominions. The tyrant, after the junction of these troops, no longer declined battle; yet his success no way answered his expectation; for he was defeated by Philip, and the Phocians were driven out of Thessaly. Onomarchus, informed of this event, marched with all his forces to support Lycophron, and in two general engagements vanquished Philip, and compelled him to retire out of Thessaly in great distress.

But though his army was defeated, his spirit remained unconquered; so that perceiving the reduction of Thessaly was absolutely necessary to his proposed empire, he applied himself with all diligence to the recruiting his army; and as soon as it was in a tolerable condition, marched immediately against Lycophron. The tyrant did not wait his coming, but withdrawing his troops to a secure camp, sent again to invite the Phocians to his assistance. Onomarchus being determined to put an end to the war, marched with twenty thousand foot and five hundred horse, to oppose the Macedonian. Philip in the mean time had prevailed on the Thessalians to make their utmost efforts in his favour; so that at length his forces consisted of twenty thousand foot, and three thousand horse; and then he no longer declined a general battle. This action proved decisive, chiefly through the valour of the Thessalian horse; for the princes who commanded them, knowing they were to expect nothing but destruction from Lycophron, if he prevailed, fought with desperate resolution; insomuch that six thousand of the Phocians were slain upon the spot, with their general, and three thousand were taken prisoners. The slaughter would have been greater, if the engagement had not happened on the sea-shore, when the Athenian fleet commanded by Chares passed by, and thereby afforded refuge to such of the Phocians as could swim. Philip caused the body of Onomarchus to be searched for; and when it was found, he directed it to be hung up with ignominy, denying also funeral rites to all that were slain, looking on them as sacrilegious persons for having violated the temple at Delphi. Lycophron and his brother Pitholaus seeing now no hopes
of

of retaining their principality, were content to resign it; and being dismissed on giving their oaths to be quiet, they delivered up the city of Phœcia into the hands of Philip, who, as he had promised the Thessalians, restored all the cities to liberty. Having thereby secured the friendship of so powerful a nation, he attempted to pass through the Pylæ, in order to make war upon the Phocians^b. This was a very bold attempt; for since the defeat of the Persians at Plataea, no Macedonian prince had ever set foot in Greece. The Athenians therefore, having notice of his design, marched with the utmost expedition, seized the passes, and obliged him for this time to abandon his purpose.

Attempts to pass the Pylæ, but is prevented by the Athenians.

We may reasonably look on this retreat as the era of Philip's hatred to the Athenians. He saw that they were the only people in Greece capable of defeating his projects, or of giving him uneasiness in his own kingdom; he therefore provided with much diligence a fleet composed of light ships, which continually disturbed their trade, and at the same time enriched his subjects by the capture of wealthy prizes. He also increased his army by new levies, and schemed the destruction of the Athenian colonies in Thrace. Besides these preparations at home, he practised very successfully in Athens itself; and, by large appointments, secured some eminent orators to charm the people with delusive hopes of peace, or to frighten them with very expensive estimates, while they pretended a zeal for carrying on the war. Demosthenes was the only man in Athens, who had a just idea of the danger his country was, in from the growing power of Philip, and who had likewise capacity enough to point out the proper methods for reducing his exorbitant greatness^c. He shewed the Athenians, that the measures they had hitherto pursued were unworthy of them, and would never answer their purpose. He told them, that running hither and thither, according as they heard that Philip marched this way or that, looked more like following him as their general, than making war upon him as their enemy; he therefore advised transporting two thousand foot, and two hundred horse into Macedonia, assuring them, that if they had once an army, how small soever, there, the enemies of Philip would render it formidable by joining them. The Athenians approved, but they did not follow his advice; all the effect it had was this, that Phi-

Meditates the ruin of the Athenian power.

^a Diod. Sic. ubi supra.

^b Plut. in Vit. Demosth. & Phocion.

lip being informed of it, proceeded with greater vigour, and determined at all events to have neither state or prince independent of himself within the limits of Macedon, that the Athenians might be deprived of all hopes of treating him as they had treated his ancestors.

Yr. of Fl.
1998.
Ante Chr.
350.

*Makes war
on Olyn-
thus.*

Olynthus had now in a great measure recovered that power and authority, which it enjoyed when Amyntas, the father of Philip called in the Lacedæmonians to assist him in making war against it. Philip himself had contributed to this recovery, by giving it up certain cities and territories, when he first began his conquests; but this sacrifice was only to amuse the Olynthians, and save himself the expence of garrisons, when it suited not his circumstances to maintain them^k; but now, when his affairs were altered, he began to think not only of resuming what he had restored, but of making himself master of Olynthus, and thereby subverting a republic, which had been heretofore an over-match for Macedon. The Olynthians were too discerning not to suspect Philip's design before he actually put it in execution: as soon therefore as they observed that he was advancing towards the Chalcidian region, they put themselves on their guard, and sent ambassadors to Athens to intreat a considerable and speedy assistance. Demosthenes failed not to espouse the cause of the Olynthians. He began with putting the Athenians in mind, that till now they held the balance between the kings of Macedon and this state; and that, if they did not preserve it, they might expect to be involved in one common ruin with the Olynthians. Hence he inferred, that a speedy and considerable succour should be sent, according to the request of the ambassadors; and that commissioners should be appointed for abrogating such laws as hindered the settling the necessary funds for carrying on a war of such importance with vigour^l. Demades, and the rest of the orators who were corrupted by Philip, opposed this proposition with all their eloquence; but as they had neither truth on their side, nor a power of speaking equal to Demosthenes, the people inclined to follow his advice^m, and accordingly decreed, that relief should be sent to the Olynthians.

Takes several cities, and lays siege to Olynthus.

Philip in the mean time took Zeira, a town in the Chalcidian region, and razed it to the ground. He soon after marched against Mycaberna and Torone, both of which he subdued. After these exploits he openly attacked the

^k Demost. Philip. ii.
Sic. ub. supra.

^l Demosth. Olynth. ii.

^m Diod.

Olynthians,

Olynthians, defeated them twice in the field, and at last shut them up in their city. The Athenian succours consisted of mercenaries, which afforded the Olynthians but little service, and were besides so much suspected, that they were little less dreaded than the Macedonians themselves; the citizens therefore sent ambassadors a second time to Athens, to intreat fresh assistance, and that it might be of Athenian troops. Demosthenes seconded this proposition with his usual vehemence; and on his motion Chares was sent a second time with seventeen gallees, and a land-army of two thousand foot, and three hundred horse, all citizens of Athens; but the cordial came too late. It did indeed revive the fainting spirits of the Olynthians for a time; and the Athenians hearing of some slight successes of their troops, grew so elated, that they took no farther care of the war, as appears from an oration of Demosthenes yet remainingⁿ; so that in the end Olynthus was taken; though not so much by the bravery of the Macedonian troops, as by Philip's corrupting its principal magistrates, Euthycrates and Lasthenes, who basely betraying their country, after the city had made a glorious defence, secretly opened its gates, and admitted Philip and his army. The king, on this occasion, proceeded with great severity; he gave up the houses of the citizens to be plundered, and exposed their persons to sale, acquiring thereby an immense treasure, at the same time he rid himself of such as were his implacable enemies. After this success he celebrated the Olympic games in honour of his conquest, which happened in the first year of the one hundred and eighth Olympiad, causing splendid shews to be exhibited for the diversion of his army, making magnificent feasts, and giving great rewards to such as had signalized themselves during the siege, that his soldiers might be encouraged to serve him with equal courage and zeal^o.

The Phocian war being still unextinguished, Philip, though he affected a neutrality, placed all his hopes in putting an end to this war, and thereby making himself the arbiter of Greece. His hopes were well founded. The Thebans, who were at the head of the league formed for reducing the Phocians, solicited him on one side; the states confederate with the Phocians, sought his friendship on the other. He answered neither, yet held both in dependence. In his heart he favoured the Thebans, or rather

Yr. of Pl.
2000.
Ante Chr.
348.

*Olynthus
taken.*

*He over-
reaches the
Athenians.*

ⁿ Demosth. Olynth. iii. Plut. in Vit. Demosth.
Sic. ubi supra.

^o Diod.
placed

placed his hopes of favouring his own cause on that state; for he well knew, that the Athenians, Spartans, and other states allied with Phocis, would never suffer him to pass Thermopylæ, and lead an army into their territories ^p; yet he shewed so much respect to the ambassadors from these states, particularly to Ctesiphon and Phrynon, who were sent from Athens, that they believed the king was in their interest, and reported as much to their masters. The Athenians, who were now dissolved in ease and luxury, consequently afraid of being disturbed with wars, received these tidings with great satisfaction, and named immediately ten plenipotentiaries to treat of a full and lasting peace with Philip. Of the number of these plenipotentiaries were Demosthenes and Æschines, the most eminent orators in Athens. The king of Macedon gave directions, that these ambassadors should be treated with the utmost civility, naming, at the same time, three of his ministers to confer with them, Antipater, Parmenio, and Eurylochus. Demosthenes being obliged to return to Athens, recommended it to his colleagues not to carry on their negotiations with Philip's deputies, but to proceed with all diligence to court, there to confer with the king himself. The ambassadors, however, were so far from following the instructions of Demosthenes, that they suffered themselves to be put off for three months by the arts of Philip and his ministers.

Takes several places from them.

Concludes a peace with them.

In the mean time the king took from the Athenians such places in Thrace as might best cover his frontiers, giving their plenipotentiaries in their stead abundance of fair promises, and the strongest assurances, that his goodwill should be as beneficial to them, as ever their colonies had been. At last a peace was concluded; but when the ratification of it was deferred till Philip had possessed himself of Phœrea in Thessaly, and saw himself at the head of a numerous army; then he ratified the treaty, and dismissed the plenipotentiaries with assurances, that he would be ready at all times to give the Athenians proofs of his friendship. On their return to Athens, when this matter came to be debated before the people, Demosthenes plainly told them, that, in his opinion, the promises of Philip ought not to be relied on, because they appeared to be of little significance in themselves, and came from a prince equally artful and unprincipled. But Æschines espoused the contrary opinion, which prevailed with the people, by

this time grown effeminate and corrupt; so that it was decreed that the peace should be observed.

Philip, while the Athenians were in this good humour, passed Thermopylæ, without their knowing whether he would fall on Phocis or Thebes; but he quickly deceived them, by commanding his foldiers to put on crowns of laurel, declaring them thereby the troops of Apollo, and himself the lieutenant-general of that god. He immediately entered Phocis with an air of triumph, as if thunder and lightning had been at his command; an appearance which so terrified the Phocians, whom he had caused to be proclaimed sacrilegious persons, that they immediately dismissed all thoughts of defence, and, without farther opposition, submitted to his mercy. Thus the Phocian war, which had so long employed all Greece, was ended without a stroke; Phalaecus, with eight thousand mercenaries, being permitted to march off into Peloponnesus, and the judgment on the Phocians remitted to the amphictyons, or grand council of Greece. By their decree the walls of three Phocian cities were demolished; the people were forbid to inhabit any where but in villages; they were enjoined to pay a yearly tribute of sixty talents, and never to make use either of horses or arms, till they had repaid to the temple of Apollo the money they had sacrilegiously carried from thence. Their arms were taken from them, broken to pieces, and burnt; they were deprived of their double voice in the council, which was given to the Macedonians. Other orders were made for settling the affairs both of religion and state throughout Greece, all of which Philip executed with great exactness and moderation, paying the most profound respect to the council; and, when he had performed its commands, retiring peaceably with his army back to Macedon^a.

At Athens alone the justice and piety of Philip were not understood. The people began to see, though a little too late, that they had been abused and deceived by those who had negotiated the late peace; they saw, that, through their acceptance of it, the Phocians were destroyed; that Philip was become master of Thermopylæ, and might enter Greece when he pleased; that in abandoning their allies, they had abandoned themselves; and that, in all probability, they might soon feel the weight of his power, whom they had so foolishly trusted: they therefore began to take new and hostile measures; they ordered that the

Yr. of Fl.
2002.
Ante Chr.
346.

*He enters
Phocis, and
puts an end
to the Sa-
cred War.*

Yr. of Fl.
2014.
Ante Chr.
334.

*Athenians
ready to
declare a-
gainst him*

^a Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra.

women should retire out of the villages into the city; that their walls should be repaired, and their forts new strengthened. They seemed inclined to question Philip's election into the council of the amphictyons, and even to proceed to an open war. In all likelihood they would have carried things to extravagancy, if Demosthenes had not interposed. He told them, that though he was not for making the peace, he was however for keeping it; and that he saw no manner of occasion for their entering into so unequal a contest, as would needs ensue, if they took up arms, not only against Philip, but against all the states that concurred with him in the late transactions. This remonstrance seems to have cooled the rage of the Athenians, and to have brought them to think of ruining Philip by degrees, as by degrees they had raised him to this height of importance.

Diopithes, with an Athenian army enters Macedonia, while Philip is in Thrace.

The fame of his achievements, having disposed the subjects of Philip to hope every thing from his conduct, and the several states of Greece to desire above all things his friendship; that prudent monarch laid hold of this favourable situation to fix his dominion on such a stable foundation as no reverse of fortune should immediately overthrow. To this end, while he carried on his negotiations through Greece, he likewise kept his army in exercise, by taking several places in Thrace; conquests which terribly incommoded the Athenians. Diopithes, who had the government of the Athenian colonies in those parts, perceiving well what end Philip had in view, did not stay for instructions from home. Having raised with much expedition a considerable body of troops, he took advantage of the king's being absent with his army, entered the adjacent territories of Philip, and wasted them with fire and sword.

Philip complains of his hostile conduct.

The king, who on account of the operations of the campaign in the Chersonese, was not at leisure to repel Diopithes by force, nor indeed could divide his army without imminent hazard, chose, like an able general, rather to abandon his provinces to insults, which might be afterwards revenged, than, by following the dictates of an ill-timed passion, to hazard the loss of his veteran army, on which all his hopes depended. He contented himself, therefore, with complaining to the Athenians of Diopithes's conduct, who in a time of peace had entered his dominions, and committed such devastations, as could

† Demosthen. Orat. de Pac.

‡ Diod. Sicul. ubi supra.

scarce have been justified in a time of war. His partisans supported this application with all their eloquence: they told the Athenians, that unless they recalled Diopithes, and brought him to a trial for this infringement of the peace, they ought not to hope either for the friendship of Philip, or of any other prince or state; neither could they justly complain, if, prompted by such a precedent, others should break faith with them, and fall without the least notice upon their dominions. Demosthenes defended Diopithes. He undertook to shew, that he deserved the praise, and not the censure of the Athenians; and his arguments were attended with success (Q).

He is defended by Demosthenes.

While affairs stood thus, the Illyrians recovering courage, and seeing Philip at such a distance, harassed the frontiers of Macedon, and threatened a formidable invasion; but this attempt prejudiced none so much as them-

His expedition in repressing the Illyrians, and his negotiations in Greece.

(Q) The Athenians held their territories in Thrace by a very dubious title. When the republic was in the zenith of its glory, they had possessed themselves of the Chersonese by force. When Lyfander destroyed Athens, the inhabitants of the before mentioned country put themselves under the protection of the Lacedæmonians (1). Conon afterwards reduced them to the obedience of their ancient masters (2); and Corys, king of Thrace, conquered them once more from Athens. Cherobleptes, his son, finding himself unable to oppose Philip of Macedon, gave up this place again to the Athenians, reserving only the city of Cardia, which stood on the isthmus (3). Philip having now dispossessed Cherobleptes of his kingdom, the citizens of Cardia, unwilling to fall under the Athenian yoke, submitted voluntarily to Phi-

lip; whereupon Diopithes began the war, on a supposition that so enterprising a prince would not stop here, but would make use of the advantages he had already gained, utterly to dispossess the Athenians of their colonies in these parts (4). Such were the sources of those differences, which so long embroiled the Athenians and Philip; sources which, lying as they did in the constitutions of Macedon and Athens, could never be dried up; for the foresight of Philip giving him to understand, that, till he was master of Greece, he would never be able to keep the Athenians under; and till that was done, knowing himself to be unsafe at home, and scarce to be called a king; he chose to run all hazards in order to be the former, chiefly because of the ill situation he dreaded to be in, in the latter.

(1) Plutarch. in Vit. Lyfand. Diodor. Sicul. lib. ii. (2) Corn. Nepos, Vit. Conon. (3) Demosthen. Orat. adv. Aristoc. Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra. (4) Demosthen. Orat. de Chersones.

selves; for Philip, by quick marches, arrived on the borders of Illyrium, and struck this barbarous people with such a panic, that they were glad to compound for their former robberies at the price he was pleased to impose[†]. Most of the Greek cities in Thrace now courted the friendship of the king, and entered into a league with him for their mutual defence. As it cannot be supposed that each of these free cities had a power equal to that of Philip, we may therefore look upon him as their protector. About this time Philip's negotiations in Peloponnesus began to transpire; the Argives and Messenians, growing weary of that tyrannical authority which the Spartans exercised over them, applied to Thebes for assistance; and the Thebans, from their natural aversion to Sparta, proposed to open a passage for Philip into Peloponnesus, that, in conjunction with them, he might humble the Lacedæmonians. Philip readily accepted the offer, and resolved to procure a decree from the amphycctions, directing the Lacedæmonians to leave Argos and Messene free; which, if they refused, he, as lieutenant of the amphycctions, might, with great appearance of justice, march a body of troops to enforce their order. When Sparta had intelligence of this project, she immediately applied to Athens, earnestly intreating assistance, as in the common cause of Greece. The Argives and Messenians, on the contrary, laboured assiduously to gain the Athenians to their side, alleging, that if they were friends to liberty, they ought to assist those whose only aim was to be free. Demosthenes, at this juncture, outwrestled Philip, if we may borrow that king's expression; for, by a vehement harangue, he not only determined his own citizens to become the avowed enemies of the king, but even cooled the affection of the Argives and Messenians their Macedonian ally; a circumstance which, when Philip perceived, he laid aside all thoughts of this enterprise for the present, and began to practise in Eubœa.

Yr. of Fl.

2044.

Ante Chr.

304.

*Causes of
the war in
Eubœa.*

The situation of this country made Philip call it the fetters of Greece, which he therefore endeavoured to have in his own hands. There had been, for some years, great disturbances in Eubœa; under colour of which Philip sent forces thither, and demolished Porthmos, the strongest city in those parts, leaving the country under the government of three lords, whom Demosthenes calls tyrants[‡].

[†] *Diod. Sic. ubi supra.*
Philip. iii.

[‡] *Plut. in Vita Phocion. Demosthen.*

Shortly after this transaction, the Macedonians took Orecus, which was left under the government of five magistrates, styled also tyrants at Athens. Thither Plutarch of Eretria, one of the most eminent persons in Eubœa, went to represent the distresses of his country, and to implore the Athenians to set it free. This suit Demosthenes recommended warmly to the people, who sent their famous leader, Phocion, supported by formidable votes, but a very slender army; yet, so well did he manage the affairs of the commonwealth and her allies, that Philip found he must for a time decline that project, which, however, he did not resign till he had formed another no less beneficial to himself or less dangerous to Athens *. It was the prosecution of his conquests in Thrace.

The preparations he made for the campaign were extraordinary. His army was considerably augmented; he took many precautions for the safety of his dominions; and appointed his son Alexander regent of the kingdom, in his absence. At length he marched, with thirty thousand men, and invested Perinthus †. This city was one of the most considerable in Propontis, always firmly attached to the Athenians, and consequently dangerous to Philip. The siege was hardly formed before the king received advice, that his restless neighbours had taken arms, supposing that they could easily deal with the forces commanded by a child, for Alexander was not above fifteen; but, before he had leisure to reflect on this danger, he was farther informed, that Alexander had marched against them with such secrecy and expedition, as to fall upon them before they were aware, and struck them with such consternation, that, making a precipitate retreat, they covered themselves with shame, and crowned the youth they despised with laurels: Philip, however, sent for his son immediately to the camp, fearing that this success might make him too adventurous, and that fortune might not be always so favourable as upon this occasion he had been. The Perinthians, however, made a gallant defence, their city being well fortified, as well as remarkably strong from its situation. Philip pressed it closely, both by his battering engines and by sap; he caused also moveable towers to be erected, and, bringing them near the walls, his soldiers threw all sorts of missiles into the city ‡.

Philip invades the cities of Negropont.

Besieges Perinthus.

* Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra. Demosthen. ubi supra.
Sic. ubi supra. Justin. lib. viii. Demosthen. pro Ctesiph.
Sic. ubi supra.

† Diod.
‡ Diod.

*Chares sent
by the A-
thenians to
the relief of
the place.
His cha-
racter.*

Athens, on whose account Perinthus thus suffered, heard the complaints of her ambassadors, supported by the pathetic orations of Demosthenes, with compassion. Succours were immediately decreed, notwithstanding all the arts, which the friends of Philip could use; however, Chares was made choice of to command them, and, if Philip had been to have appointed a general, this would probably have been the man. He was vain, luxurious, haughty, insolent, and unjust; very indifferently skilled in military affairs, yet so full of promises of what he would perform, that the promise of Chares became a proverb, to signify an undertaking which would never be fulfilled. This commander set sail with a small squadron of galleys, a considerable body of land-forces, and an excellent band of music, which he chose with great care, and paid at an extravagant rate. His character was so well known, that the Perinthians, notwithstanding their dangerous situation, refused to admit him into their port, so that he was obliged to return home without having done any thing more than plundering the allies, and thereby bringing disgrace on the Athenian name^a.

*Philip
writes a
letter to
the Athe-
nians.*

*Measures
taken by
the Athe-
nians.*

As Philip was perfectly well acquainted with the state of Athens at that time, and knew that the engaging it in a war would, in all probability, revive that spirit of ambition, and that appetite for glory, which had in former times rendered it so formidable, he had recourse to those great talents which may be said to have distinguished him from all his contemporaries. He wrote the Athenians a letter, still extant, which is one of the most artful and spirited remonstrances that ever was composed.

In all probability this epistle would have produced the desired effect, if Demosthenes, the constant adversary of Philip, had not undertaken to undeceive the people, and convince them, that the king's design was only to suspend their judgment, and hinder their taking any vigorous resolution till he had subdued such places in the country, where his army now lay, as would leave him without apprehensions from that quarter^b. It happened that, about this time, news arrived at Athens of Chares being excluded the ports of the allies; this incident occasioned warm debates in the assembly; the partisans of Philip insisting on the contempt shewn towards the republic, by first soliciting supplies, and then refusing to admit them. Phocion cleared up this difficulty. He told them, in few

^a Plutarch. in Vit. Phocion. Diod. Sic. ubi supra.

^b Demost.

words, that the allies had not insulted the people of Athens, by endeavouring to secure themselves from a rapacious Athenian; and that, if they would retrieve their reputation, they ought to send back their succours under the command of some man of honour^c. According to the usual flexibility of popular councils, this motion was approved, and Phocion named admiral, and captain general. In this flow of good humour the Athenians did every thing that could be expected; as, on the other hand, Phocion shewed himself a true patriot by readily accepting this command, when he found it in his power to execute it with honour to himself and the state; though, upon other occasions, he had opposed their declaring against Philip, when he judged those declarations would only serve to irritate him, and to do themselves no good. Such were the enemies of Philip on this side. The Persian kings, as we have already frequently observed, used to regard the Macedonian princes, not only as their tributaries, but their faithful allies. The fortune of Philip, the continual clamour of the Athenians against him, and his dethroning at pleasure the petty princes of Thrace, concurred to make the Persian view him in another light. When, therefore, he led his troops against Perinthus, the great king, as he was styled by the Greeks, sent his letters mandatory to the governors of the maritime provinces, directing them to supply the place with all things in their power; in consequence of which orders they filled it with troops, granted subsidies in ready money, and sent great convoys of provision and ammunition. The Byzantines also, apprehending their turn would be next, exerted their utmost force for the preservation of Perinthus, sending the flower of their youth, with all other necessaries, for an obstinate defence^d. Thus Philip found all this part of the world either open enemies or suspicious friends.

These difficulties, which would certainly have made a strong impression on a prince of less firmness or more moderate abilities, served only to stimulate the ambition of the Macedonian. As soon, therefore, as he saw a small breach made in the wall, he proceeded to the attack, and stormed Perinthus, with great effusion of blood on both sides. It is not likely that, with all these advantages, the Perinthians would have been able to sustain many such efforts, if the situation of the city had not proved of greater use than either themselves or Philip foresaw; for, stand-

^c Plut. in Vita Phoc.^d Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvi.

ing as it did on the side of a hill, and their houses being built with great regularity, every street, with the help of a few works, was converted into a new wall, which, while the besiegers battered, they were exposed to all the shot of the besieged; and this, as the houses rose gradually one above another, did prodigious execution. Philip being informed by his engineer, named Polindus, that nothing but time could surmount these difficulties, instantly thought of a method whereby he hoped to indemnify his army for their long and great fatigue, though for the present he increased it; for, marching suddenly with a great corps of troops, he blocked up Byzantium, which, as it was in a manner exhausted by the succours sent to Perinthus, had nearly fallen into his hands immediately, and could never have endured a siege of a moderate length. But, while Philip dreamed of gaining two cities at a time, he was compelled to leave them both; for Phocion, arriving with his fleet, quite changed the face of affairs. The inhabitants of the Chersonese declared immediately for the Athenians; and Philip, seeing no hopes of succeeding, raised both sieges, and marched off with his army, excessively harassed and dispirited. Phocion made the best use of the king's absence. He retook such places as the Macedonian had garrisoned, took many of his ships, and, by frequent descents, raised contributions throughout the maritime provinces of Macedonia¹.

Yr. of Fl.
2009.
Ante Chr.
339.

Philip compelled to raise the sieges of Perinthus and Byzantium.

Makes war on the Scythians, and defeats the Triballs.

This reverse of fortune served only to aggrandize the character of Philip; he sent immediately to treat of a peace, and that the reputation of his arms might not suffer from his late disappointment, he turned them instantly on a Scythian prince, who sought to take advantage of his misfortune; and, having totally defeated his forces, the Macedonians were enriched with the plunder. The Triballs, a fierce and barbarous nation, refused him passage through their country, unless he would share with them the spoil he had taken. Philip, considering rather the wound his reputation would have received by complying with such a proposition, than the worth of what they required, absolutely rejected their demand, and marched to give them battle. The engagement was obstinate and bloody, and had well nigh been proved to the king; for, after having received a wound in his thigh, his horse was killed under him, and himself thrown to the

¹ Plutarch. in Vita Phocion. Diod. Sic. ubi supra.
Dioscor. pro Ctesiph.

² De-

ground. The young Alexander flew immediately to his assistance, and having covered his father's body with his shield, flew or put to flight the Barbarians by whom he was surrounded. Philip being remounted, gained a signal victory, and returned into Macedon, covered with laurels: there he was received with loud acclamations, though in himself much dissatisfied, and began to form new projects for deprelling the Athenians, who, kept continually warm by the orations of Demosthenes, were far from being so easily induced, as they had formerly been, to consent to a peace ^g.

The effects of the Athenian war became daily more and more insupportable to the subjects of Philip; for, as the Macedonians were never very powerful at sea, the Athenians now deprived them of all their trade, by keeping continually such squadrons on their coasts, that their vessels durst not stir out of port. If Philip's design had succeeded in Thrace, and on the Hellespont, he might have starved Athens, her provisions, as well as her revenues, being chiefly drawn from those countries; the Athenians had now a similar advantage, with this unlucky circumstance, that the king knew not how to relieve himself ^h. Yet he did not despair; he formed, on the contrary, a project of invading Attica, though he had no fleet to transport his troops, and notwithstanding he was convinced the Thessalians were not to be depended on, if he attempted to march through the Pylæ, and that the Thebans would even then be ready to oppose his march. To obviate all these difficulties, he had recourse to Athens itself, where, by means of his partisans, he procured Æschines, his old friend, to be sent their deputy to the amphietyons; this circumstance seemed a small matter, and yet this was the hinge on which his whole project turned. By that time Æschines had taken his seat, a question arose in the council, whether the Locrians of Amphissa had not been guilty of sacrilege in plowing the fields of Cyrrha, in the neighbourhood of the temple at Delphi. Sentiments being divided, Æschines proposed a view, which was accordingly decreed. But when the amphietyons came, in order to see how things stood, the Locrians, either jealous of their property, or incited by the suggestions of some who saw farther than themselves, fell upon these venerable persons so rudely, that they compelled them to secure themselves by flight.

Yr of Fl.
2010.
Ante Chr.
338.

Philip succeeds in his project of entering Greece.

^g Justin. lib. ix. cap. 3.
in Phocion.

^h Demosthen. pro Ctesiph. Plut.

*Is chosen
general by
the am-
phictyons.*

The amphictyons, considering this matter in council, decreed, that an army should be raised under the command of one of their members, to chastise the delinquents; but as this army was to be composed of troops sent from all the states of Greece, the appearance at the rendezvous was so inconsiderable, that the amphictyon sent to command them, durst undertake nothing. The whole matter being reported to the council, *Æschines*, in a long and eloquent harangue, shewed how much the welfare, and even the safety of Greece depended on the reverence paid to their decrees; and, after having inveighed against the want of public spirit in those who had not sent their quotas at the time appointed by the council, he moved, that they should elect *Philip* for their general, and pray him to execute their decree. The deputies from the other states, conceiving that by this expedient their respective constituents would be freed from any farther trouble or expence, agreed to the proposal at once; whereupon a decree was immediately drawn up, purporting, that ambassadors should be sent to *Philip* of Macedonia, in the name of *Apollo*, and the amphictyons, once more to require his assistance, and to notify to him, that the states of Greece had unanimously chosen him their general, with full power to act as he should think fit against such as had opposed the authority of the amphictyons¹. Thus on a sudden, and before any body foresaw it, *Philip* acquired all that he sought. Having an army ready in expectation of this event, he immediately marched to execute the commands of the amphictyons in all appearance, but in reality to fulfil his own designs; for, having passed into Greece with his army, he meddled not with the *Locrians*, but immediately seized *Elatea*, a great city in *Phocis*, on the river *Cephisus*². This seizure amazed all Greece, nor was there any body who could pretend to say what step he would take next.

The Athenians and Thebans resolve to oppose him;

The Athenians were in the utmost confusion on the news of *Philip's* march; an extraordinary assembly was called, in which the people demanded advice of *Demosthenes* by name. That great orator, with much presence of mind, exhorted them to send ambassadors throughout all Greece, but especially to the *Thebans*, to engage them to rise at once, and oppose the Macedonian torrent before they should be all overwhelmed. The people in-

¹ *Plutarch* in *Demosthen.* & *Demosthen.* in *Orat.* supra citat.
² *Diod.* sic. lib. xvi. *Plut.* in *Phocion* & *Demosthen.*

stantly assented, and Demosthenes went to Thebes at the head of the embassy¹. Philip had sent to the same city Pytho as his ambassador; he was a man of great abilities, by birth a Byzantine, by his merit a citizen of Athens, by choice the minister of Philip^m. This orator easily overcame the colleagues of Demosthenes; but Demosthenes himself who could overcome? His speeches had such an effect on the Thebans, that forgetting all the obligations they owed to Philip, they considered him no longer as their benefactor, but as one who sought to obtain the sovereignty of Greece. Fused, therefore, with reluctance, they concurred unanimously with the Athenians, and concerted with Demosthenes the measures proper to be taken in so critical a juncture. Philip, on the other hand, did not sit still, he sent his ambassadors to Athens to treat of peace, and he is said to have engaged the priests at Delphi to prophesy nothing but destruction to those who should make war against him. Demosthenes defeated both designs; he engaged the Athenians not to listen in any degree to his propositions, and encouraged them also to pay no regard to the oracle, by telling them that Pythia *philippized*. An army was immediately raised, which marched with incredible diligence to Eleusis, where they were joined by the Thebans, who shewed a laudable zeal for the liberty of Greece. The confederates made the greatest appearance that had ever been seen in Greece, and the troops were without doubt excellent, but the commanders were not equal to the undertaking. Chares, that scandal to his country, and Ixyicles, a man without conduct, commanded the Athenians; the Thebans were without any general of note; however, they prepared for a battle, which, all circumstances considered, could not but be decisiveⁿ.

Philip, when he found his arts defeated, and that all his negotiations could not hinder this extraordinary junction, resolved, as his last resource, to hazard an engagement. Thus determined, he advanced to Cheronæa, in the neighbourhood of which city the confederates were encamped. Next day, by that time the sun was up, both armies were in array, and soon after a battle ensued, in which the confederates were totally overthrown, and the authority of Philip effectually established^o. Demosthenes, who had been so instrumental in bringing the Athenians

*and are
defeated at
Cheronæa.*

¹ Demosthen. pro Ctesiph. Diod. Sic. ubi supra. ^m Demost. Orat. pro Coron. ⁿ Diod. Sic. ubi supra. Theopomp. apud Plut. in Demosthen. ^o Plut. in Vit. Dec. Orat.

and Thebans into the field, was there in person; but behaved very unbecomingly, as we have related elsewhere. However, on his return to Athens he was well received, though Lycicles was put to death. As to Philip, in the first transport of his joy, he behaved very indecently; he caused the decree of Demosthenes to be sung in his presence, spoke contemptuously of the powers of Greece, and insulted his prisoners, till Demades brought him to his senses. It was the peculiar felicity of this prince, that he would hear advice, and receive those things kindly, which, by monarchs of a weaker head, would have been interpreted into treason. He instantly ordered Demades to be released, esteemed him as his friend, and loaded him with benefits ever after. His conversation, Diodorus tells us, gave Philip so high a relish of the Athenian civility, that he dismissed all his prisoners, and, at their request, even returned them their baggage^p. He carried his moderation still farther; for he concluded a peace with Athens on their own terms, and leaving a good garrison in Thebes, committed no farther acts of hostility against the Boeotians.

The consequences of this victory.

Thus Philip of Macedon, with an army of thirty thousand foot, and two thousand horse, effected what Xerxes with his millions attempted in vain. He obtained by one victory the sovereignty of Greece, though it cost the Greeks many to establish its liberty. He did not indeed disturb his countrymen with the rattling of their chains; but when there was a necessity, he did not spare to shew them that he was, and would be, their master. The Athenians, in the mean time, acted as usual, that is, violently, and beyond all bounds of reason. They extolled the virtue of Demosthenes to the stars, they inveighed loudly against such as had any share in betraying Greece, and they interred those who were slain at Cheronæa at the public expence. Demosthenes expatiated on their virtues in a funeral oration, and, if we may be allowed to express our sentiments in a metaphor, they shewed, by the solemnity of its interment, what a high value they set upon their liberty^q. The rest of the Greeks did not either so readily perceive, or did not think it prudent so publicly to lament the change which this expedition had made in their affairs; instead of deploring their servitude, they rejoiced in the lenity of their sovereign, and seemed

^p Plutarch in Apophthegm Diod. Sic. ubi supra.
in Demosthen. Demosthen. pro Ctesiphonte.

^q Plut.

rather to regard the greatness of Philip as due to his merit, than acquired by his arts and arms

We are now to behold the king of Macedon in a new light; hitherto we have seen him struggling with his neighbours, courting the Athenians, and practising, as the times required, with the other states of Greece. He was now lord of all, and the use he made of his power was to convoke a general assembly of the Greeks, wherein he was recognised generalissimo, and, with full power, appointed their leader against the Persians. Having, by virtue of his authority settled a general peace amongst them, and appointed the quota which each of the states should furnish for the war, he dismissed them, and returning into Macedon, began to make great preparations for this new expedition; an expedition which, besides the ancient hatred of the Greeks towards the Barbarians, occasioned by the injuries received from them, he coloured with a new pretence relating particularly to himself, namely, the assistance given by the Persians to the cities of Perinthus and Byzantium¹.

Philip chosen generalissimo of the Greeks against the Persians.

From the very time that Xerxes invaded Greece, its inhabitants had projected a return of his visit, not in a piratical way, by making descents on his sea-coasts, for that they did immediately after they had driven him back into Asia², but with a view of making an absolute conquest of his dominions, or at least of those provinces as might suit them best; of this scheme one of the Spartan kings had some thoughts, and actually considered a plan laid before him for that purpose³. One of his successors, Agesilaus, carried it still farther; and with an inconsiderable army gave law to the lieutenants of the great king. It is true, Agesilaus did not openly profess a design of conquering the whole empire, but that he really intended no less, may be inferred from his affecting to sacrifice in the same manner with Agamemnon, when he went upon his expedition, and his reply to one who called the Persian emperor the Great King: "In what (said Agesilaus), is he greater than I, if he be not braver or better?" His sacrificing shewed, that he meant to emulate Agamemnon, who did not harass, but subvert Troy; and his apophthegm implied, that he desired to make himself equal to him who was called the Great King⁴. Jason of The-

The motives which encouraged Philip to invade Asia.

¹ Alexand. ad Dar. ap. Arrian lib. ii. cap. 24. ² Plut. in Vit. Aristid. Cornel. Nepos, in Vit. Pausan. Thucyd lib. i. Diod. Sic. lib. xi. ³ Herodot. lib. vi. cap. 55. ⁴ Plut. in Vit. Agesil. & in Apophth.

ally is thought to have been meditating the same thing, when his thread of life was abruptly cut off through a domestic conspiracy *. Philip seemed to have entered upon this momentous conquest with more probable and auspicious hopes; he was by common consent elected general of Greece; and he had so effectually humbled the Grecians, that he had reason to expect they would obey him; he had besides a numerous, well-disciplined, and victorious army; and, which might be justly reckoned his peculiar felicity, able and faithful ministers, and brave and experienced officers: at the head of the former stood Antipater, whose character might have taken up a page, if his master had not comprised in a line; having risen later that usual one morning, he said, rubbing his eyes at his levee, "I have slept soundly to day, for I knew Antipater was waking *." This was an eulogium worthy of the prince, and of his minister; yet Alexander described him better, when it was observed to him, that all his lieutenants, except Antipater, wore purple; "True (said he); but Antipater is all purple within." In short, he was a man of extensive abilities, but made no display of his talents. And, as his master rightly painted him, was alike aspiring in his thoughts, and humble in his manners. Parmenio was of another cast; Philip, the best judge in Greece, had pronounced him the only general he ever met with. Parmenio returned his master's compliment upon another occasion, in a manner which shewed the penetration of a statesman, and the frankness of a soldier: the ambassadors of the Grecian states expressed some uneasiness, that Philip came not out earlier in the morning; "Be quiet, gentlemen, (said Parmenio), for while you slept he was waking." Such was the state of things in Greece, and in the court of Philip, when he meditated the conquest of Asia †.

Yr. of Fl.
2088.
Ante Chr.
360.

*Diffusions
in Philip's
family.*

How great soever he appeared there, how happy soever he might be here, in his family he was not only uneasy, but miserable. His wife Olympias was the daughter of Neoptolemus, brother of Arymbas, king of Epirus, whom Philip raised to a participation in the kingdom; his son Alexander, by the favour of the same monarch, was raised to the sole possession of the throne, to the prejudice of Æcidas, the son of Arymbas; all which circumstances testify how great a share Olympias once had in the affec-

* Diod. Sic. lib. xv.
Sic. lib. xvi.

† Plutarch. Apophthegm.

‡ Diod.

tion of her husband. She was a woman of high spirit, great abilities, fine address, much cunning, and has been greatly wronged, if she had not more intrigues than that with Jupiter, to which Alexander fought to ascribe his birth^a. The reader must remember, that, in Philip's letter to the Athenians, he speaks with great heat of their seizing his herald, taking from him his letters, and reading them in a public assembly; in which, if they showed their disrespect to Philip, they manifested at the same time a high regard to Olympias, to whom they sent a packet of letters taken at the same time, without presuming to open them^b. It might have been difficult, even in those days, to account for the occasion of this misunderstanding between Philip and Olympias; which cannot therefore be expected from us: but whatever was the cause, the king was so extremely offended with her, that he proceeded to a repudiation, and married Cleopatra, the niece of Attalus^c. His conduct on this occasion, added to other slights, either real or imaginary, inspired Alexander with a great dislike to his father; and, as young princes have seldom prudence enough to conceal their sentiments, he gave evident tokens of it; inasmuch that the whole court knew and observed his disgust. An accident happened, which threw all things into a flame. At the nuptial feast, Attalus, the young queen's uncle, was so unpolite as to tell the king, in the hearing of his son, that his Macedonians hoped he would give them now a lawful heir to the throne. Alexander, in the heat of his resentment, cried out, "What then, miserable, do you take me for a ballad?" And, while he spoke, threw a flaggon at his head. Attalus returned the compliment in the same manner. The king, extremely provoked at this disturbance, drew his sword, and, forgetting that he was a cripple, hastily made towards his son; but in his passage fell down; an accident which gave the courtiers time to interpose. Alexander rising up, and forgetting that he, to whom he spoke, was both his father and his prince, had the assurance to say, on quitting the room, "The Macedonians are likely to conquer Asia, when led out of Europe by a prince who cannot go from one table to another without hazarding his neck. He rightly conjectured, that it would not, after this, be proper for him to remain in Macedon, where his father Philip was both revered

*Repudiates
Olympias.*

*Quarrels
with his son
Alexander;*

^a Justin. lib. viii. cap. 6. ^b Plutarch. in Vit. Demet. ^c Diod. Sic. lib. xvi. Arrian. in Præfat. Expedit. Alex.

*who retires
into Epi-
rus.*

*Philip re-
calls his
son.*

and beloved; he therefore retired with his mother into Epirus * (R).

In a short time after these disturbances at court, Damarat, the Corinthian, who had been Philip's host, and who lived with him, not only in the strictest friendship, but with the greatest familiarity, came to make him a visit. When the first compliments were over, Philip asked him, if all things were quiet in Greece. "You have reason, Sir, (returned he), to trouble yourself about the peace of Greece; you, who have filled your own family with

* Plutarch. in Vit. Alex. Arrian. lib. iii. cap. 6.

(R) Philip's greatest fault was his love of *teasing and flattery*. If we believe a certain author, he made one of his flatterers, whose name was Thrandæus, king in Thessaly, merely because he had a happy way of making his compliments. Neoptolemus, the Athenian poet, was at once his favourite, and the chief manager of his affairs in that city. At this time of day a poet would be thought a very indifferent agent in politics; but it was quite otherwise at Athens. That writer knew how to manage the people so well, that he gave umbrage to Demosthenes, who failed not to raise a spirit of persecution against him, which constrained the poet to retire to Macedon, where he was well received by Philip, and became the favourite of the whole court. When his affairs required it, the king was patient, abstemious, and attentive to every thing; when they allowed of relaxation, he made great entertainments, drank hard, and conversed very freely with his friends. It would have been well, if no-

thing worse than freedom had mingled in his feasts; but it is said they were polluted with every species of vice, and all the various debaucheries, which the most sensual wits could devise (1); yet it must be allowed, that, in his serious moment, Philip saw the folly of this excess, and reflected severely enough on the inequality of his own conduct. He would often say, "That he was highly obliged to the speech-makers of Athens for pointing out his faults, and thereby giving him an opportunity to amend them (2)." Indeed he always received reproofs, not only with patience, but with pleasure; and shewed, upon every occasion, a strong inclination to reward such as put him upon doing right. Once at a public sale of captives, a poor man, approaching the tribunal, whispered in his ear, "Sir, it would be more decent if you let your robe fall lower." "Here (cried Philip), set me this man at liberty; I did not know he was my friend."

(1) Theopomp. apud. Athen. Deipnosoph. lib. vi. in Apoph.

(2) Plut.

noise and dissension ^d." The king, who, though he liked flattery, loved truth, received this reproof as kindly as it was meant, immediately made up the breach between himself and his son, and recalled Alexander to court. It is not clear whether the king of Epirus engaged heartily in his father's quarrel or not. In all probability he temporized with Philip, who, in a short time, gave him his daughter Cleopatra in marriage, with an intent, it is likely, to preserve all things in quiet during his absence.

As Philip piqued himself on bearing the character of a religious prince, he sent deputies to consult the oracle at Delphi as to the success of the Persian war. Pythia returned for answer a single line in verse; in English thus:

*Prepares
for the war
in Persia.*

"The ox's destin'd head now wreaths in thral,
"To slaughter doom'd, and quickly shall he fall."

The king, when he received this response, immediately conjectured that it portended his leading the Persian king as a victim to be offered to the Grecian gods ^e. But when the event shewed that he was mistaken, others held that to be clearly pointed out which had been utterly unsuspected before. Attalus and Parmenio, who, with an excellent corps of troops, were detached to begin the war, had orders to set the Grecian cities at liberty; for how much soever Philip might be esteemed a tyrant at Athens, he affected to appear the patron of liberty at home, requiring that, as a just respect from others, which the Athenians called a slavish submission. Among the rest of his cares, the happiness of his family gave him great concern. He had not only a young wife, whom he had lately married, but several concubines, by whom he had children. Alexander was very jealous of these, and Philip no less uneasy at his jealousy; he endeavoured, however, to soothe him; and, when the prince would sometimes break out into harsh expressions, Philip would say, "Be patient, son; and let my having other children engage you to act in such a manner, as that the preference I give you may appear the effect of your own merit, rather than of my choice (S)." To quiet also the relations and friends of Olym-

^d Plut. ubi supra.

^e Diod. Sic. ubi supra.

(S) It may be justly said, capable of instruction in the sciences, Philip put him under the care of Aristotle, from whom, such was that monarch's

*Is flattered
by the states
of Greece.*

Olympias, the king of Macedon thought it necessary to celebrate, in a public and splendid manner, the marriage between her brother Alexander and his daughter Cleopatra. He accordingly appointed *Ægæ* for the place where this solemnity should be performed, and also signified, that there, for the last time, he would regale the Greek ambassadors before he marched into Asia. The concourse, on this occasion was prodigious; not only the Macedonians, but all the Grecian states, striving to vie with each other in expressions of zeal and friendship towards Philip and his government. Among the rest the Athenians, always ingenious in flattery, sent him a gold crown, which, when presented by their ambassador, he also declared, that if any plotter of treason against Philip should, for the future, endeavour to shelter himself in Athens, he should immediately be delivered up. The king was greatly pleased with this declaration, and no less delighted with a dramatic entertainment composed by Neoptolemus, the

natch's modesty, he himself was contented to receive lessons on government. The king formed the design of educating his son thus on his birth. His letter to Aristotle on the occasion, is equally concise and inimitable: "You are to know I have a son; I thank the gods for it; not so much for that they have given me one, as that he is born contemporary with Aristotle. I promise myself, from your care, he will become worthy of succeeding us, and ruling Macedon (1)." We have given some instances of his care of that young prince's person, of his concern for his reputation at the battle of Cheronæa, and of his desire to infuse into him noble and heroic principles. To these let us add, that though Philip, as a politician, had a great opinion of the force of gold, and was used to say, that no city

was impregnable, through the gates of which an ass laden with that metal could pass; though he was used to retain prisoners in every state, and also lavish of his money to domestic flatterers; yet he checked this humour, as soon as he perceived it, in his son. He wrote him a letter on the subject full of excellent philosophy: "How came you, young man (said he), to reason so wretchedly with yourself, as to fancy those will serve you faithfully, whom you daily corrupt with money? Do you think that the Macedonians may hereafter take you not for their king, but for their steward or paymaster? If you discharge these offices well, you must make but a pitiful prince. They are spoiled who take gifts, by being taught thereby a habit of taking (2)."

(1) Aul. Gel. lib. ix. cap. 3.

(2) Cicero, de Offic. lib. ii.

Athenian, a famous tragic poet, and highly in Philip's favour. The title of this piece was Cinyras; and it was intended to represent the king as having already triumphed over the Persian, and made himself lord of Asia. The correspondence between the response of the oracle, and this prediction of the poet, gave Philip unusual confidence, and spread an air of joy and satisfaction through the greatest part of his court. Some, it is said, there were, who sullied themselves to doubt of these omens: they thought the answer of the oracle equivocal; they held the compliment of the Athenian ambassador portentive of some secret conspiracy; they conceived those lines, which so greatly moved the king, descriptive not so much of the Persian state as of his own. Whether these conjectures were made before the king's death is doubtful; if they were, certain it is, that they were well grounded; for a plot there was against the king's life, a plot as dark in its circumstances as in its nature. Posterity is indebted to Diodorus for the fullest account of this transaction; and from him, therefore, we shall take it.

There were, in the court of Macedon two young men of quality of the same name, viz. Pausanias. One of these was in great favour with the king, who treated him with such indulgence and familiarity, that it began to be suspected the king's inclination for him transgressed both the bounds of reason and nature. This suspicion had reached the ear of the other Pausanias, who, having frequent quarrels with the favourite, used, by way of reproach, to call him *either six*. The lad, stung with this reflection, addressed himself to Attalus, one of the king's friends, whose niece Cleopatra he afterwards married, complaining of his having been insulted, and wishing for some opportunity to wipe off the stain. Some time after this incident, in a general engagement against the Illyrians, this Pausanias, fighting near the king, and perceiving the enemy directed against him a shower of arrows, threw himself before his master, and received them into his own body, falling immediately dead upon the spot. The extraordinary courage of the youth, his fidelity, and the manner of his death, attracted the attention and applause of the public. Attalus thought fit to inform the king of the cause from whence the young man grew desperate; he also resolved to revenge his death upon the other Pausanias, in a manner equally cruel and detestable. He invited him to an entertainment, and having taken care to make him drunk, exposed him, when void of

*Pausanias
conspire
against
him.*

*What first
put him
upon this
design.*

sense, to the lust of his grooms. Pausanias, who was an Orestian by birth, and had all the haughtiness natural to his countrymen, frequently applied himself to the king, passionately demanding justice against Attalus. That monarch, always partial to his friends, and especially to the uncle of his young wife, amused him with promises; and, in order to make him forget his disgrace, made him captain of his guards. However, he greatly mistook the temper of Pausanias, who was not to be wrought upon by such methods. Instead of growing easier, he became more impatient; and from hating Attalus began more grievously to hate the king.

*Resolves to
kill the
king*

It happened, while he was in this sullen disposition, that, conversing one day with Hermocrates the sophist, he put to him this question, "What must he do, who would be famous?" "He must (replied Hermocrates), kill the person who has performed great actions; for, when the fame of the person whom he slew shall make him often remembered, that remembrance will consequently lead to the mention of the man who slew him." Pausanias, after having meditated some time longer on his wrongs, and the sophist's advice, came to a resolution of killing the king, in hopes thereby of retrieving that reputation which Attalus had taken away. Having directed horses to be placed for him at the gates of the city, he afterwards contrived how to dispatch Philip and secure his escape. These things, busied his mind while the king was attending the solemnities, of which we have given an account.

*Yr. of Fl.
2012.
Ante Chr.
336.*

Philip murdered.

Next day, after public audience of the ambassadors of Greece, Philip went in state to the theatre, where certain shews were to be exhibited in honour of his daughter's marriage. All the seats were early taken up, and the shews began with a splendid procession, wherein the images of the twelve superior deities of Greece were carried, as also the image of Philip, habited in like manner, as if he now made up the thirteenth. Upon this occasion the people, who, as their humour chances to prevail, readily make a man either a god or a devil, shouted aloud. Then came Philip alone, in a white robe, crowned, his guards at a considerable distance, that the Greeks might see he placed his safety not in them, but in the loyalty of the people. Pausanias had placed himself by the door of the theatre, in order to seize this opportunity. When the king approached, therefore, he drew his sword from under his garment, and, plunging it into the king's side, laid him dead at his feet. He then fled to the place where

where his horses were, and would have escaped, if the twig of a vine had not caught his shoe and thrown him down. This accident gave Attalus, Perdiccas, and Leonatus, who pursued him, time to come up. Perdiccas threw himself on the assassin first, and wounded him with his sword, and then the rest quickly put an end to his life^f. Thus fell this great prince, by the hand of his own subject (not without strong suspicions that Olympias and Alexander were not altogether ignorant of his death), being about forty-seven years of age, and having reigned twenty-four (T).

Philip

^f Arist. Polit. lib. v. cap. 10. Diod. Sic. lib. xvi. Zonar. Annal. tom. x. Joseph. lib. xi. cap. 7. Justin. lib. ix. Oros. lib. iii.

(T) The deaths of kings, especially when violent, are usually attended with mysterious circumstances. From the account given above, it seems that Pausanias had, out of a mad pique, murdered his sovereign, without consulting any but his passions, and, indirectly, the sophist Hermocrates; yet, as we have hinted above, it hath been suspected that, though the arm of Pausanias dispatched Philip, yet it received its direction from other minds than his own. It this had been only a flying rumour, or the suggestion of a single or suspicious historian, it would not have deserved a place here; but the fact is otherwise, and we shall shew, from indubitable authorities, that Philip lost his life by a conspiracy, and not merely from the revenge of Pausanias. Ptolemy, the son of Lagus (who was supposed to be really the son of Philip), the confidant of Alexander, and afterwards king of Egypt, wrote the history of Alexander's

reign. It contained, among other particulars, a letter from Alexander to Darius, wherein the former, setting forth the causes of the war, had these remarkable words: "My father was slain by traitors, whom you had hired for that purpose, as you have publicly boasted in your letters (3)." The fact is now clearly established, that a conspiracy there was, which effected the death of Philip. We can also name some of the conspirators, viz. the sons of Æropus the Lyncestean, Alexander, Amyntas, Heromenes, and Arrabæus. Of these, Amyntas fled to Darius, and actually fought against Alexander at the battle of Issus. As to the suspicion which fell on Alexander, it seems to have taken rise from two causes; the first, his embroiling himself with his father on account of his mother Olympias, as we have before mentioned. This quarrel, it seems, went so far, that several persons of distinction, who were deep in Alexander's interest, were forced

(1) Arrian. lib. ii. cap. 14.

His character.

Philip of Macedon was, in the cabinet, the most sagacious prince of his time. He had a perfect idea of the state of his own country, the condition of Greece, and the weakness of the Persian empire. He was secret, without affecting reserve; eloquent, without being impatient to speak or vain of speaking; obliging in his deportment as a king, but never departing from the dignity of a monarch in any act of complaisance. In the field he was every thing; a complete general, an expert engineer, an indefatigable soldier. He studied war as an art, and acted as coolly in an engagement as if he had been only attending to a review. His discipline was strict, but not severe; for he chose to convince those who served under him, by reason rather than severity, of the necessity of order; and that he exacted it not more for his own service than for their safety. He was not so much the commander in camp, as the father of those who were in it, the meanest of whom he treated, upon all occasions, with the endearing titles of comrade and fellow-soldier. If a private man

to quit Macedon, and dared not return till after the death of Philip; particularly Harpalus, Ptolemy the son of Lagus, Nearchus, and Erigyus and Laomedon brothers (3); all of whom were in high favour with Alexander afterwards. The second cause of suspicion resulted from Alexander's behaviour after his father's death; for, notwithstanding Amyntas, the son of Æropus, fled into Asia, and it was known that himself and his brethren were in the conspiracy against the king, yet he not only pardoned Alexander, one of the brothers, on the slight pretence that he was the first who saluted him king, but made him afterwards general of his host, a step which had nearly proved fatal to him; for, as we shall see hereafter, Alexander conspired against him likewise; and endeavoured to deprive

him both of life and kingdom. There is one circumstance more that deserves mention on this subject; and it is this. Alexander, when he visited the temple of Jupiter Ammon, enquired of the oracle, if all his father's murderers had been punished. To which question the oracle answered in the affirmative; but as every body knew there was no credit given to what passed at this interview, the question recoils upon him who put it; the rather, because, if the oracle really made that answer, it was certainly false, Alexander, the son of Æropus, who was a confederate in that business, being at that time alive. There is this, however, to be said for the oracle, that Alexander alone consulted it, and, in justification of his own character, might report what answer he pleased (4).

(3) Curt. lib. iv.

(4) Plut. in Vita Alexand.

distin-

distinguished himself, Philip personally praised and rewarded him; when he grew old and infirm he provided for him; if he fell in the field he was interred with honour, and his family taken care of. In private life there was no man more affable, chearful, or kinder to his friends, than Philip. He was learned, and a great patron and lover of learning. He esteemed wit in an enemy, and rewarded it amply in those who professed respect for him. With these shining qualities he had some very flagrant vices. His ambition had no bounds; his treaties always gave way to his interest. He was the most finished dissembler of his time. He treated such as opposed his designs with great severity, when they fell into his hands. He was greatly addicted to women; and yet was suspected of a lust too foul to name. He drank immoderately, took delight in flattery, was surrounded with pimps, panders, buffoons, pantomimes, &c. To sum up all, he was a great man, but had great vices.

Before we conclude this section, it will be necessary to speak of the offspring of Philip. By Olympias he had Alexander, his successor, and Cleopatra, who married her uncle Alexander, king of Epirus. By an Illyrian, whose name was Audaca, he had a daughter named Cyna, who was married to Amyntas the lawful heir of the Macedonian crown, being the son of Perdiccas, Philip's elder brother. By Nicaspolis, a Thessalian, he had Nicaea, who afterwards became the wife of Cassander. By Cleopatra, the niece of Attalus, he had a son named Caranus, and a daughter Europa, both slain by Olympias, the last in her mother's arms. Arsinoe, one of his mistresses, he gave in marriage to Lagos, when she was big with child; which child proved a son, and was the famous Ptolemy king of Egypt. By Philena of Larissa, a dancer, he had Aridaus, who, for a while, was titular king of Macedonia; but afterwards put to death by the cruel Olympias. If Philip had not fallen so suddenly, he would certainly have provided for the safety of these unhappy branches of his family; whereas, by his unforeseen death, they fell under the power of their greatest enemies; yet did they not immediately perish, the veneration the Macedonians had for Philip defending them for some time. But when the glory of Alexander had, in some measure, eclipsed that of his father; and the miseries, which the Macedonians endured, had withdrawn their affection from the royal house, they sunk gradually, as will be seen in the subsequent part of this history.

His progeny.

† Reinuc. General. Alex. Mag.

X 3

S E C T.

S E C T. V.

The Reign of Alexander the Great.

The character of Alexander in his youth. His natural capacity.

THE natural capacity of Alexander, the Macedonian prince, was every way suited to sustain the mighty fabric which his father intended to raise on it. He was lively, but not slight; solid, without being intractable, and, though capable of judging by his own lights, inquisitive, and fond of conversation. When the Persian ambassadors were at the court of Philip, Alexander, then a boy, entertained them with much civility and politeness; but instead of asking questions about the hanging-gardens, the splendid palaces, the great retinue of the king, or other marks of grandeur, for which the Persian court was famous, he enquired about the road leading into Upper Asia, the forces which the great king could raise, their discipline, and the place in which the king took post when his army drew into the line of battle. His admirable genius was cultivated by an excellent education. Philip was a lover of letters, as some think, to a fault; but this attachment did not hinder his regarding other things as necessary as learning, to the forming of a prince. Alexander was therefore supplied with all sorts of masters, according as his years and improvements required. Leonidas, his mother's relation, a man of severe morals, was his governor; Lyfimachus, the Acarnanian, a man of great moderation, his preceptor; and Aristotle, when the prince was grown old enough to receive his instructions, became not only his tutor in respect of literature, but his master also in politics. In his exercises he distinguished the useful from the fanciful; in his diversions he declined whatever was unmanly; and in his studies despised alike whatever was trifling or pedantic. He diligently cultivated the art of speaking with dignity, or the rhetoric of kings, in which none ever exceeded him. He applied himself to metaphysics and natural philosophy; but morality especially pleased him, and the knowledge of the duties which are essential to social life.

Applies himself to the study of Homer.

In order to understand these he studied Homer, Aristotle having corrected an edition of that poet's works for his use. Alexander's magnanimity and prudence were continually strengthened by the conversation of the ablest men

men in Philip's court, and the superstructure carefully and quickly raised by a happy mixture of theory and practice. The turbulent transactions in the middle of Philip's reign served as a school of war to Alexander, as the last years of peace afforded an opportunity of teaching him true policy, and the interests of Greece. Above all, he was happy in the lessons of a father, the greatest statesman and the greatest captain, of his age.

The first act of Alexander, as a king, was doing justice on his father's murderers, it may be from a double motive, of shewing affection to Philip's memory, which he always honoured, and to wipe away from his own character the imputation of being concerned in his assassination. Next he turned his attention to matters of state, which in a moment were all in confusion. As soon as the neighbouring nations heard of the death of Philip, they conceived themselves entitled to liberty, and began to think of disclaiming the authority of Macedon. In Greece its respective states were impatient to throw off the yoke; and at Athens, Demosthenes drew the people into open testimonies of excessive joy, and into immediate negotiations against Alexander, whom he styled a giddy boy, unfit for empire. As for the Persians, before the death of Philip, they were contriving to transfer the war to Macedon; but now, as if all danger had died with that monarch, they thought nothing of his successor, till his fame grew so loud, that they were unable to think of anything else. Attalus, who, with Parmenio, had the joint command of the Macedonian army on the frontiers of Asia, aspired to the crown, and sought to debauch the soldiers. Thus was the morning of Alexander's reign disturbed with the noise of foreign wars, and at the same time overcast with the gloom of domestic treasons ^b.

Punishes his father's murderers.

The distracted state of affairs at his accession.

In the councils held on this distracted state of things, it was judged adviseable, by Alexander's best friends, that dissimulation should take place of force, and that he should cajole those whom he could not subdue. Alexander disliked this advice; he thought vigorous measures at first would check some present, and prevent many future inconveniencies; wherefore he betook himself to arms, and boldly looked every danger in the face ^c. First he marched southwards into Thessaly, with a numerous army, but without committing any act of hostility. The princes as-

^b *Arrian. lib. i. cap. 1. Plut. ubi supra. Diod. Sic. ubi supra.*

^c *Plut. ubi supra.*

*Is declared
general of
Greece.*

sembling, he made a long and eloquent oration, wherein alleging their common descent from Hercules, the friendship between their ancestors, and the victories they had won together, he so strongly charmed them to his interests, that as the son and successor of Philip, they declared him general of Greece. The neighbouring states he conciliated in the same manner, partly by awing them with his arms, partly by the force of his eloquence; for, being perfectly versed in their interests, he spoke home and warmly to their passions. Having restored tranquility on this side, and procured the title of generalissimo of Greece, he returned to Macedon. Heccateus, a person in whom he confided, was dispatched with recruits for the Asiatic army, and orders to seize Attalus, if it was practicable, or, if not, to dispatch him by any means.

*Causes At-
talus to be
put to
death.*

That ambitious general perceiving that the presence of Parmenio, and the fame of Alexander, withheld the soldiery from following his purposes, suddenly changed them, and sent to Alexander an epistle of Demosthenes, and professed himself extremely loyal; which professions, whether true or false, had no weight with the king, whose instructions Heccateus followed in putting Attalus to death*. Thus the dawn of his government began to clear, and the first rays of his glory to display a prospect, which afterwards appeared brighter and brighter, till it overspread the noblest countries on the globe.

*Alexander
invades the
Triballians
and Illy-
rians.*

At the approach of the spring Alexander marched with his forces towards Thrace, intending to penetrate into the country of the Triballians and Illyrians, now called Bulgaria and Selavonia. In this expedition he followed rather his own sentiments than the counsels of others, acting regularly on the principle he had laid down, that the power of Macedon was to be supported by the same vigorous measures by which had been attained. In consequence of this resolution he ordered his army to assemble at Amphipolis, from whence he marched towards the river Nessus, and, leaving the city of Philippi and Mount Orbelus on the left, he in ten days reached Mount Hæmus¹. This post the barbarous nations, against whom he made war, had seized, and fortified. On the tops of the cliffs, and at the head of every pass, they placed their carriages and waggon, so as to form a sort of parapet, with their shafts inwards, that, when the Macedonians

* Diod. Sic. ubi supra.
cap. 1, & seq. Diod. Sic. ubi supra.

¹ Arrian. Expedit. Alex. lib. i.

should have half ascended the rock, they might be able to push the heaviest of these wains upon them, and overwhelm them at once. They depended the more upon this contrivance, because of the close order of the phalanx, which, they conceived, would be much exposed, by wanting room to stir, and avoid the falling waggons. But Alexander, who had studied the art of war under the ablest masters, defeated their design; for, having directed his heavy-armed troops to march, he gave orders, that, where the way would permit, they should open to the right and left, and suffer the falling carriages to go through; but that, in the narrow passes, they should throw themselves on their faces, with their shields behind them, that the carriages might run over them without making much impression. His contrivance had the desired effect, and the Macedonians reached the enemy's works without the loss of a man. Then the light-armed troops began the attack. The Barbarians made an obstinate resistance for some time, till Alexander himself charged at the head of the targeteers. Then they began to break, and, on the approach of the phalanx, fled entirely, leaving their camp, full of women, children, and cattle, to the victors.

*And Jews
slay them.*

Three days after this action, the king reached the river Ister, into an island of which called Peuce, the Tribillians, Thracians, and other barbarous nations, had conveyed their wealth and women, resolving to defend them with all their force. Some few ships there were, which, through the Euxine Sea, had come to Byzantium; on board of these Alexander embarked a body of troops, and endeavoured to make a descent with them on the island; but the river being rapid, the shore steep, and the enemy pressing thither in great multitudes, he relinquished this design, and landed his forces at their old camp. Observing, that the Getæ, who inhabited on the other side the river, were inclined to give him all the trouble they could, and had, for that purpose, raised an army of four thousand horse, and ten thousand foot, he determined to be beforehand with them, and, by subduing them, strike a terror into all their neighbours; the same night therefore he caused a considerable number of boats to be collected together, and, having ranged them from one side of the river to the other, re-embarked his forces on board his small fleet, which made a line a little higher. He then caused the tents, which, as they were made of skins, floated in the water, and yet afforded firm footing, to be thrown into the middle space; whereby he passed over

*Passes the
river, and
puts the
Getæ to
flight.*

fifteen

fifteen hundred horse, and four thousand foot. With these he marched through the standing corn, the spears of the phalanx being reversed, and the horse behind them, till they arrived in the open country; and then gave the command of the left-wing, consisting of the foot, to Nicator, drawing up his horse on the right, under his own command, with an intent to give the Getæ battle. These, though a brave and bold people, were so astonished at his passing the river, without either a bridge or a fleet, that they did not sustain even the first attack; but fled immediately to the next town, which they resolved to defend; but when they saw that Alexander did not follow them impetuously, but drew his foot slowly along the side of the river, to prevent his falling into an ambuscade, they conceived that no place would protect them against such a general; and therefore, abandoning the town, they placed all hopes of safety in flight. Alexander entered the city, and, having collected the spoil, delivered it to Meleager and Philip, officers of great rank in his army, that it might be conveyed to the sea, and then razed the place. Here he sacrificed to Jupiter Soter, that is, the saviour, to Hercules, and to the Ilser, for affording him a safe passage ^m.

*He makes
a general
peace with
the bar-
barous na-
tions.*

Next day he brought all his forces into his camp on the other side of the river, whither immediately ambassadors came from all the neighbouring nations to make peace with him; amongst the rest from Syrmus king of the Triballi, who saw, that it was to no purpose to resist him; as also from the Celtes, a fierce and high-spirited people. The king treated them with great civility; but as he was always inclined to indulge his vanity, he could not help asking the deputies from the last mentioned nation, "What, of all things, they feared most?" supposing they would have answered, his arms; but they very plainly told him, "That, except the falling of the clouds upon their heads, they feared nothing;" a reply which so pleased the king, that he granted them his friendship, and ranked them in the number of his allies. He likewise adjusted his differences with the rest of the neighbouring nations, and then prepared for his return into Macedonia ⁿ.

*He defeats
the Tau-
lanti, and
Clytus king
of Illyria.*

As he passed through the countries of the Agrians and the Paonians, he was informed, that Clytus, the son of Bradilis, had revolted. This Bradilis had been king of

^m ARRIAN. *Exposit. Alex.* lib. i. cap. 2, 3, 4.

ⁿ Idem *ibid.*

Illyria; and his son, it seems, resolved to remain no longer a dependent on the king of Macedon: he therefore entered into a league with Glaucias king of the Taulantii, and into a treaty with the Autariatæ, to defend themselves against Alexander, whom they looked upon as their common enemy. The king immediately resolved to attack these nations, and began to enquire of the force and situation of the last mentioned people. Langarus king of the Agrians being near him, said aloud, "Sir, trouble not yourself about these people; I, with my own subjects, will make an inroad into their country, and find them so much employment, that they shall be able to give no interruption to your march." This promise he accordingly performed so effectually, that he put it absolutely out of their power to proceed in their defection. Alexander, on his return to the camp, received him with great honour, and promised him his sister Cyna for a wife; but that promise did not take place, king Langarus dying soon after. The king being arrived in the neighbourhood of Pellion, a strong city, into which Clytus had thrown himself with a great body of troops, resolved to undertake the siege; and accordingly caused the place to be invested. But Glaucias king of the Taulantii coming with a great army to the relief of Clytus, the king was obliged to abandon the enterprize, and to give them battle, wherein, after a stout resistance, he was victorious. Three days after the action, Alexander surprised Glaucias and Clytus in their camp, and, making a great slaughter of their troops, forced them to fly for shelter to the mountains.

In the midst of these victories, he received advice, that all Greece was in commotion, excited chiefly through the indefatigable zeal of Demosthenes, the inveterate enemy of Macedon; and the several disaffected states were encouraged to shew their inclinations more openly, by a report confidently propagated, that Alexander was dead in Illyria. The Thebans, laying violent hands on Amyntas and Timolaus, eminent officers in the Macedonian garrison which occupied their citadel, dragged them to the market-place, and, without any form of process, put them to death. They then disposed all things for the siege of the citadel, and openly excited the rest of Greece to throw off the yoke. The king, as soon as he had intelligence of this revolt, bent his march towards them,

*All Greece
in commo-
tion on the
report of
his death.*

*He makes a
very quick
march into
Greece.*

* Arrian. *Expediti. Alex.* lib. i. cap. 2, 3, 4.

with

with such diligence, that in seven days he arrived at Pelene in Thessaly, and in six more entered Bœotia, before the Thebans had any intelligence of his passing Thermopylae. When they were informed of his approach, they supposed it to be Antipater, with a body of Macedonian militia; nay, when repeated advices acquainted them, that the army was commanded by Alexander, they still hoped he was dead, persuading themselves, that this was Alexander the son of Æropus. The king, however, did not leave them long in their mistake, advancing briskly to the temple of Iolæus, where he made a halt, that the Thebans might have time to return to their senses, and thereby prevent his having recourse to extremities; for it was no way his inclination, as indeed it was not his interest, to embroil himself with the Greeks; he therefore endeavoured, by the terror of his presence, having with him thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, to compel his enemies to dismiss their malice, rather than to gratify his own. This sudden march had, in part, the success he wished; for it prevented the rest of the Grecian states from aiding the Thebans, though they were actually assembling forces for that purpose; and so affrighted the Athenians, that, repairing their walls, and filling their magazines, they provided, not for their neighbours, but for their own defence, fulfilling exactly what Alexander had said when he entered Bœotia, that to this Demosthenes, who called him a child when he was in Myria, and a youth when he came into Thessaly, he should certainly appear a man when he approached the walls of Athens.

*Is attacked
by the
Thebans.*

The Thebans, far from profiting by Alexander's moderation, attacked his out-guards; and though their troops were repulsed with great loss, yet they determined to hazard all, rather than purchase peace by submission. The king, seeing their oblinacy, encamped over-against the gate leading to Attica, that he might be near the citadel, which he had surrounded with a double wall, in order to prevent then cutting his garrison to pieces before his face. He did not, however, invest the city, or pretend to besiege it; but caused proclamation to be made, that he was ready to receive any Thebans, who would join with him in defence of the common liberties of Greece. On the other hand, the Thebans made proclamation, that they were ready to receive any who would join themselves to the great king and them, to fight against the tyrant of

• *Diod. Sic. ubi supra.*

• *Plut. in Vit. Alex.*

Greece. This sacrilege exceedingly provoked Alexander; however, if we may believe Ptolemy, he gave no orders for an attack: but Perdicas, who lay nearest the walls, perceiving some advantage, suddenly attempted them, and, being seconded by Amyntas, broke into the city. Alexander, seeing his friends engaged, was constrained to support them; and thus the Thebans were driven to the temple of Hercules. There the citizens recovered from their consternation, and, having desperately wounded Perdicas, fell upon the Macedonians with such retaliation, that they drove them with great slaughter out of the city; a check which Alexander perceiving, he, with a fresh body of troops, attacked the Thebans in flank, routed them, entered the city with the flying garrison, and, after a prodigious slaughter, took the place by storm.

Alexander takes the place by storm.

The Macedonian garrison, rallying from the citadel, contributed not a little to this event; which, however glorious to the king, was extremely fatal to the Thebans, who for several hours were slain and despoiled, without regard either to sex or age. Afterwards the city was razed, excepting only the house of Pindar, the famous poet, out of respect to the merit of its owner, and because he had celebrated Alexander the first king of Macedonia; a circumstance which might well weigh with his successor¹. The lands, except such as were destined to religious uses, were shared among the soldiers, and the prisoners sold for slaves; whereby four hundred and forty talents were brought into the king's treasury. This behaviour of Alexander struck all the Greek states with terror. The Eleans closed their cities, because they were his friends; the cities of Aitolia dreaded his wrath by a most submissive embassy: as for the Athenians, they were terrified to such a degree, that they made themselves ridiculous; for they sent to compliment the king on his safe return from his expedition against the Barbarians, and also to assure him of their great satisfaction in his chastising the rebellious Thebans². Alexander took all in good part; only he demanded by letter, that Demosthenes, Lycurgus, Hyperides, Polyeuctus, Chares, Charidemus, Ephialtes, Diotemus, and Mirocles, should be delivered up to him; alleging, that they had been the authors of all the mischiefs which had happened in Greece, since his father Philip had been elected general. The

The city razed, except the poet's house.

All the Greek states shrank with terror.

¹ Arrian. lib. i. cap. 7. Dio. Chrysost. Orat. ubi supra. Plut. ubi supra.

² Diod. Sic.

*His oblig-
ing conduct
towards
the Athe-
nians.*

Athenians, however, did not comply with his request, though Phocion advised them to obey. This refusal was owing to the art of Demades the orator; who, having first procured a vote in favour of the persons demanded, drew up afterwards such a decree, as might pacify Alexander; the purport of which was, that the orators should submit to the laws of their country, and that the Athenians undertook to punish them, if they appeared to be guilty. Demades himself went at the head of the deputies, who presented this decree to Alexander, and who were charged also with other requests, importing, that, notwithstanding the decree, they might be permitted to receive the Theban fugitives; and that the king would, for the future, regard them as his faithful allies. Alexander, affecting to shew an extraordinary esteem for the Athenians, granted all their requests, excepting that he commanded the orator Charidemus to banish himself; upon which he instantly fled to Darius. He used Demades with the utmost civility, and commanded him to assure his citizens, that they had nothing to fear¹ (U).

¹ Arrian. lib. i. cap. 10. Diod. Sic. ubi supra. Plut. in Vit. Alex.

(U) Several ominous appearances are recorded by the ancients, as predicting the fall of Thebes. Diodorus tells us, that in the temple of Ceres, a slender spider's web was observed to spread itself as broad as a cloak, and to represent the rainbow in an arched circumference. Deputies being sent to consult the oracle at Delphi, to know what it imported, the answer was,

“ This web stands as a sign from heaven confest
“ To thee, Bæotia, first, then to the rest.”

The oracle in their own country explained it thus :

“ One party's loss, the other's gain, this shews.”

This happened about three months before Alexander's march. About the time of his arrival, the statues in the forum sweated, so that great drops stood upon them. In the lake of Onchestus the roaring and bellowing of oxen was heard. The waters in Dirce seemed of a sanguine hue; and advice came from the temple at Delphi, that the roof built by the Thebans, out of the spoils of the Phocians, was besmeared all over with blood (1).

(1) Diod. Sic. Biblioth. lib. xvii. Olymp. cxi. 2.

As

As soon as he had re-established the tranquillity of Greece, he went to Corinth, where, in a general assembly of the states of Greece, every thing relating to his dignity, as generalissimo, was exactly settled. Here he received the compliments not only of the several states, but also of the most eminent persons among the Greeks, either for valour or wisdom; many of whom thought it not below them to travel a considerable way for this purpose *. But Diogenes of Sinope, who was then in Cranium, a suburb of Corinth, did not so much as wait upon the king; a circumstance which, when it was remarked to Alexander, he went himself to visit the philosopher. He found him lying on the ground, basking himself in the sun. When those who attended the king surrounded him, the sage raised himself a little, and looked upon Alexander. The king, with his usual civility, asked him if he wanted any thing? "Yes, answered Diogenes, I would have you stand a little out of the way, that I may enjoy the sun-shine." Those who were about Alexander, laughed at this saying, as the effect of a haughty and morose disposition; but the king himself said gravely, "If I were not Alexander, I should wish to be Diogenes." The sense of which expression, as it is interpreted by Plutarch, was, that if he had not been capable of philosophizing actively, he would have preferred speculative wisdom to the ordinary employments of life *.

*Continued
Generalissimo at
Corinth.*

Visit Diogenes.

At Aigæ he held a grand council of state and war, in order to deliberate upon his expedition into Asia. The gravest of his counsellors, among whom were Antipater and Parmenio, gave it as their opinion that he should first marry, and have heirs to the crown, before he thought of any foreign expedition. Alexander disliked this advice, as indeed he did every motion of delay; but, however, he did not reject it without offering a reason. He said, that after Greece had elected him her general, and he had drawn together that veteran army, which under his father, had made so many conquests, he should not sit idle at home to marry and beget children *. He therefore sacrificed to Jupiter Olympus, and revived the games which had been instituted by his predecessor Archelaus. He sacrificed likewise to the Muses, consecrating a day to each Muse; then he appointed great feasts, entertaining no less than a hundred of his friends at his own table; after these banquets he distributed all the crown-lands amongst them,

*His preparations
for invading
Asia.*

* Diod Sic ubi supra.
Sic. ubi supra.

* Plut. de Virtut. Alex.

* Diod.

and even the rest of his revenues, giving one a farm, another a village, a third the customs of a port. Perdicas, observing this waste of the royal revenue, in which he refused to participate, asked the king what he reserved for himself? "My hopes," (answered Alexander). "Very well, sir, (replied Perdicas), you will not then be offended, that among those who are to share your dangers, there are some who desire to share your hopes also."

*An account
of his
troops.*

These feasts being terminated, the army was commanded to assemble, in order to its passing over immediately into Asia. His whole force did not exceed thirty thousand infantry and five thousand horse. As to his fund for the payment of the army, Aristobulus says, it was but seventy talents; and Onecritus, who was also in this expedition, not only takes away the seventy talents, but affirms that the king was two hundred in debt. As for provisions, there was sufficient for a month, and no more. Antipater was left behind in Macedon, with twelve thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse^a. Justin tells us, that, to prevent any disturbances in his absence, Alexander caused such of the blood-royal as he suspected, to be put to death^b; in which assertion, however, he deserves no credit, since neither Diodorus, Arrian, Plutarch, nor any other Greek or Latin historian mentions any such measure; on the contrary, he is said to have checked his mother Olympias for having maltreated Cleopatra in his absence^c.

*He passes
the Hellespont.*

The army having assembled at Amphipolis, he marched from thence to the mouths of the Strymon, then crossing Mount Pangæus, took the route to Abdera. Passing the river Ebru, he proceeded through the country of Pædis, and, after twenty days, reached Sestos; thence he advanced to Eleus, where he sacrificed on the tomb of Protesilaus, because he was the first among the Greeks, who, at the siege of Troy, set foot on the Asiatic shore. The greatest part of the army, under the command of Parmenio, embarked at Sestos, on board a fleet of a hundred and sixty galleys, of three benches of oars, besides small craft. Alexander himself sailed from Eleus; and, when he was in the middle of the Hellespont, offered a bull to Neptune and the Nereids, pouring forth, at the same time, a libation from a golden cup. When he drew near the shore he launched a javelin, which stuck in the earth; then,

^a Idem. *ibid.* Plut. in Vita Alexand. Arrian. lib. i. cap. 11.
^b Diod. Plut. Arrian. *ubi supra.* ^c Hist. lib. xi. cap. 5. ^d Plut. de Virtut. Alex.

in complete armour, he leaped upon the strand, and having erected altars to Jupiter, Minerva, and Hercules, on which he sacrificed, he proceeded to Ilium.

Strabo informs us, that when Alexander went thither, Ilium was little better than a village, distinguished only by a small temple dedicated to Pallas, here the king sacrificed to the heroes buried in the neighbourhood, especially to Achilles, whom he declared to have been particularly happy in having Patroclus for a friend, and Homer to record his actions. Hephæstion, as a mark of his friendship to Alexander, crowned the tomb of Patroclus with flowers; then the king sacrificed to Minerva; and, taking down some arms which had hung there from the time of the Trojan war, consecrated his own in their stead. He sacrificed, likewise, to the ghost of Priam, to avert his wrath, on account of his own descent from Achilles (X).

Sacrificed at Ilium.

Alexander continued his march towards the river Granicus, without meeting with any considerable accident, if we except only the preservation of the city of Lampisacus, which, on account of its adhering to the Persians, he had determined to destroy. Arrianus, an eminent historian, well known in the court of Philip, and for whom Alexan-

He spares Lampisacus through the entreaties of Arrianus.

c Dioc. Arrian. Plot.

(X) We have thought fit to mark particularly this step, because they greatly contribute to shew the genius and temper of this young hero. It is clear from them, that he was a religious observer of the religious rites of his age, and that he had the greatest regard to decency and order in every thing he did. Indeed, he took his rules of war from Homer, and scrupulously adhered not only to the maxims, but to the customs, mentioned by him; thus imitating of Calchas, who was the augur of the Greeks, he had Aristander, the Telmessian, for his soothsayer, without consulting of whom he suffer-

ed nothing of moment to be done. Neither did he neglect the usual application to oracles on undertaking his expeditions. After the destruction of Tithes, he went in person to Delphi; but, arriving at the time that was held unlucky, the priests refused to do her office. Alexander, thereupon, drew her by force into the temple, and she, at last offering to sit down on the tripod, said, by way of excuse for breaking through the ancient custom of the temple, "My son, thou art invincible." At these words Alexander cried out, "I accept the answer," and waited for no other (1).

(1) Plot. in Vita Alexand.

der had a great sleep, met him on the road, in order to intercede for the place of his birth. The king's indignation ran so high, that, as soon as he came into his presence, he cried out, "Anaximenes, I swear solemnly that I will not do what you desire me." "My request then, sir, (said the old man, smiling) is, that you would burn Lampfacus." Alexander, charmed with his address, and considering at the same time the oath he had made, ordered the city to be spared^d. In the interim the Persians had assembled a great army in Phrygia, amongst whom was Memnon the Rhodian, the best officer in the service of Darius. When it was known that the Macedonians were marching directly towards them, this Memnon gave it as his opinion, that they should burn and destroy all the country, and transport an army into Macedon. But the Persians, depending on their horse, refused to comply with his advice; and therefore, posting themselves along the river, they determined to wait the arrival of Alexander (Y).

Yr. of Fl. As soon as the Macedonian was informed of the posture
2014 the Persians were in, he ordered his forces to be drawn up
Ante Chr. in order of battle, the foot in two lines, the horse on the
334. right and left, and the baggage in the rear, and then moved directly towards the river. Of this battle we have elsewhere given a particular account^e.

*Battle at
the Gra-
nicus.*

*The conse-
quences of
this vic-
tory.*

This victory put the king in possession of all the adjacent country, of which he began immediately to take care as if it had been part of his hereditary dominions. Calas was constituted lieutenant of the province, from which the same tribute was exacted as heretofore had been paid to Darius. He marched towards Sardis, and, when he was about seventy stadia distant from the city, he was met by Mythrænes, governor of the garrison in the castle, accompanied by the chief citizens; these surrendered the city into his hands, and Mythrænes gave up the castle with all the royal treasures it contained. He then proceeded to the river Hermus, about twenty stadia from Sardis, where he

^d Valer. Max. lib vii. cap. 3.

^e See Hist. of Persia.

(Y) Justin would have us believe that the Persian army consisted of six hundred thousand foot. Arrian says there were but twenty thousand, and the like number of horse. Diodorus Siculus makes them ten

thousand horse and a hundred thousand foot. All agree that the horse were drawn up in one line, fronting the river, and the foot behind them. The river itself was rapid, and the bank steep.

encamped,

encamped, and from whence he dispatched Amyntas, the son of Andromenes, to Sardis, to take the government of the castle, and, carrying Mythrenes with him, treated him honourably. To the Sardians, and other Lydians, he granted the privilege of being governed by their ancient laws. He then entered the castle, which was garrisoned by the Persians, and seemed to him well fortified. It was seated on a high rock, which was every where steep, and surrounded with a triple wall. He therefore purposed to erect a temple on the top of that eminence, and therein to dedicate an altar to Jupiter Olympius; but, while he was yet in suspense which part of the castle was most commodious for that purpose, a dreadful tempest arose on a sudden, loud claps of thunder were heard, and a violent storm fell on that part where the royal palace of the Lydian kings had stood. Thus the god seemed to point out the place where the temple should be erected; and it was ordered to be built accordingly. The government of this castle he committed into the hands of Pausanias, one of his friends, but charged Nicias with the collection of tributes and imposts. Asander, the son of Philotas, was constituted prefect of Lydia, and the rest of the provinces of Spithridates, and had such a number of horse and light-armed foot allowed him as were judged necessary. Calas and Alexander, the son of Artropas, were dispatched into the province commanded by Memnon, and with them a very considerable body of troops^t. In the mean time the mercenaries in garrison at Ephesus, seizing two gallees of three banks of oars, retired; and with them went Amyntas, who, as we have elsewhere observed, had deserted to Darius as soon as Alexander had ascended the throne.

Builds at Sardis a temple to Jupiter Olympius.

As soon as the king had information of this defection, he went to Ephesus in person, where he did every thing that was popular; he restored the democracy, and ordered the tribute which had been paid to the Persian to be applied to the rebuilding the temple of Diana. It is said he would have been at the whole expence of that magnificent pile, if the Ephesians would have inscribed his name on the building; but this proposal they rejected, chusing to keep the honour and the expence to themselves. His favours encouraged the commons of Ephesus to fall upon some persons of distinction, who had been formerly in the administration of affairs; and, notwithstanding they had taken sanctuary in the temple, to drag them to the

Restores the democracy at Ephesus.

^t Arrian. lib. i. cap. 18.

*Gains the
affections
of the
Ephesians.*

market-place, where they stoned them: as these men had been guilty of very flagrant oppressions, Alexander would not interpose to save them, but, immediately after their death, he issued out an edict, whereby he strictly forbade any further enquiry into the conduct of the former magistrates; rightly conceiving, that if the people were suffered to treat the guilty thus, envy, malice, and avarice, would soon lead them to treat the innocent in the same manner. This prudent conduct gained him high reputation, the people owning him for their deliverer, while at the same time the nobles conceded that he was their preserver^a. By another edict, he ordered the popular government to be restored in all the Greek cities, and sent Alcimalus with a body of troops to see it executed; then with the remainder of his army he marched to besiege Miletus, before which his fleet, commanded by Nicanor, had lain for some time, and the Persian fleet was also in the neighbourhood of that city. The Milesians themselves were disposed to submit to Alexander; but Memnon, with a considerable body of troops, had entered the place immediately after the battle at the Granicus, resolved to defend it to the last extremity. We have already observed, that he was a great officer, and his conduct here was equal to the reputation he had before acquired; for, notwithstanding the Macedonian fleet blocked up the haven, the citizens were disaffected, and Alexander's veteran foot stormed the place; yet he made a vigorous resistance; and after the city was taken, withdrew his garrison into an island, where part of the mercenaries capitulated, and were received into Alexander's service; the rest, with Memnon himself, withdrew to Halicarnassus^b.

*Beats, et
ante totos
infinitos.*

*He dismisses
his fleet.*

When the king was fully master of Miletus, he treated the citizens with great humanity, but sold all the strangers he found for slaves. As soon as he was informed that the Persian fleet was withdrawn from Mycale, he dismissed his own; this was a very extraordinary step, and authors are at a loss how to account for it. Diodorus Siculus says, that Alexander being well informed of Darius's design to march against him immediately with a powerful army, he determined by this step to cut off from his own troops all hopes of safety but from their valour: he grounds his conjecture on the conduct of Alexander in the last battle, wherein he made his men fight with the

^a Arrian, ubi supra. Plut. in Vit. Alex.
supra. Arrian, ubi supra.

^b Diod. Sic. ubi
river

river at their backs; so that flight was rendered impracticable.

Almost all the cities between Miletus and Halicarnassus submitted as soon as the former was taken, and the rest surrendered when the king marched towards them; but as for Halicarnassus, Alexander was sensible, that the reduction thereof would cost him both time and trouble: Memnon, whom Darius had declared high admiral, and governor of the Lower Asia, commanded there in person, with a very numerous garrison¹. Alexander encamped therefore at the distance of five stadia from the city, skirmishing daily with the garrison, till he had prepared all things for the siege. While affairs were in this situation, some of the citizens of Myndus privately promised Alexander to put their town into his hands, provided he would advance towards it in the night with a considerable body of forces. This proposition the king readily accepted, and drew out a considerable body of horse, supported by a number of light-armed foot, in order to act on this expedition. At midnight therefore he approached the walls, according to his promise; but perceiving no signs of a surrender from the citizens, he nevertheless ordered the Macedonian phalanx to advance, commanding them to undermine the wall: this service they performed, and presently overturned one of the towers, without making a breach in the wall. But the citizens making an obstinate defence, and being assisted by the Halicarnassians, who sent them succours by sea, Alexander was disappointed in his expectation of taking it at the first assault: wherefore he drew off, and returned to the siege of Halicarnassus. Here he ordered the ditch which the citizens had dug round their walls, of thirty cubits in breadth, and fifteen in depth, to be filled up, that his wooden towers might proceed forwards. The ditch being accordingly filled up, the towers were advanced; but the besieged issued forth by night, with a design of burning both the towers and engines, which were now near the walls; and would have certainly effected their design, had they not been encountered by the Macedonians, who were placed to guard the engines, and others who came hastily forth at the noise of the skirmish; so that they were, with small loss, beaten back into the city.

We have in Arrian a very exact journal of this siege, wherein the greatest vigour was shewn on the part

The siege of Halicarnassus.

Is disappointed in his attempt upon Myndus.

Returns to the siege of Halicarnassus.

¹ Diod. Sic. ubi supra.

Haliar-
nassus
abandoned
by the Per-
sians.

assailants, the most obstinate resolution discovered by the defendants, and the most consummate experience in the affairs of war by both; for as the king's troops frequently attempted to scale the walls, continued constantly to batter them with engines, and in some places proceeded by sap; so the garrison sallied often, sometimes burnt the besiegers engines, at others levelled their works, yet were in all their attempts exposed to great danger; and there was a great effusion of blood on both sides^k. At last Orontobates, Memnon, and the rest of the Persian commanders, considering that part of their walls was already beaten down, and part ready to fall, and many of the defendants were either cut off in the several encounters, or wounded and rendered unserviceable, resolved to abandon the place. About the second watch of the night they set fire to the wooden tower, which they had built to guard them from the shocks of the enemy's engines, and to the arsenal where their engines were lodged, as also to some houses near the wall, and retired to the castles which they had fortified in the neighbourhood. When Alexander was informed of their retreat by some deserters, and beheld the raging flames, though it was near midnight, he nevertheless detached a body of Macedonians thither, with orders to slay those who set fire to the city, but to spare whoever they found in their habitation. As soon as it was day-light, Alexander viewing the castles which the Persians and their mercenary troops had seized, resolved not to lay siege to them, as well because the reducing them would take up too much time, as because they would not be of any great importance after he had taken the city; wherefore he commanded his engineers to convey the machines to Tralles, which city he laid level with the ground; and marching thence into Phrygia, left a body of three thousand foot, and two hundred horse, under the command of Ptolemy, to keep the country of Caria in obedience^l.

Tralles
razed by
Alexander.

Ada made
governess
of Caria.

At the time Alexander entered this country, there was a woman of distinction, whose name was Ada, who claimed the title of queen of Caria. She was the daughter of Hecatomnus, and the sister of Hidrieus, and, according to the Carian laws, his wife too: on his death she succeeded him in the kingdom; but was quickly dispossessed of it by Pezodorus, whose son-in-law, Orontobates, succeeded him by the favour of Darius. Ada all

^k Diod. Sic. ubi supra.

^l Arrian, lib. i. cap. 24.

this time held the city of Alinda, which was the strongest in those parts; the keys of which, as soon as Alexander entered the province, she delivered to him; and, as a farther mark of her respect, she adopted him her son. The king, charmed by her obliging behaviour, and struck with that greatness of mind she manifested on this sudden turn of affairs, received the honour she did him very kindly; and after having demolished Iudicannassus, made her governess-general of all Caria^m. While his forces remained in Caria, Ada had often sent him presents of the best things the country afforded; and now, when he was about to depart, she sent him several cooks and confectioners to serve in his kitchen; but the king sent them back with this compliment, that his governor Leonidas long ago provided him better cooks than they; to wit, "Long morning marches to give him a stomach to his dinner; and slender dinners, which would leave appetite enough for supper." This conduct of Alexander towards the queen of Caria was of great use to him; for it induced many of the princes of the Lesser Asia to revolt from the Persian, and put themselves under his protection. Mithridates, king of Pontus was in the number of these: he was the ancestor of that famous king of the same name, who gave the Romans so much trouble, and was descended from the royal house of Persia. Coming to Alexander's camp, he conceived such a regard for him, that he accompanied him in his Persian expeditionⁿ.

Many princes revolt from the Persians.

Diodorus Siculus affirms, that the last action of the campaign was undertaken against the Marmarians, an inconsiderable people inhabiting on the borders of Lycia; their city was seated among rocks, and thence held by them to be impregnable. These people, either for the sake of booty, or from their warm attachment to the Persians, fell upon the rear of Alexander's army, cut a great number of Macedonians to pieces, and took part of the baggage: this attack exceedingly provoked the king, who immediately caused the place to be invested, and as it had no fortifications but those of nature, he stormed it two whole days together. The old men among the besieged would have persuaded them to surrender; but they declaring resolutely, that they would never submit, their elders advised them to put all the superannuated men, women, and children to death, and then to force a passage through the enemy's camp. This advice the young

The slaughter of the Marmarians.

^m Arrian. lib. i. cap. 24.

ⁿ Flor. lib. iii. cap. 5.

men embraced, when every one going home, made a great feast; and after having eat and drank plentifully with his wife and children, shut the door of his house, and then set it on fire. As soon as the flames began to mount, they, to the number of six hundred, sallied out, forced the Macedonian guard, and made their escape to the mountains.

The new-married men sent home.

In the beginning of the winter, Alexander made choice of Ptolemy the son of Seleucus, Cœnus the son of Polemocrates, and Meleager the son of Neoptolemus, to lead home all the new-married soldiers in his army, that they might spend the winter with their wives; a step very extraordinary in its nature, which endeared him more to the Macedonians than any action of his life. He likewise sent Parmenio, and some other general officers to raise recruits, some into Europe, and some into Asia.

A conspiracy discovered.

Things being in this situation, and the king busy in providing for the next campaign, a very extraordinary act of treachery was discovered. Alexander, the son of Æteus, whom the king had made general of the Thesalian horse, held a correspondence with Amyntas, who was in the service of Darius. Alsiines, a Persian, was pitched on by the latter to carry letters to this Alexander, promising him a thousand talents of silver, and the kingdom of Macedonia, if he would undertake to murder the king: this Alsiines Parmenio apprehended upon some kind of suspicion; and being examined, he confessed the whole business, whereupon the king sent instructions to Parmenio to apprehend Alexander before he should be able to corrupt the troops under his command, and thereby cause a defection, which, on account of his great quality, might be dangerous. This commission was very happily executed, and the king thereby delivered from a conspiracy which had given him no small disquiet.

*Yr. of Pl.
2015.
Ante Chr.
333.*

Alexander proceeds in the conquest of the adjacent provinces.

As soon as the season permitted, Alexander quitted the province of Phæsius, and having sent part of his army through the mountainous country to Pergæ, by a short, but difficult road, he led the rest by the sea-shore, taking his route by a certain promontory, where the way is altogether impassable, except when the north winds blow. At the time of the king's march the south wind had continued for a long time; but of a sudden it changed, and

^a Died Sic ubi supra.

Sic ubi supra. Plut. in Vit. Alex.

Died Sic ubi supra.

^b Arrian. lib. i. cap. 25. Diod.

^c Arrian. lib. i. cap. 26.

blew from the north so violently, that, as he and his followers declared, they by divine assistance obtained a safe and easy passage. In this march he was met by deputies from the Aspendians, who desired him to dispense with putting a garrison into their city, because they were resolved to be his faithful subjects; which request he readily granted, upon condition they paid him fifty talents, and sent him the same number of horses which they used to furnish to Darius; terms to which they also readily agreed: but while the king was employed in reducing other places in the neighbourhood, the Aspendians fortified their city, and refused to comply with the treaty which their deputies had made. Upon which the king marched immediately that way with his army.

The Aspendians submit, and afterwards revolt.

The city of Aspendus is seated chiefly upon a high and steep rock, the foot of which is washed by the river Eurymedon; but round the rock, upon the plain, are abundance of houses surrounded with a slight wall. As soon as Alexander approached, the inhabitants of the lower town betook themselves to the higher town or castle; so that he entered the lower, with his army, and encamped within the walls. The besieged seeing Alexander's force, and themselves hemmed in on every side, contrary to their expectations, sent messengers to intreat him to accept of the former conditions. Alexander considering the strength of the place, and how unprovided he was to undertake a long siege, was willing to agree with them, though not upon the former terms; but insisted now, that their principal citizens should be delivered up as hostages; that the number of horses which they had before promised should be punctually delivered, and the number of talents doubled; and moreover, that they should be under the command of such a garrison as he should place over them, and pay an annual tribute to the Macedonians; and lastly, that the cause concerning the field which they were said to have wrested unjustly out of their neighbours hands, should be referred to arbitration. This affair being finished, the king prosecuted his march to Telmissus, a very strong city, seated on the top of a high mountain, having another as high opposite to it, and a narrow craggy road between these two. This pass the Telmissians had seized; and, if they had defended it bravely, might in all probability have compelled the king to take a different route. But Alexander rightly judging, that the terror of an attack would oblige them to withdraw, encamped in the very entrance of the pass, at the close

They again submit;

but have harder terms.

Gains the pass, &c. Telmissus.

close of the evening. In the morning, as he had rightly conjectured, it was perceived, that the Telmisæans were retired into their city, the siege of which, on account of its strong situation, the king declined for the present, and continued his march through Phrygia, intending to re-assemble all his troops at Gordium, whither he sent his orders to Parmenio to march, as he did also to Ptolemy and his colleagues, who, with the new-martied men and recruits, were now returned from Macedonia^r. On his march he met with deputies from Athens, who in very submissive terms besought him to dismiss such of their citizens as he had taken fighting in the service of the Persians; but the king desired to be excused till the war should be over; and then, he told them, he would be content to hear what they could say in favour of their citizens^s.

*Darius puts
Charide-
mus to
death.*

Darius was all this time fighting for Alexander at home; for upon the death of Memnon his admiral, who had begun with great success to reduce the Greek islands again under his obedience, and was on the very point of invading Eubœa, he was quite at a stand, not knowing whom to employ in his stead, and being also irresolute as to the choice of a general who should command the land-forces he had raised. There happened to be at this time of his court and council one Charidemus, an Athenian, an officer of great merit, who had served long, and with much reputation, under Philip of Macedon. This man being heartily zealous for the Persian interest, and seeing it no less in danger from their own feeble counsels than from the Macedonian arms, took upon him in few words to undeceive the king and his ministers. "While you, sir, and he to Darius, are safe, the empire can never be at stake: let me exhort you, therefore, never to expose your person, but to make choice of some able general to march against your enemy. One hundred thousand men will be more than sufficient, provided a third of them be mercenaries, to compel Alexander to abandon this enterprise; and if you will honour me with this command, I will be accountable for the success of what I advise." Darius readily acceded to Charidemus's proposal, but the Persian lords who were present, through envy, bitterly inveighed against it; whereupon the Athenian was so far transported with passion, that he told them they were cowards, who would neither serve their master them-

^r Arrian. lib. i. cap. 28.
lib. iii. cap. 2.

^s Arrian. ubi supra. Curt.

selves, nor suffer him to be served by others. This affront moved them to charge him with treachery, and to allege, that he sought the command merely to put all things into the hands of the Macedonians; a charge which made such an impression on Darius, that he ordered him to be instantly bound, and delivered over to execution. Those who had instigated the king to this barbarous and unjust act, took care not to let him cool, but hurried the Athenian to death; as he passed to execution, he said aloud, "Darius will very soon repent his cruelty towards me, when by the loss of his kingdom he shall find with how much injustice he has taken away my life!" Indeed Darius repented in a few days; but, powerful as he was, he could not recall from death the man whom a hasty word had sent to an undeserved fate. He was forced, therefore, to take the counsel of his own subjects, and, pursuant to their advice, determined to march against Alexander with an army, which, as one of his predecessors emphatically said, had in it many men, and few soldiers.

When Alexander arrived at Gordium, and found himself under a necessity of remaining there some time, till the several corps of his army could unite, he expressed an earnest desire of seeing Gordius's chariot, and the famous knot in the harness, of which such strange stories had been published to the world. The cord in which this knot was tied, was composed of the inner rind of the cornel-tree, and no eye could perceive where it had been begun or ended. Alexander, when he could find no possible way of untying it, is said to have cut the cords with his sword, and to have affirmed, that the knot was untied.

Alexander unties the Gordian knot.

On his arrival at Ancyra, a city of Galatia, the province of Paphlagonia submitted to him, which he thereupon added to the government of Calas, proceeding instantly to reduce Cappadocia as far as the river Halys, and then marched on to possess himself of Cilicia. Here were three famous streights or passes: the first at its entrance called the Gate; the second called the Streights of Amanus; the third near the bay of Issus. It was the first of these which Alexander sought to surmount by a quick march, and which, when he came to the Camp of Cyrus, a place so called, because Cyrus the younger had once taken post there with his army, he had the mortification

His vigilance in entering Cilicia

* Diod. Sic. ubi supra. Curt. lib. iii. cap. 5.

to hear it had been seized by the Persian, who had sent a considerable body of troops to defend it. This intelligence did not hinder the king's pursuing his design, and marching in the first watch of the night with his horse and light-armed foot to the very mouth of the pass, in order to attack it as soon as the day broke. But the enemy spared him the trouble; for long before day, forgetting the importance of the place, they abandoned it, and sought their safety in flight; so that Alexander immediately took possession of it, and next day marched his whole army through, into Cilicia, without so much as a skirmish^u.

*His severe
sickness,
and won-
derful re-
covery.*

As soon as he entered the province, he received advice, that Artabanes, whom Darius had made governor of Tarsus, was about to abandon it, and that the inhabitants were very apprehensive he would plunder it before he withdrew. To prevent this pillage the king marched incessantly, and arrived just time enough to preserve the place: but his saving it had well nigh cost him his life; for either through the excessive fatigue of marching, as some say, or, as others relate, by his plunging when very hot into the river Cydnus, the waters of which, as it runs through thick shades, are exceedingly cold, he fell into such a distemper as threatened his immediate dissolution. His army in a moment lost their spirits; his generals, whom he often consulted, knew not what conduct to pursue; nay, his physicians were so affrighted, that the terror of his death hindered them from taking proper methods for preserving his life^w. Philip, the Acarnanian, alone preserved temper enough to examine the nature of the king's disease, the strongest symptom of which was a continual waking, which he promoted by the help of a draught to take off, and by composing his spirits to put him in a way of recovery. But while Philip was employed in preparing his medicine, the king received a letter from Parmenio, in which he was advised to be cautious of taking any thing from Philip, Darius having suborned him to take away his life. Having perused the letter, the king put it under his head; and when Philip brought him the potion, he took it out, and reached it to the physician, drinking the mixture with a steady and smiling look, while Philip read the letter. The composure of the man's countenance, and the answer he gave to the letter by exhorting the king to quiet his thoughts, and to dispose himself to rest, assuring him, that he would recover his

^u Arrian. lib. ii. cap. 4. Curt. lib. iii. cap. 9. ^w Arrian lib. ii. cap. 4. Curt. lib. iii. cap. 10.

health, if he pursued his directions, convinced Alexander of the falshood of the accusation. When, according to Philip's promise, the king began to recover his health, he not only testified an extraordinary gratitude towards the author of his cure; but also assured all who were about him, that he had the justest sense imaginable of their loyalty and affection to his person, notwithstanding any suggestions he might have received to their prejudice.

Immediately on his recovery, he dispatched Parmenio to seize the second streights, while he himself reduced such places in the neighbourhood as had not sought his protection. Being encamped at Soli, he received advice, that Fociemy and Asander had defeated the generals of Darius, and made great conquests on the Hellespont. This was very grateful intelligence, and Alexander caused very magnificent feasts and shows to be made in his camp on that account. A little after this incident he was informed, that Darius was advanced through Syria, within two days journey of the streights; upon which the king immediately marched towards him, and passing through the deserts, encamped near the city of Myriandrus. In the mean time Darius, led by his ill fate, had passed the streights of Amanus, and came down to Illus, where he put most of the Macedonians he found to the sword.

He passes by Darius.

Alexander was so much surprised, when he first received intelligence that Darius was behind him, that he could scarce believe it to be true, but when he was thoroughly satisfied of the fact, and that Darius had again passed the river Pinarus, he called a council of war, wherein, without asking any person's advice, he only told them, that he hoped they would remember their former actions; and that they, who were always conquerors, were about to fight people who were always defeated. He farther observed, that Darius seemed to be infatuated, since he had with such expedition quitted an open and champan country, where his numbers might have acted with advantage, to fight in a place enclosed, where the Macedonian phalanx might well be drawn up, and where his multitudes could only embarrass him in action. To these he added many other reflections on the ancient glory of the Greeks, and as ancient infamy of the Barbarians. When he had finished his oration, those who were present shook hands, and, commending the king's magnanimity, promised that they would do their duty. Alexander

Darius returns to meet him.

then made the necessary dispositions for repassing the mountains, posted guards where he found them necessary; then commanded his troops to refresh themselves, and to take their rest till morning 7.

Dispositions
of the
armies.

At break of day he began to repass the mountains, obliging his forces to move in close order, where the roads were narrow, and to extend themselves as they had more room; the right wing keeping always close to the mountain, and the left to the sea-shore. On the right was a battalion of heavy-armed troops, besides the targeteers under the commander of Nicanor, the son of Parmenio. Next these, extending to the phalanx, were the corps of Cœnus and Perdicas; and, on the left, the respective bodies commanded by Amyntas, Ptolemy, and Meleager. The foot appointed to support them were commanded by Craterus; but the whole left wing was committed to Parmenio, with strict orders not to decline from the sea-shore, lest the Persians should surround them. Darius ordered twenty thousand foot, and thirty thousand horse, to repass the river Pinaxus, finding that he already wanted room to draw up the rest. His first line consisted of thirty thousand Greek mercenaries, having on their right and left sixty thousand heavy-armed troops, being the utmost the ground would allow. On the left, towards the mountain, he posted twenty thousand men, which, from the hollow situation of the place, were brought quite behind Alexander's right wing. The rest of his troops were formed into close and useless lines behind the Greek mercenaries, to the number in all of six hundred thousand men. When this disposition was made, he suddenly recalled the horse who had passed the river, directing part of them to take post on his right against the Macedonians commanded by Parmenio; and the rest he ordered to the left, towards the mountain; but finding them unserviceable there, he sent the greatest part of them to the right, and then took upon himself, according to the custom of the Persian kings, the command of the main body. As soon as Alexander perceived that the weight of the Persian horse was disposed against his left wing, he detached the Thessalian cavalry thither, and supplied their place on the right with some brigades of horse from the van, and light-armed troops. He also made such dispositions that, notwithstanding the great advantage of the hollow way, the Persians could not surround

7 *Iidem* *ibid.*

him.

him. But as these precautions had much weakened the center of his army, he ordered those advanced posts on the enemy's left, of which he was most apprehensive, to be attacked at the very beginning of the night; and, when they were repulsed, he recalled as many troops as were necessary to strengthen his center.

When all things were in order, Alexander gave strict *Butle 2'*
to 400 command that his army should march very slowly. As for Darius, he kept his troops in their posts, and in some places threw up ramparts; whence the Macedonians rightly observed, that he thought himself already a prisoner. Alexander, at the head of the right wing, engaged first, and, without any difficulty, broke and defeated the left wing of Darius; but, endeavouring to pass the river after them, his troops in some measure losing their order, the Greek mercenaries fell upon them in flank, and made them fight, not only for victory, but for their lives. Ptolemy, the son of Seleucus, and a hundred and twenty Macedonians of some rank, were killed upon the spot. But the foot next to Alexander's right wing, coming in seasonably to its relief, fell upon the mercenaries in flank, amongst whom a dreadful carnage was made, they being, in a manner, surrounded by the horse and light-armed troops, which at first pursued the left wing, and the foot that had now passed the river. The Persian horse on the right still fought gallantly; but when they were informed of the rout of their left wing, of the destruction of the Greek mercenaries, and that Darius himself was fled, they began to break, and betake themselves to flight also. The Thessalian cavalry pursued them close; the narrow craggy roads incommoded them exceedingly, so that vast numbers of them perished. As for Darius, he fled, soon after the left wing was broken, in a chariot, with a few of his favourites: as far as the country was plain and open he escaped without difficulty; but, when the roads became rocky and narrow, he quitted it, and, mounting a horse, rode all night; his chariot, in which were his cloak and bow, fell into the hands of Alexander, who carried them to his camp (Z). The day after the battle

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Arrian. lib. ii. cap. 8, 9.

(Z) Diodorus informs us, that Alexander looked for Darius, and, as soon he discovered him, with his handful of guards attacked him, and the flower of the Persian army, which was about him; being as desirous of obtaining this victory by his personal valour, as of subduing the Persian empire

battle of Issus. Alexander went with Hephæstion to comfort the mother, wife, and daughters of Darius, who were taken prisoners. As the garb of Alexander and Hephæstion were much alike, Sisygambis, the mother of Darius, fell down at the feet of Hephæstion, supposing him to be the king, as being the taller; but when some of the attendants signified to her, by motions of their heads and hands, that she was mistaken, she immediately went and addressed herself to the king himself. He, seeing her in some confusion, took her by the hand, and raised her up, saying, "Do not be uneasy, mother; you were not in the wrong; for he too is Alexander."

The conduct of Alexander in reducing Cæleſyria.

Alexander made the best use of this signal victory, encouraging the provinces and petty princes in the neighbourhood to come and submit themselves voluntarily, treating all that did so, not as new and conquered, but as old and hereditary subjects, neither burdening them with soldiers, nor oppressing them with tribute. Menon, an

- Adrian. lib. iii. cap. 10, 11, 12.

pire by the courage of his soldiers. But when Osnabuc, the brother of Darius, saw Alexander's design, and how fiercely he sought to accomplish it, threw himself, with the horse who were about him, between his brother's chariot and the enemy, where an obstinate fight was maintained, till the dead bodies rose like an entrenchment about the chariot of Darius. Many of the Persian nobility were slain, and Alexander himself was wounded in the thigh. At last the horses in the chariot of Darius started, and became so unruly, that the king himself was forced to take the reins; the enemy, however, pressed so hard upon him, that he was constrained to call for another chariot, and mounted it in great danger. This was the beginning of the rout, which

soon after became general. According to this author the Persians lost an incredible number of horse and foot; the Macedonians only three hundred foot and a hundred and fifty horse. After the battle he tells us, that Alexander returned to Darius's tent, where he bathed, and was lodged with all the luxury and magnificence of a Persian prince. He gives us also the story of Alexander's visit to Sisygambis, with this addition, that the king called to him the little son of Darius, and kissed him. The boy coming readily, and shewing no sort of terror, the king, turning to Hephæstion, said, "This boy of ten years old hath a noble countenance, a high spirit, and is more worthy of esteem than his father (1)."

(1) Diod. Sic. lib. xvii.

ancient officer of his, he appointed governor of Cœlesyria^a and assigned him such a body of horse as he judged necessary for the safety of the province. The Persians had, all this time, a great fleet at sea, to which most of the little princes on the maritime coasts had been forced to join all the ships they could furnish, rather out of fear, than any inclination they had to concern themselves in the present dispute about the dominion of Asia, which, however it ended, they knew would leave them tributaries and dependents. Strato, the son of Gerostitus, king of Arados, and the neighbouring isles, took this opportunity of making peace for his father's subjects, who were in the utmost danger; their king, with all their naval force, having failed to join the Persian fleet. Strato prevented Alexander's march towards the territories he held on the continent, by going to his head-quarters, where, presenting him with a crown of gold, he submitted himself, and all his dominions, to his pleasure, whereby Alexander gained all he desired, viz. glory and power; and Strato lost nothing, but, on the contrary, prevented the Macedonian's entering his land in a hostile manner.

Among other places subject to Gerostitus was Marathus, a city on the continent, very considerable in respect of its extent, wealth, and beauty; thither, for the sake of better accommodation, Alexander marched, and remained a considerable time, while he debated in his council on the proper means for establishing the tranquillity of his new-acquired dominions, and for carrying on the war against Persia. After that pause, since he had a little recovery of his astonishment, he collected, as well as he could, the scattered remains of his army, and retired with them beyond the river Euphrates; from thence he wrote to Alexander at Marathus, and sent also ambassadors, intreating him to set at liberty his mother, wife, and children. In his letter he expostulated on the injustice of the war commenced against him: he alleged, that neither he, nor any of his predecessors, had ever injured the Macedonians; that Philip had invaded them without any declaration of war; and that Alexander had prosecuted the invasion without signifying what grievances he had sustained, or what satisfaction he expected; that, as to the end of the war, Providence would determine; but that, in the interim, he, who was still a king, requested of Alexander as a king also, that he would restore to him his mother, wife, and children, and name plenipotentiaries to treat of peace.

Ambassadors sent from Darius to intreat the liberty of his mother, wife, and children.

Alexander sent back the ambassadors, and with them Therisippus, charged with a letter to Darius, the contents of which we have given elsewhere ^b.

*Alexander
uses the
Greek am-
bassadors to
Darius
with much
moderation.*

Parthenio, according to the instructions he had received, possessed himself entirely of the treasure, equipage, baggage, and whatever else Darius had left at Damascus, under the command of Cophanes; all which, by the express direction of the king, he carried back to the same city. Amongst other prisoners were the Greek ambassadors sent from Sparta, Athens, and Thebes, to negotiate with Darius the raising a contribution, which might oblige Alexander to return home. These, by command of the king, were sent to him as traitors. As for the two Theban ambassadors, Alexander said, as he had left them no city in Greece, they had some reason for what they did; and therefore Iphicrates, being of a noble family, and Dionysodorus having been victor in the Olympic games, he, partly out of compassion to their country, and partly out of respect to themselves, set them at liberty. When he knew that the Athenian ambassador was Iphicrates, the son of Iphicrates, the famous general, he said, his family were under too many obligations to his father for his son to suffer any thing from his hands; and therefore he not only dismissed him, but treated him with great kindness. As for Euthycles, the Laedæmonian, he would hear nothing, either in favour of him or his country, but ordered him to remain in custody; though afterwards, when affairs were better settled, he dismissed him in safety ^c.

*The Tyri-
ans refuse
to admit
Alexander.*

Tyre was in the number of those places which, after the battle of Issus, sent deputies to submit to the conqueror; the king, whose name was Azelmicus, was absent in the Persian fleet; but his son was of the number of the deputies, and Alexander received him as favourably as he had received those who came from Byblus on the same errand. It is possible the king intended to honour Tyre farther; for he acquainted the citizens, that he would come and sacrifice to the Tyrian Hercules, the patron of their city, to whom they had erected a most magnificent temple. But these people, like most other trading nations, were too suspicious to think of admitting so enterprising a prince, with his troops, within their walls. They, therefore, sent their deputies again, to inform him, that they were ready to do whatever he should command them; but as to his coming and sacrificing in their

^b See Hist. of the Persians.
^c lib. iv. cap. 7.

^c Arrian. lib. ii. cap. 15. Curt

city, they were positively determined not to receive so much as one Macedonian within their gates. Alexander immediately dismissed their deputies in great displeasure. He then assembled a council of war, wherein he insisted strongly on the disaffected state of Greece, the power of the Persians at sea, and the folly of carrying on the war in distant provinces, while Tyre was left unreduced behind them; he also remarked, that if this city was once subdued, the sovereignty of the sea would be immediately transferred to them, because it would confirm their possession of the coast; and, as the Persian fleet was composed chiefly of tributary squadrons, their tributaries would fight the battles, not of their late, but of their present masters. These reasons having persuaded the council to concur with him, the siege was immediately resolved on. But of this siege, the gallant behaviour both of the Tyrians and Macedonians, the storming of the place, and the hard treatment the inhabitants met with at the hands of Alexander, we have related at length in the history of Tyre, to which we refer the reader. While he was employed in this long siege, ambassadors came again from Darius with new proposals, which were likewise rejected, as we have related at length in the history of Persia (A).

The siege of that city resolved on.

Tyre being subdued, Alexander, notwithstanding the advanced season of the year, resolved to make an expedition into Syria; and, in his way thither, purposed to chastise the Jews, who had highly offended him during the siege of Tyre; for, when he sent to demand of them provisions for the subsistence of his soldiers, they answered, that they were subjects of Darius, bound by oath not to supply his enemies. When these people knew of the king's march toward them, they were under the greatest terror, and, as their last resource, had betaken themselves to solemn acts of devotion, to prayers, processions, and particular fasts, till at length they declared God was pleased to answer their petitions, by commanding Jaddua, the high-priest, in a vision, to array himself in his pontifical habit, to direct the priests to put on their proper garments, and, with the people, clothed in white, advance in slow and solemn order to meet the Grecian prince. Jaddua and the rest performed the divine injunction, and, issuing out at the gates of Jerusalem, advanced as far as Sapha, an

He marches to Jerusalem, and treats the high priest with civility.

(A) Those who want to know the omens that preceded, and the circumstances that at-

tended this siege, may consult Diodorus Siculus, lib. xxvii. and Quintus Curtius, lib. iv.

eminence at a small distance from the city, whence, as soon as Alexander's approach was discerned, they went to meet him. The king, when the high-priest drew near, hastened towards him, bowed himself, and saluted him with religious veneration. He declared, that when he was at Diium in Macedonia, he had a dream, wherein he saw this very person in his pontifical habit, who commanded him to lay aside all doubts and fears, and pass boldly into Asia; for that God would be his guide, and give him the empire of the Persians. He afterwards accompanied Jaddua to Jerusalem, which he entered in a friendly manner, and offered sacrifices in the temple: the high-priest shewed him the prophecies of Daniel, wherein the destruction of the Persian empire by himself is predicted, not in dark obscure terms, in equivocal or unintelligible verses, but graphically, as if the prophet had seen the whole transaction. The king went away extremely well satisfied, and, at his departure, asked if there was nothing in which he might gratify himself or his people. Jaddua then told him, that, according to the Mosaic law, they neither sowed nor plowed on the seventh year; therefore would shew him a high favour, if the king would be pleased to remit their tribute in that year. To this request the king readily yielded; and, having confirmed them in the enjoyment of all their privileges, particularly that of living under, and according to, their own laws, he departed. In his march, the Samaritans, who, on the refusal of the Jews, had furnished him with provisions before Tyre, applied themselves to him, in hopes of procuring from him still greater favours than the Jews had obtained; but though Alexander received them civilly, and afforded them a patient hearing of their requests, yet he dismissed them with an unavailing answer, that he had now many great affairs upon his hands; but that, when he should return from his Egyptian expedition, he would examine into, and, provided they were reasonable, comply with their demands. Having thus removed all difficulties so far, he advanced towards Gaza, the only place in this part of the world which was still held for Darius ^d (B).

^d Joseph. Antiq. Jud. lib. xi.

(B) This account is generally considered as anarrant fable, taken by Josephus, on trust, from tradition, or some Jewish writer; for it is en-

cumbered with some palpable fallacies; and he has not here produced his voucher, as he does on all other occasions.

Gaza was a very large and strong city, seated about five miles from the sea-shore, on a high hill, surrounded with strong walls. One Baris or Beti, an eunuch, had the government of the city committed to him by Darius; who, foreseeing what would happen, took care to provide all things necessary for a long and obstinate defence, causing all the fortifications to be repaired, and the magazines to be well furnished; and, fearing his garrison might be too small, he hired certain Arabian troops to serve in the place. When Alexander summoned him to surrender, Betis returned a resolute answer, that he would defend it as long as he was able. Many of the council, looking on the place as impregnable, dissuaded him from undertaking the siege; but he was not easily diverted from any thing he had once resolved on: Gaza therefore was instantly invested. Where he thought the wall were weakest, he caused a mount to be thrown up, and from thence brought his engines to play upon the city. At the beginning of this siege a very extraordinary accident happened: the king being about to sacrifice, and having a crown of gold on his head, a bird of prey, hovering some time over him, let fall at last a stone from between his claws upon his head; and soon after flying to the engine, was there taken, his feet being entangled in the nets, which covered the ropes wherewith they were worked. Aristander was immediately consulted; and his answer was, that the city would certainly be taken; but at the same time he cautioned the king not to be so adventurous, as he commonly was, for some great danger was threatened to himself. The king accepted this advice very kindly, and did not expose himself for some time; but, one day, when the Arabians in a furious sally, set fire to his engines, and had nearly driven the troops from the mount, he forgot the caution he had received, and, advancing with a body of targeteers, regained the post which had been lost, and drove the enemy into the place. But, in the heat of the engagement, he was wounded by an arrow, which, piercing his shield and breast-plate, lodged in his shoulder. Far from being concerned at this accident, he expressed no small satisfaction; for, one part of the prediction being fulfilled, he questioned not but the other would be accomplished. As soon as the great engines he had made use of at Tyre arrived by sea, he carried his works quite round the city, and battered the walls in several places at once. In the mean time, where the battering engines were not at work, he employed miners, who working secretly under

Gaza besieged.

Alexander wounded.

*The town
taken by
storm.*

der the foundation of the walls, they suddenly fell down, to the great surprize of the citizens. When through these several methods a breach was practicable, three several attacks were made by the Macedonians with much resolution, in which, notwithstanding, they were repulsed with great effusion of blood. In the fourth the citizens had not such fortune; for the place was taken by storm, and they, valiantly fighting, were slain to a man^e. These obstacles being removed, and a garrison left in Gaza, there was nothing now to hinder his so earnestly desired expedition into Egypt.

*The state of
Egypt at
that time.*

As soon as his soldiers had refreshed themselves, and he had received a body of recruits from Greece, Alexander marched from Gaza, and, in the space of seven days, reached Pelusium. Here he found no resistance; for Mazaces, the Persian governor, was able to make none^f. He was dispirited by the continual misfortunes which had befallen his master's arms; he had a very indifferent army; and, which was still worse, he had the hearts of the most numerous nation in the world against him (C). Mazaces therefore, reflecting on all these things, and terrified perhaps by the examples of Tyre and Gaza, determined to admit Alexander peaceably. The king, having entered so easily, sailed up the Nile, after having left a garrison in Pelusium: then he landed, and leaving the river on his right-hand, marched through the deserts to Heliopolis; afterwards crossing the river, he arrived at Memphis, where he offered pompous sacrifices, not only to the Grecian gods, but also to the Egyptian Apis.

*Alexander
admitted
peaceably.*

^e Arrian. lib. ii. cap. ult.

^f Arrian. lib. iii. cap. 1. Plut. in Vit. Alex. Curt. lib. iv. cap. 27.

(C) It will afford much help to the subsequent narration, and yet take up very little room, to set this matter in a proper light. Most of the provinces of the Persian empire shewed a great deal of loyalty to Darius; but Egypt, as it had never been faithful to any of his predecessors, so it was now very impatient of throwing off his yoke, without regarding what other yoke it put on. The chief reason of this animosity was the great diversity between the religion of the Persians and that of the Egypt-

tians. Not only Cambyfes, who was a tyrant, but Ochus, who was a voluptuous prince, had slain their consecrated Apis, and profaned the most sacred rites of their religion. The Persian governors, and their under-officers, adopted the same humour; and thus the whole body of the people were exasperated in the highest degree against the government they should have defended, from principles, which, of all others, make men the most furious, viz. those of religion.

From Memphis he sailed down the river to the sea: *Fixes on a place for building a city.* having passed round the city Canopus, he fixed on the place where the village of Scandia or Alexandretta now stands, as a convenient situation for a fine port, and magnificent city. Alexander directed where every public structure should be erected. He also fixed the number of temples, the deities to whom they should be dedicated, and assigned particularly a large and eminent site for a temple to the Egyptian Isis. There was nothing now wanting but to trace, according to the custom of those times, the walls of the city: for this purpose, they had no materials at hand, this design of building a city being sudden: however, a workman advised the king to collect what meal there was among the soldiers, and to sift it in lines upon the ground, whereby the circuit of the walls would be sufficiently marked out (D). Alexander followed this advice, which answered the purpose; and Aristander, having considered it attentively, told the king, that it was an omen of the new city's abounding with all the necessaries of life. Some say, that the bounds were no sooner marked out, than great numbers of birds came and pecked up the meal, and then flew away. When the rest of the soothsayers deemed this circumstance an ill omen, Aristander alone held it to be good, affirming its meaning to be, that the city built in that place should become so populous as to send out colonies, as they had

§ Arrian. lib. iii. cap. 1, 2.

(D) We follow the authority of Arrian in placing Alexander's directing the building of the city honoured with his name before he went to visit the oracle of Jupiter Ammon; Diodorus and other authors placing it afterwards, alleging, that it so happened. The last mentioned historian says, that it was seated very commodiously by the haven of Pharos; that the streets were wisely contrived, so as to admit the cooling breezes, which might refresh the air. In point of strength, he ordered a broad and high wall to be drawn round it, so as to have the sea close on one side, a great lake on the other, and a narrow pass at each end. Its form resembled that of a soldier's coat. One large beautiful street passed from gate to gate, being in breadth a hundred feet, in length forty furlongs, or five miles. It became in after-ages so rich and famous, that, our author tells us, in his time there were on its rolls three hundred thousand freemen (1).

(1) Diod. lib. xvii.

seen birds feed and rise from it^b. He was certainly an excellent servant to his master, for he was never at a loss either for expedients or expositions, and perhaps digressed as little from the rules of his art as any of his contemporaries.

Alexander visits the temple of Jupiter Ammon.

At this time Alexander formed his extraordinary design of visiting the temple of Jupiter Ammon. As to the motives which induced him thereto, authors disagree (E); but whatever they were, certain it is, that he hazarded himself and his troops in the highest degree, there being two dangers in this march, which, with the example of Cambyles, who lost the greatest part of his army in it, might have terrified any prince but Alexander. The first was the want of water, which, in the sandy deserts surrounding the temple, is no where found; the other, the uncertainty of the road from the fluctuation of the sands, which, changing their situation every moment, leave the traveller neither track to march in, nor mark to march by. From these impending perils, all authors agree that Alexander was miraculously delivered; for, when the water brought on camels backs was exhausted, there fell a prodigious shower of rain, wherewith they filled all their vessels; and, when their guides could not distinguish the road, they were directed by supernatural harbingers; though, as to this circumstance, authors do not agree (F).

At

^b Curt. lib. iv. cap. 32. Diod. ubi supra.

(T) Arrian tells us, that they were chiefly founded in the imitation of Perseus and Hercules, the former of whom had consulted that oracle, when he was dispatched against the Gorgon; and the latter twice, viz. when he went into Libya against Antaeus, and when he passed into Egypt against Bustis. Now as these heroes, viz. Perseus and Hercules, pretended to be the sons of the Grecian Jupiter, so the Macedonian prince was disposed to take for his father Jupiter Ammon.

(I) Ptolemy, the son of Lysimachus, affirmed they were two monstrous dragons, which went

with a mighty noise before them, Alexander giving strict orders to his officers to follow these leaders. But Antiochus, together with the current or historians, asserts, that they were led by crows, which, as often as they deviated from the way, by their creaking and fluttering set them right. We are told by modern travellers, that the caravans in passing the desert, are still attended by a great number of birds that creak, and scream, and flutter about with great eagerness, the reason of which is this, at a certain part of the desert, are wells of a poisonous cypress, which have been dug in all probability

At length Alexander arrived at the temple of Ammon, seated in the midst of a barren thirfty waste, in a narrow spot of ground, the utmost extent of which exceeds not forty furlongs, curiously planted with olive and palm-trees, and watered with dews, which fall no where else in that region. A fountain also has its rise here, different in its nature and properties from all the fountains upon earth; for at mid-day it is cool to the taste, but to the touch intensely cold; towards evening it begins to be warm, which warmth increases by degrees from thence till midnight; after midnight it waxes cool by degrees; in the morning it is chilly, at noon again excessive cold; and it undergoes all these various alterations regularly every day. This country naturally produces a kind of fossile salt, which, being put into little boxes of palm-tye, some of the priests of Ammon carry into Egypt, and bestow on the king, or some great men, as a present. It is dug out of the earth in large oblong pieces, some above three fingers in length, transparent like crystal. This kind of salt the Egyptians, and other nations who are curious in their worship, use in their sacrifices, it being much purer than that produced from sea-water. Arrian tells us, that Alexander himself consulted the oracle, and was well satisfied with its answer; but as to what he consulted it upon, or what the answer was that he received, that author is silent.

Here he consults the oracle.

Alexander, on his return to Memphis, received ambassadors, with congratulations from most of the states of Greece, as also recruits both of horse and foot; all which were very acceptable to him, as he testified by his kind reception of every person, by his making great feasts, and exhibiting pompous shows. These solemnities being finished, he began to think of settling the province, and of resuming the prosecution of the war. As he intended the Egyptians should live under their own laws, he made choice of Doloaspis and Petisis, eminent men of that country, to be joint presidents of the province; but Petisis desiring to be excused from such a burden, Doloaspis was made sole president. Into all the places of strength, however, he put garrisons; and those garrisons were un-

He settles the government of Egypt.

hability in the time of the old patriarchs. As the water is so low that the birds cannot reach it, they by a sure instinct wait for, and accompany the caravans, that they may partake of the water which they draw for the use of themselves and their cattle.

der the command of officers in whom he could confide. These regulations took up a considerable time, so that the winter was spent before all things were completed; and then Alexander made the necessary dispositions for marching with his army into Phœnicia, that he might open the campaign in good timeⁱ.

*Samaritans
punished.*

Tyre was the place appointed for the general rendezvous of the forces, and thither Alexander with all convenient speed directed his march. In the way he received an account of a very unhappy accident, which gave him much concern. Andromachus, a great favourite of his, and a deserving man, had been appointed superintendant of Syria and Palestine. This officer, going to Samaria to collect the tribute, was not only opposed in the execution of his office; but a tumult suddenly arising, the people set fire to the house wherein he lodged, and burnt him and his retinue. To avenge so horrid an outrage, the king ordered strict enquiry to be made after the murderers, directing, that all who were any way concerned should, without mercy, be put to death: but this was not all; he established a colony of Macedonians in their city, and gave part of its territories to the Jews. Such of the Samaritans as escaped this slaughter, repaired to Sechem, their capital. From this atrocious fact Alexander took such a distaste to this people, that he dismissed eight thousand of them who had served in his troops ever since the siege of Tyre, sending them as far as the Upper Egypt, where he commanded they should have certain lands divided amongst them^k.

When he arrived at Tyre, he met with Athenian ambassadors, who came to renew the request formerly made him to pardon such of their citizens as he had found serving the enemy. The king, desirous to oblige so famous a state, yielded to their request, and sent also a fleet to the coast of Greece, to prevent the effects of some commotions which had lately happened in Peloponnesus. These, with some private affairs, being once settled, he directed his march to Thapsacus, a city on the Euphrates. There he found a broken bridge, which Darius had made use of in his flight, after the battle of Issus; as also a great body of horse, under the command of Mazæus, who had orders to obstruct his passage; but Mazæus, either from a notion of policy, or through downright cow-

ⁱ Arrian. lib. iii. cap. 5.

^k Joseph. Antiq. Jud. lib. xi.

ardice, having burnt the country, slighted the post, and retired; so that the king, having repaired the broken bridge, passed the Euphrates, and prosecuted his march in quest of Darius. A little before this period, Statira, the Persian monarch's wife, dying in child-bed, Alexander caused her to be buried at a prodigious expence. He had been so cautious of injuring either her reputation or his own, as not only to forbear seeing her, but also forbid the commending her beauty in his presence. Tyræus, an eunuch, who attended on her person, escaped, and carried the tidings of his queen's death to Darius, who was extremely moved at the news, and no less affected at the recital of the honours paid her by Alexander when living, and the mighty respect shewn her at her death; which, on account of the youth of Alexander, he attributed in his mind to some sinister cause; but when the eunuch, with the most solemn asseverations, had convinced him, that there was not the least colour for his suspicions, he, in a transport of gratitude, prayed to God to restore the kingdom of Persia to its ancient glory, that he might thereby be enabled to make proper acknowledgement to Alexander; or, if its fatal period was come, he prayed, that this generous victor might sit next on the throne of Cyrus¹.

Queen Statira dies.

The Macedonians, passing the Euphrates, marched through Mesopotamia, having the river on the left, by an indirect road, which they took to avoid defiles, and in order the more easily to procure provisions. Darius, informed of this march, detached Satropates and Mazæus to prevent their passing the Tigris: but Alexander had passed the river before they arrived, though not without great difficulty. The army was so much fatigued with the passage, that he was forced to let them rest two days^m, during which, they were greatly alarmed by an eclipse of the moon; but their hopes and courage being revived, they pursued their march in quest of the enemy. Alexander chose a strong camp within about fifteen miles of the Persian quarters, where he left his baggage, with his sick and wounded soldiers, and with the rest marched on till he was within sight of the enemyⁿ.

Alexander passes the Euphrates and Tigris.

The powerful army of Darius continued all night under arms. Their king, it seems, was apprehensive that Alexander would attack him in the night, which was the reason that he kept his troops upon so hard a duty. They

Yr. of Fl. 3017. Ante Chr. 331.

The battle of Gaugamela.

¹ Diod. ubi supra. Plut. in Vit. Alex.
ⁿ Arrian. lib. iii. cap. 8.

^m Arrian. lib. iii.
were

*The Persian
army, how
drawn up.*

*And the
Macedo-
nian.*

were drawn up in very exact order, as appeared by many memons of their disposition, which, after the battle, were found in their camp, and which doubtless had been distributed to their principal officers, to prevent confusion and mistakes. Darius himself was in the main body, surrounded by his relations, some choice troops of horse, besides chariots and elephants; and round all these were posted the Greek mercenaries, on whose courage and skill he chiefly depended. When Alexander advanced to the engagement, his right wing was composed of his royal brigade of horse, commanded by Clytus, of several other corps of cavalry, besides a large body of auxiliary horse, under Philotas, the son of Parmenio. The first line of the phalanx which joined these was led by Nicanor, the son of Parmenio. The next by Cenus, the son of Polemocrates. The third corps was under Perdicas. The fourth was given to Meleager. The fifth to Polysperchon. The last was the battalion of Amyntas, commanded by his brother Simmias, Amyntas being gone into Macedonia to raise recruits. On the left were the troops commanded by Craterus, consisting of several battalions of foot; a body of auxiliary horse, headed by Brigyus; the Thessalian horse by Philip. The whole wing was commanded by Parmenio. This was the disposition of the middle line of the army; for before both wings and the centre there were light-armed troops, and behind each division of the army there was a corps of reserve. To the battalions of foot that composed these, Alexander gave orders, that they should bear their spears so as to face about immediately, in case the enemy should surround any part of his army. He likewise ordered, that they should open whenever the armed chariot were driven upon them, so as to give them a clear passage; which dispositions and directions proved of the highest consequence. The forces he brought on this occasion into the field are computed by Arrian at seven thousand horse, and forty thousand foot.

*The two
armies
engaged.*

Alexander's right wing charged the Scythian cavalry, who, as they were well armed, and robust men, behaved at the beginning very well, making a vigorous resistance; and, that this might answer more effectually, the chariots placed upon the left wing bore down upon the Macedonians. Their appearance was very terrible, and threatened total destruction; but Alexander's light-armed troops, by their darts, arrows, and stones, killed many of the drivers, and more of the horses, so that few reached the

the Macedonian line; which opening, as Alexander had directed, they only passed through, and were then either taken or disabled by his bodies of reserve. The horse continued still engaged; and before any thing decisive happened, the Persian foot near their left wing began to move, in hopes of falling on the flank of the Macedonian right wing, or of penetrating so far as to divide it from its centre. Alexander perceiving this motion, sent Arctas with a corps to engage them, and thereby compel them to keep their posts. In the mean time he remained where he was, and, prosecuting his first design, broke their left wing, and pursued it till it was totally routed. He then charged the Persian foot in flank; and they, being intimidated, made but a feeble resistance. Darius, perceiving this disaster, gave up all for lost, and fled. Then the Macedonians, following their victorious march, made a vigorous pursuit. The battalion commanded by Simamis only did not stir, that officer being informed, that not only the left wing was in great danger, but that a great body of Persian and Indian foot, taking the advantage of the king's absence, had penetrated through the centre, and were fallen upon the Macedonian baggage. This misfortune was quickly relieved by another, the Barbarian prisoners mutinied, and attacked the Macedonians in their camp; but the corps of reserve facing about, and being supported by Simamis's battalion, the Persians, after a smart engagement, were routed, and great numbers slain.

Parmenio, on the left wing, in the mean time, was almost surrounded. The cavalry on the right of the Persians being excellent as well as very numerous, in all probability the Macedonians, notwithstanding their courage, and military skill, would have been overcome at last, and totally destroyed, if Alexander, on the first intelligence of this misfortune, had not immediately returned from the pursuit, and charged the enemy in flank. At least; yet they fled not then, but, facing about, continued to defend themselves against Alexander, and pressed hard upon Parmenio at the same time. Hephæstion, Crenus, and Monidas, were wounded in this conflict, which was very long and bloody, but ended at last in the total defeat of the Persians. Alexander continued the pursuit of Darius about ten miles, and then, passing the river Lycus, encamped, that the soldiers might take some repose. Parmenio, in the mean time, and the troops under his command, secured the enemy's tents, baggage, elephants, and

*Parmenio
in great
danger.*

and camels. Such was the end of this battle of Arbela, which decided the fate of Asia^o.

Alexander enters Babylon.

Alexander receiving certain intelligence, that Darius was retired into Media, thought it at that time unnecessary, and indeed impracticable, to follow him; but determined to march directly to Babylon; a design which he executed accordingly. On his approach Mazæus, governor of the place, marched out to meet him, and delivered the city into the conqueror's hands^p. The Babylonians were very glad of this revolution, and therefore with great joy came out to meet Alexander, with presents of immense value (G).

The conduct of Antipater in Greece.

It is now time for us to turn our eyes a little towards Greece; for though the main hopes of the Macedonians followed their royal leader through the great continent of Asia, yet were they not inattentive to their interests in Europe, where several attempts were made to lessen their

^o Arrian lib. vi. cap. 13, 14, 15. Diod. ubi supra. Curt. lib. iv. cap. 46 & seq. ^p Arrian. Proo. Curt. ubi supra.

(G) The joy of the Persians proceeded from their excessive hatred of the Persian, and that excessive hatred took birth from their principles of religion; for the Persians, being deists, had pulled down all their temples, and in every other respect hated that propensity to idolatry which was so extravagantly prevalent in this nation. Alexander, on the other hand, answered all their expectations; for he immediately commanded, that every one of their temples should be rebuilt, particularly the famous temple of Belus. He sent also for their priests, conversed with them, and left to their care the decree he had made in favour of their religion (1). He offered sacrifices himself to Belus; left Mazæus in possession of the government; but removed Bagophanes, who had

put the citadel and the royal treasures into his hands; yet he entertained him in his court, and treated him with marks of confidence and esteem (2). As he was a prince of great learning, he enquired after the memoirs of the astronomical observations which were said to have been made in that city for a long tract of time, and he caused the best account that could be got of them to be transmitted to his tutor Aristotle; so desirous was he, that the republic of letters should reap some advantage from his labours and victories (3). On the whole, however, his stay at Babylon proved extremely pernicious; for he and his officers began there first to taste of luxury, and to relish that magnificence and delicacy which had enervated and destroyed the Persians.

(1) Diod. ubi supra.

(2) Arrian, lib. iii. cap. 16.

(3) Porphyry. ap. Simplic. lib. ii. de Cælo.

power. While Memnon lived, the Persians were not only lords of the sea in name, but in reality also. He retook many of the islands which had fallen under the power of Alexander; he sent ships of war to cruise on the coasts of Macedonia; and, if he lived, he would have made a descent on Eubœa, where he certainly would have been joined by a great number of the Greeks. After his death, affairs languished till the battle of Issus, when new efforts were made to excite troubles in Greece. These however were rendered abortive by Antipater, who kept such a fleet at sea, and made such dispositions of his land-forces, as rendered it unsafe for any of the Greek states to declare against his master^q. However, when advice arrived of this last victory, these smothered dissensions broke out into an open flame. The Greeks in general began to be afraid, that if they made no attempt before the Persian empire was absolutely destroyed, all they could do afterwards would be to no purpose. As soon therefore as they understood that Memnon, governor of Thrace, had rebelled, and that Antipater was making great preparations to march against him, they took arms. Agis, king of Lacedæmon, being declared their general. Antipater, being informed of this incident, immediately drew together an army, and having composed matters in Thrace, marched into Greece. It was not long before the armies met; that of Agis consisted of twenty-two thousand foot, and two thousand horse; Antipater had about forty thousand men; for when he came with a well-disciplined army out of Macedonia, many of the Greeks joined him out of fear, who would otherwise have been neuter, or have fought on the other side. The engagement that ensued was very obstinate and bloody; but at last Agis was killed, and the army he commanded routed, with the loss of five thousand three hundred men. Antipater himself lost three thousand five hundred; but the action put an end to the war; for the Greeks seeing the fatal issue of this business, and that the Athenians sided with the conqueror, were constrained to suppress their resentment, and implore mercy^r. Such was the state of Greece.

Alexander having staid thirty days at Babylon, continued his march to Susa, which had been already surrendered into the hands of Philoxenes. Here the king received the treasures of Darius, as we have related in the history of

Alexander takes possession of Susa.

^q Arrian. lib. ii. Diodor. ubi supra. Plut. in Vit. Demost.
^r Diodor. ubi supra.

Persia (H). About this time arrived the recruits under the command of Amyntas. They consisted of five hundred horse, and six thousand foot, all Macedonians; six hundred Thracian horse, and three thousand five hundred Trallian infantry; about a thousand horse, and four thousand foot, from Peloponnesus; in all, about two thousand horse, and thirteen thousand five hundred foot. These he incorporated into his veteran army, without forming any new corps.

*He reduces
the Uxians.*

At last he thought of prosecuting the war. Moving from Susa, he passed the Pasitigris, and entered the country of the Uxians, where he met with a vigorous opposition from Madates, whom nevertheless he received into favour, at the request of Sisygambis¹.

*He forces a
passage to
Persepolis.*

Alexander having chastised the Uxians, ordered Parmenio to proceed with the Thessalian horse, the royal brigade, and the mercenary foot, with the carriages and baggage, through the ordinary open road, against the enemy. In the mean time, he with the Macedonian infantry, the light-armed troops, and a body of horse and archers, marched over the mountains to the Persian streights. These he found effectually fortified with a strong wall, flanked with towers, and Ariobarzanes with an army of forty thousand foot, and seven thousand horse, posted behind to dispute his passage. The king trusting to his usual fortune, immediately stormed the wall; but after a long and bloody conflict, in which he lost abundance of men, he was forced to sound a retreat, having been able to effect nothing². He then began to enquire for some other passage, and found a man who had been formerly a prisoner, his father a Lycian, his mother a Persian, so that he spoke both tongues; this man told him,

¹ Arrian lib. iii. cap. 17. Diod. ubi supra.
lib. iii. cap. 18.

² Arrian.

(H) Authors vary a little as to the treasure which Alexander seized at Susa. Arrian says it was fifty thousand talents; with him Curtius agrees (4). Diodorus Siculus says there were forty thousand talents in bullion, and nine thousand coined. Plutarch says, there was purple to the value of five thou-

sand talents, which was steeb and lively, though it had been laid up a hundred and ninety years. He says too, on the authority of Dionon, that vessels filled with water from the Nile and Danube were set in this treasury, as monument of the mighty extent of the Persian empire (5).

(4) Curt. lib. v. cap. 2.

(5) Plut. in Vit.

that,

that, having long kept sheep on these mountains, he could lead him to another pass, but that in truth it was difficult of access. Alexander immediately left Craterus in his camp, with orders to scale the wall, when he should perceive he had passed the other streights, and was about to attack the Persian camp". Then following his Lycian guide, he marched that night a hundred furlongs, and by an intricate road arrived at last at the streights. Though he had a river to pass, he advanced so speedily, that by day-break he surprised the first guards, whom he cut to pieces. The same success he had in the enemy's second post; so that Ariobarzanes received no intelligence of his passage, till Alexander beat up his quarters. Craterus, as soon as he heard the trumpet sound, attacked the wall; and this double assault so distracted the Persians, that they would have fled, but it was impossible. Ptolemy seized the wall with three thousand foot. Alexander charged them before, Craterus pressed behind; when they fled to the wall, Ptolemy drove them back. Thus distressed, they knew not how to act, and the greatest part of them were put to the sword. Ariobarzanes himself, with a few horse, escaped to the mountains.

Alexander then returning in haste to the river, strengthened the slight bridge he had thrown over it, and passed over all his army; then by long marches he advanced towards the capital of Persia. At Pasargadae he seized the treasures of Cyrus, and appointed Phraortes governor of Persia.

Arrives at that city.

He arrived at last at Persepolis, and meeting with no opposition, made war on the royal palace. Under colour of revenging what Xerxes had done at Athens, he barbarously destroyed the most magnificent pile that this, or perhaps any other, part of the world could exhibit. Parmenio, the friend of Philip, a man of moderate counsels, interposed, but without effect. In vain he represented to Alexander, that the destruction of this noble palace would make him appear a Barbarian to the Asiatics, and put them in doubt whether he intended to keep Asia, or only to plunder it; and that, besides, it was no revenge upon the Persians to raze what was no longer theirs, but his". The king was positive, as indeed he generally was; the city of Persepolis was given up to the plunder of the soldiers, and then the palace set on fire, and destroyed.

Destroys the royal palace;

and plunders the city.

" Diod. ubi supra. Plut. in Vit. Alex. cap. 18.

" Arrian lib. iii.

In the palace, Alexander seized for his own use a hundred and twenty thousand talents, which he immediately ordered to be transported on mules and camels; for, he had such an extreme aversion to the inhabitants of Persepolis, even to the miserable remains of them, that he would leave nothing valuable in their possession. What authors have delivered concerning the city and palace of Persepolis, and the destruction of both, we have related at length in the history of Persia, to which we refer the reader.

*Alexander
follows
Darius.*

While Alexander continued at Persepolis, he received advice that Darius remained still at Ecbatana, in Media. In consequence of this intelligence he pursued him in a most precipitate manner: in twelve days he entered Media, moving near forty miles a day; in three more he reached Ecbatana, where he was informed, that Darius had retired from thence five days before, with an intent to pass into the most remote provinces of his empire. This intelligence put some stop to his rapid progress; and perceiving that there was no necessity for thus hurrying himself and his soldiers, he began to give such orders as were necessary in the present situation of affairs. The Thessalian horse, who had deserved so well of him in all his battles, he dismissed according to his agreement; gave them their whole pay, and ordered two thousand talents over and above to be distributed among them. He then declared that he would force no man; but if any were willing to serve him longer for pay, he desired that they would enter their names in a roll; a proposal which a great part of them embraced; the rest sold their horses, and prepared for their departure. The king named Epocillus to conduct them to the sea, and assigned him a body of horse as an escort; he likewise sent Menetes with them to take care of their embarkation, and that they should be safely landed in Eubœa, without any expense to themselves. Parmenio he directed to see all the several sums of money, which had been collected throughout Persia, delivered to his treasurer Harpalus, at the castle of Ecbatana, to whom he assigned a guard of six thousand Macedonian foot, and a considerable corps of horse.

*The affairs
of Greece.*

About this time he received advice from Greece, that all troubles there were happily ended, through the extraordinary care and conduct of Antipater, who had reduced

* Arrian, lib. iii. cap. 19. Diod. Sic. ubi supra. Plut. in Vit. Alex. Curt. lib. v.

the Lacedæmonians so low, that they were constrained to accept any terms of peace which he was pleased to prescribe; and, on the other hand, Antipater, to do his master honour, would come to no agreement, but on condition that they sent deputies into Asia, to beg pardon of Alexander, and implore his favour *v.* These services gave him a great interest in the heart of his prince, who as yet had not learned to distrust his servants, or to conceive jealousies of those, who, by their important services, had shewn the extensiveness of their capacities. He sent therefore instructions to that minister to keep always a guard about his person; made him such remittances as were sufficient to pay his army regularly, and to support the expence necessary for preserving the tranquillity of Greece: he likewise sent immense sums to his mother and relations, as also magnificent presents to his old friends and acquaintance (1).

v Diod. Sic. ubi supra.

(1) This bountiful disposition, Olympias looked on as extravagance; and on this topic she wrote him long and frequent letters, telling him, that though it was fit he should give, and give like a king, yet that some bounds should be set even to royal munificence; that his rewards did not render men grateful, but rather made them independent; that his favourites were so rich, they were continually studying how to engage new dependents; so that, while they were obliging all men to their service, he was like to have few servants left (1). The king read these letters, and, knowing the temper of his mother, laid them by carefully, without ever speaking of their contents; only one day it happened that he opened an epistle from Olympias, when Hephæstion sat behind him. Alexander perceived that he read over his shoulder; yet he

forbad him not, but when he himself had read the letter out, he took his signet off his finger, and clapped it on his favourite's mouth. But the great ground of expostulation between Olympias and her son, was the king's steady refusal to permit her to have any share in the regency; for he knew her too well, and was afraid to suffer a woman of her intriguing spirit to interfere with the government. On the other hand, Antipater wrote often in the same style, lamenting his condition, as being continually exposed to the artifices and malice of Olympias. When Alexander one day had read a very pithy letter of this nature, and which was written with more than ordinary spirit, he could not help saying, "I wonder Antipater does not know, that one tear of a mother can blot out a thousand of these letters."

(1) Plut. in Vit. Alex.

Yr. of Fl. Receiving fresh intelligence concerning the motions of
 3018. Darius, he, with a body of horse and light-armed troops,
 Ante Chr. set out once more in the pursuit of that unfortunate
 330. prince, marching as far as Rhages, a city one day's journey from the Caspian Straights. There he understood that Darius had passed those straights some time before; which information leaving him again without hopes, he halted five days. Oxidates, a Persian, whom Darius had left prisoner at Susa, was appointed governor of Media, as the king departed on his Parthian expedition. The Caspian Straights he passed immediately without opposition, and then gave directions for collecting provisions sufficient to serve his army on a long march through a wasted country. But before his officers could accomplish his commands, Bagistanes the Babylonian, and Antibelus the son of Mazæus, came from Darius to acquaint him, that Bessus, governor of Bactria, Barzaentes, president of Arachosia, and Nabarnes, a general of horse, had conspired against that unhappy prince, and made him prisoner. Of the cruel treatment he met with from the conspirators, of his death, and Alexander's concern on that occasion, we have spoken already in the History of Persia.

*Hyrcania
 reduced by
 Alexander.*

As soon as Alexander had collected his forces together, and settled the government of Parthia, he entered Hyrcania. Having, according to his wonted custom, committed the gross of his army, with the baggage and carriages, to the care of Craterus, he, at the head of a choice corps of horse and foot, passed through certain craggy roads, while the army took an open and easy passage, and, before their arrival, struck the whole province with such terror, that all the principal places were put into his hands. Nabarzanes, who was one of the conspirators against Darius, surrendered himself here; as did Phradaphernes, governor of Hyrcania and Parthia. Artabazus and his sons arrived shortly after, and were all graciously received; Alexander testifying a high respect for them, on account of their fidelity to Darius. Then the Greek mercenaries, who had fled to the mountains, sent deputies to desire that he would pardon what was past, and admit them to his service; but the king would not hear of any treaty, because, as he said, they were infamous wretches, who had taken up arms against their country, and obstinately persisted in their rebellion; yet, in confi-

* Arrian. lib. iii. cap. 21. Diod. Sic. ubi supra. Plut. in Vit. Alex.

deration

deration of their behaviour towards their late master, he consented to receive them as prisoners at discretion; to which terms they at last submitted, beseeching the king to send proper officers to conduct them to his camp. The king sent Andronicus and Artabazus for that purpose; and, on their arrival, treated them with great lenity, receiving them not long after into his service ^a.

That ardent desire which Alexander had to become the lord and master of every nation of which he had the least intelligence, induced him to enter the country of the Mardi, merely because its rocks and barrenness had hindered any prince hitherto from making a conquest of it, or even from attempting it: however, he succeeded very happily by dint of stratagem. Giving the necessary direction, for the march of his forces, he suddenly turned back, with a body of light-armed troops and chosen horse, with which he acted so vigorously, that the Mardi, astonished at an expedition they little expected, fled to inaccessible rocks and caverns, a few only pretending to take up arms, and they to very little purpose. Wherever they appeared in the plains, the king charged them with his horse; and whenever he discerned them encamped on the tops of mountains, he ordered all the passages to be so well guarded, that the Barbarians, finding it impossible to subsist, were constrained to surrender. While he was thus employed, it happened that a party of the Mardi seized and carried off his favourite horse Bucephalus. No accident could possibly have disturbed the king more than this; for he had an extravagant fondness for this creature, on account of its singular properties, and the long service it had done him. He therefore began to hew down all the trees in the neighbourhood of his camp, and to burn whatever huts and houses could be found, causing proclamation to be made, in the language of the country, signifying, that, if his horse was not restored without injury, he would burn and destroy all things that were capable of feeling the effects of his indignation. This declaration so terrified the Mardi, that they sent back Bucephalus immediately, accompanied with a deputation laden with presents, and vested with full authority to make a submission in the name of the whole nation ^b. Alexander then appointed Antophradates, president of the Tapuri, to be governor also of this country. Well satisfied with this

The Mardi reduced.

^a Arrian. lib. iii. cap. 23. ^b Diod. Sic. lib. xvii. Plut. in
Vit. Alex. Curt. lib. vi. cap. 5.

conquest, he returned to the main body of his army, where many things required his attention: the soldiers also impatiently expected his return, in hopes of having some bounds set to their labours, and the end of the war prescribed with some degree of certainty ^c.

*The Greeks
in the Per-
sian ser-
vice, how
treated by
Alexander.*

Alexander, at his arrival, found not only the Greek mercenaries brought to his camp by Andronicus, but also four Lacedæmonian ambassadors, with Diopithes from Athens, and many others, vested with the like character, who, till Darius was made a prisoner, had attended on that prince. The Lacedæmonians and Athenians he ordered to be kept in safe custody. As for the ministers of such states as had been subject to the Persians, these he dismissed; for he thought it but just, that while any state owned a dependence on another, it should send ministers to recognize that dependence, and to receive instructions from the sovereign. As to the Greek mercenaries, he distinguished them thus: such as had been in the service of the Persian before the Greeks entered into the general alliance for carrying on the war, he set at liberty, and left them free to act as they thought fit; but for such as had entered into the Persian service afterwards, and had knowingly and avowedly fought against their country, these he ordered to be enlisted, and inrolled among his own troops, allowing them, however, the same pay which they had heretofore received from Darius; appointing, at the same time, Andronicus, who had negotiated their surrender, to be commander in chief of that body which he had taken into his pay ^d. After this disposition, he marched to Zeudracarta, the capital of Hyrcania, where for fifteen days he celebrated solemn games, and sacrificed with great magnificence to the gods of Greece. He then entered Aria, and when he approached the chief city of that province, Satibarzanes, the governor, came and submitted to his orders. Alexander continued him in his government, and assigned him a guard of Macedonian archers, on horseback, commanded by Anaxippus.

*The capital
of Hyrcania
submits.*

Here he received advice that the traitor Bessus had caused himself to be proclaimed king of Asia, by the name of Artaxerxes. His arrogance exceedingly provoked the king, who instantly prepared to march after him into Bactria, in order to call him to a severe account for his former treachery, and for this new act of insolence. He was scarce, however, out of the province of Aria, before

^c Arrian. lib. iii. cap. 24.

^d Idem ibid. Curt. lib. vi.

advice came to him, that Satibarzanes, immediately on his departure, had massacred Anaxippus, and all the Macedonians; and, having assembled a great body of forces in the environs of the chief city, which was called Aristoana, was about to declare either for himself or for Bessus, according as he should be encouraged by the success of his enterprize. But Alexander was not a prince of a temper capable of allowing time for ripening such designs. He wheeled about instantly with a body of horse and light-armed troops, and, travelling seventy miles in two days, arrived in the neighbourhood of Aristoana, before Satibarzanes had the least intelligence of his march. Then it was this Persian discovered how unfit he was for the management of such an undertaking; for though he had with him a very considerable body of forces, yet, instead of attacking Alexander and his troops, who were fatigued with such an excessive march, or of entrenching himself in order to defend the army under his command, he instantly quitted the field with a body of horse, and fled with precipitation to Bessus, who received him with open arms^e. Throughout the whole province of Asia Alexander made it his business to search for the chiefs and accomplices in the rebellion, all of whom he either put to death or sold for slaves. He appointed Artabanes, the son of Artabanus, governor of Asia. Thence he marched against the Zarangæ, who, under the command of Barzaentes, one of those who had conspired against Darius, were in arms, and threatened to make an obstinate defence; but their hearts failed them when Alexander drew near, insomuch that numbers daily falling off, Barzaentes, being afraid that they would purchase their safety at the expence of his, privately withdrew from the camp, and, crossing the river Indus, sought shelter among the nations beyond it. These, however, either dreading the power of Alexander, or detesting the treachery of this Persian towards his former master, seized and delivered him up; whereupon Alexander immediately ordered him to be put to death, as well for his own security, as that he might seem to revenge that perfidy which had been used to his unfortunate predecessor^f. But it is now time to quit, for a short space, the history of foreign wars, in order to turn our eyes on the dissensions, factions, and conspiracies, which began to infect that victorious army, where-

*Satibar-
zanes re-
volts from
Alexander,
and joins
Bessus.*

*Barzaen-
tes taken
and put to
death.*

^e Arrian. lib. iii. cap. 25. Diod. ubi supra. Plut. in Vita Alex.
^f Curt. lib. vi. cap. 25. Arrian. ubi supra.

with, in so short a time, the greater part of Asia had been over-run.

The Macedonian chiefs give up to a luxurious life

The first, and indeed the grand source of those troubles which embittered Alexander's victories, was the immense treasure acquired by them, and the beneficent temper of the conqueror himself. For while with a lavish hand he bestowed all things on those who were near him, many made a wrong use of his bounty, and foolishly indulged those vices, by the practice of which the former possessors of that wealth had been ruined (K).

From this time he led the king.

Alexander began to be sensible of the mischiefs that would be produced by the introduction of luxury among his people; he therefore endeavoured to extinguish it by expostulating with the most eminent of his courtiers, whom he saw inclined to this way of living: he told them, he was surprised that they, who had experienced that solid satisfaction which results from an industrious and laborious course of life, should sink into that supineness and indolence which had destroyed the Persians, and which, without question, would enervate and enfeeble them also. He told them, that to possess wealth, and use it, was great and noble; but to make it the instrument of riot and luxury, was base and effeminate: he expostulated with them on the impropriety of such a conduct in men who were still soldiers: he asked them how it could be expected that a man should keep his arms bright, and exercise them with activity, who would not so much as employ his own hands in doing things necessary about his person, but would rather call in the aid of a servant, as if by gaining riches he had lost the use of his limbs. By his own behaviour also, he to the utmost discouraged this sort of indolent

(K) Among other instances of Alexander's favourites, Plutarch informs us, that Agnon, the Teian, wore silver nails in his shoes; that Leonatus employed several camels in transporting powder from Egypt, which he used when he wrestled. Hephæstion wore very rich garments, and affected in every thing the Persian manner of living; but, above all, Philotas is said to have been nice

in his dress, his table, his equipage, and most munificent to his friends; one of whom asking him to lend him a sum of money, he instantly ordered it to be given him by his steward; but the steward affirming there was no money in his coffers, Philotas warmly replied, "Have you not then plate and cloaths of mine? Turn them into money, rather than let my friend want (1).

(1) Plut. in Vita Alex.

and inactive pride; for when at any time he relaxed a little from the toils of war, he diverted himself with hunting, in which he could endure not only all the rigour of the season, but would also fast sometimes throughout the whole day (L).

Yet neither Alexander's discourses, nor his example, prevailed; the manners of his courtiers degenerated every day more and more, notwithstanding all he could say or do to prevent it; and at last they proceeded so far as to censure his conduct, and to express themselves with some bitterness on the subject of his long continuance of the war, and his leading them constantly from one labour to another. All this censure, at first, drew no harsher language from Alexander than this: "That to do well, and to be ill spoken of, was becoming the royal dignity." But, by degrees, he was obliged to alter his behaviour; for when the whole army was divided into factions, and the soldiers were openly inveighing against his administration, Alexander was under a necessity of reproofing them, talking to them severely, and taking other methods to make them keep their conversation within the bounds of decency, and their actions within the limits of their duty.

From this time forward, however, Alexander himself began to alter his conduct; and, by giving a little into the customs of the orientals, endeavoured to secure their obedience from his new subjects, which he found so difficult to preserve among the Macedonians: he likewise endeavoured to blend the customs of the Asiatics and Greeks by various methods. The form of his civil government resembled that of the ancient Persian kings: in military affairs, however, he preserved the Macedonian discipline; but then he made choice of thirty thousand boys out of the provinces, whom he caused to be instructed in the Greek tongue, and directed to be brought

† Diocl. Sic. ubi supra. Plut. in loc. citat.

(L) Once, when he was engaged in this exercise, a lion of a prodigious size attacked him: the king defended himself with great courage, and at last, though with much difficulty, he slew the beast; upon which the Lacedæmonian ambassador made him a well-timed compliment: "You have, sir, (said he) vindicated

your title to royalty even against the lion." Craterus was so much pleased with this adventure, that he caused the whole of it to be expressed in figures of brass, by the hands of Lysippus and Leochares, which noble piece he dedicated in the temple of Apollo at Delphi.

up

up in such a manner, as that, from time to time, he might with them fill up the phalanx. The Macedonians saw, with great concern, these extraordinary measures, which suited very indifferently with their gross understandings; for they had hoped, after all this fighting, to be absolute lords of Asia, and possess, not only the riches of its inhabitants, but to rule over the inhabitants themselves; whereas they saw plainly that Alexander meant no such thing; but, on the contrary, he conferred governments, offices at court, and all other marks both of confidence and favour, indiscriminately on Persians and Greeks.

A conspiracy against his life.

While all these mighty designs revolved in his mind, a conspiracy was formed in his camp, in order to take him off before any of them could be carried into execution. This conspiracy was involved in such obscurity, that few were able to know what to think of it, even at the time it broke out; and authors have related its circumstances so variously, that it is very difficult to give a tolerable and consistent account of it from the lights they afford us. Our best guide, Arrian, was as much in the dark as the rest, and met with different relations under the hand of the same author. In so perplexed a business, we shall produce as clear and distinct a detail of facts as we can; and, having furnished the best materials in our power, leave our readers to decide for themselves. One Dymnus, a Macedonian, of no great rank in the army, having determined in his mind to kill Alexander, communicated his design to Nicomachus, a young man, for whom he had a great affection, earnestly inviting him to bear a part in the action. The lad, terrified at the very mention of it, revealed it to Cebalinus his brother, whom Plutarch calls Balinus; and he, eager to save his brother and himself, was resolved to make a discovery; but, as Dymnus had told Nicomachus, that those who were concerned in this plot would execute it in three days, Cebalinus went to court, out of an apprehension, that if his brother was seen there it might alarm the conspirators, and engage them to execute their purpose before proper measures could be taken to prevent it. When Cebalinus came to the royal quarters, the first person of distinction he met with was Philotas, to whom he disclosed this matter, and begged him to bring him to the king. This request it was easy for him to have granted, because he was twice a day admitted to the royal presence; however he omitted it, though he had a long conference with the king that very day.

Next

Next day Cebalinus solicited him again, when Philotas told him he had no opportunity of mentioning it to the king, but promised that he would do it speedily; yet he omitted it this day also: Cebalinus growing impatient, and doubting with himself if this would come to Alexander's ear any other way, his own and his brother's life would be in danger, he applied himself to one of the king's pages, and, having intimated to him what the discovery was which he was desirous to make, received directions from him to conceal himself in the armoury, together with a promise, that the king should be acquainted with it when he was in the bath. When Alexander had heard all the page knew, and was farther acquainted that Cebalinus himself was in the armoury, he sent for him, and heard, not only all that Nicomachus's brother had told him, but also how Philotas had trifled with him, and had, for two days together, concealed this matter from his knowledge. The king, extremely offended, ordered Dymnus to be seized, and Philotas to be sent for^b. The former, as soon as he was apprehended, stabbed himself so desperately, that he died just as he was brought into the king's presence, or, as others say, was killed in his tent by the person who went to apprehend him, because he stood on his defence: however it was, he died without being examined, or making any confession; a circumstance which gave the king great disquiet, who imagined, that if the man had been brought to him alive, he might have found means of drawing from him the whole secret. As it was he sent for Philotas, and taxed him with perfidy, for not informing him of Cebalinus's discovery: Philotas excused himself by affirming, that the story seemed to him altogether improbable, and that he was unwilling to distract his mind with needless fears and suspicions. As he pronounced this apology, he threw himself at the king's feet, and embraced his knees; and, it is said, the king gave him his hand in token of forgiveness. Indeed, it is very probable, that Alexander thought himself bound to pass by such a neglect in a person who had served him faithfully, whose father had done such important services to Philip and himself, and who had lost two brothers in fighting his battles^c.

At supper Philotas was invited, and the king talked to him as familiarly as he usually did, but it seems he retired early. When he was gone, some who were about the

*Discovered
to Alexander.*

^a Diod. Sic. ubi supra. Plut. in Vita Alex.
^b Curt. lib. iii.

^c Curt. lib. vi.

*Philotas
seized and
tortured.*

king, particularly Craterus, took an opportunity of persuading him, that Dymnus could never be the prime author of so extraordinary an attempt, but must have been influenced thereto by persons of superior rank: that it looked very suspicious in Philotas never to disclose any thing of this matter, nor to take any measures for seizing the conspirators: that in things of less importance, pity and tenderness might interfere; but that where the king's life lay at stake, and in him the fortune of Macedon, compassion was no virtue, but rather a kind of treason, it being the duty of every loyal subject to sacrifice all private considerations to the peace and safety of his prince. By such discourses they extorted, as it were, from the king an order to seize Philotas, and put him to the question: which, when they went to execute, they found him fast asleep: however, they awaked him, and bound him in irons, at sight of which he is said to have burst out into this exclamation: "O! my prince, the malice of my enemies hath overcome thy inclination to mercy." When he was first put to the rack he denied every thing; but, at last, unable to bear the pain, he impeached many, and, among the rest, his own father. In all likelihood he said any thing that he thought would deliver him from his torments^k.

Curtius gives us a fuller, and we should say a better account of this matter, if we could at all rely on the harangues inserted in his writings; but these have evidently so rhetorical a turn, that it is difficult to conceive how they should have proceeded from the mouths of persons so strongly agitated by their passions. It is, however, probable, and consistent with the best historians, that Philotas was brought to an open trial according to the laws and customs of the Macedonians, wherein he was charged by the king with being concerned in Dymnus's conspiracy. Against this charge he made a long and laboured defence: he said, that his father and himself, with his brothers, Nicanor and Hector, who were now no more, had often hazarded their lives in the king's service, and had some share in the victories purchased by the valour of the Macedonians: that the conspiracy of Dymnus no way affected him, his name having never been mentioned by any of the accomplices impeached by Nicomachus: he observed, that it was highly improbable, if he had any concern in the plot, that he should have suffered Ceba-

^k Arrian. Diod. Plut. ubi supra.

linus to remain two days at court at full liberty to apply himself to others: he acknowledged his offence in not acquainting the king sooner with the discovery; and then addressing himself, as it were, to Alexander, whom he conceived to be within hearing, though he affected not to be present, he put him in mind, that he had immediately implored his clemency, that he had given him his hand as a pledge of his pardon, and had invited him to his table. His own innocence, and the king's assuring him of mercy, had so quieted his mind, that as he remarked, those who came to seize him, took much pains to awake him: he therefore conjured the king not to abandon him to his enemies, nor to suffer them to triumph at once over an innocent man, and the word of a merciful prince. Alexander, however, pretended to leave all things to the assembly; and they, influenced by the capital enemies of Philotas, adjudged him to the torture, and afterwards to death^l, which he suffered, as Arrian informs us, by being struck through with darts by the soldiers^m.

*and then
put to
death.*

Those who have sought to excuse Alexander for the death of Philotas, and its consequences, have suggested, many things, which, if they were true, would certainly prove, that Philotas was an indifereet and ambitious man at least, if not a traitor. However it was, after he was put to death, the king thought it not fit to let Parmenio survive him long: he therefore dispatched letters by Polydamas, one of his friends, to Cleander, Sitacles, and Menidas, who commanded under Parmenio in Media, with orders to take him off; which orders they executed accordingly, and, if we may believe Curtius, in a very extraordinary manner. He says that Polydamas, who undertook the management of this matter, was Parmenio's dearest and most intimate friend: he carried with him not only a letter from the king to that general, but also another written in a hand like that of Philotas, and sealed with his seal. When he arrived in Media, and had communicated the king's orders to Cleander and his associates, they concerted all things together, and the next day presented Parmenio with his letters, as he was walking in his park; where while he was commending the king, and looking on the letter which he supposed came from his son, Cleander stabbed him in the side, and then in the throat, his companions afterwards shamefully mangling

*Parmenio
put to death
by Alex-
ander's
order.*

^l Curt. lib. vi. cap. 19—33,

^m Ubi supra.

the dead body : at last Cleander cut off the head, and sent it to Alexander, the miserable remains being mournfully interred by the soldiers ^a.

Consequences of these proceedings.

These executions made way for more discoveries, or pretended discoveries. Amyntas, the son of Andromenes, Attalus, and Symnias, all brethren, were seized on account of their intimacy with Philotas, and because their fourth brother Polemon had fled to the enemy : they were brought to an open trial ; but Amyntas defended himself so well, that they were all acquitted ; after which trial, Amyntas desired Alexander's leave to search for his brother, which was granted him ; and he accordingly brought him back, a circumstance which was thought a convincing proof that they were all innocent.

Demetrius, one of the king's guards, was likewise suspected ; and orders were dispatched into Macedonia, directing, that Alexander Lyncestes, who had been some years a prisoner, should be put to death : his friendship with Antigonus had hitherto preserved his life, but now he was given up to slaughter^b. These proceedings disturbed the army very much, especially the Macedonians, who, though they adored the royal virtues of Alexander, did not think themselves obliged approve of his vices : they therefore did not content themselves with speaking very freely ; but wrote home to their countrymen advice of the present state of affairs, the king's suspicions of his friends, and his inclination to hunt out enemies at the very extremities of the world. Alexander having intercepted these letters, and taken the best informations he could, selected these dissatisfied people, and having disposed them into one corps, gave it the title of the Turbulent Battalion^c. He appointed Leonidas to command it ; hoping by these means to stop the contagion, and to prevent this spirit of disaffection from spreading through the whole army.

Having provided against future conspiracies, he pursues his former designs.

As a farther precaution against any future conspiracy, Alexander thought fit to appoint two generals of the auxiliary horse, being apprehensive, that, if this authority was lodged in the hands of a single person, it might prompt him to dangerous undertakings, and at the same time furnish him with the means of carrying them into execution. Hephæstion and Clytus were therefore appointed joint commanders of this cavalry ; nor can the king be justly blamed for this caution, if it be supposed that Alexander

^a Curt. lib. vi. Arrian. ubi supra.
^c Ἀταρταὶ ταραχῆς.

^b Arrian. Curt. ubi

Lyncestes, and Philotas, were justly punished^q. To keep his forces in action, he suddenly marched into the country of the Euergetæ, i. e. *benefactors*; and found them full of that kind and hospitable disposition, for which that name had been bestowed on their ancestors: he therefore treated them with great respect, and, staying among them some small time in order to celebrate a festival to Apollo, he at his departure added some lands to their dominions, which lay contiguous, and which they had requested of him for that reason^r.

Marches into the country of the Euergetæ.

Turning then to the east, he entered Arachosia, the inhabitants of which submitted without giving him any trouble; whereupon he appointed Memnon to be governor of these provinces, as Arrian assures us, though Diodorus asserts, that he appointed Teristates. While he passed the winter in these parts, he received advice, that the Arians, whom he had so lately subdued, were again up in arms, Satibarzanes having returned into that country with two thousand horse assigned him by Eellus. Alexander instantly dispatched Artibazus the Persian with Erigyus and Caranus, two of his commanders, at the head of a considerable body of horse and foot; he likewise ordered Phrataphernes, to whom he had given the government of Parthia, to accompany them in this expedition. These, with all convenient speed, marched back into Aria, where Satibarzanes met them with a well-appointed army; a general engagement ensued, wherein the Arians behaved very well, as long as their commander Satibarzanes lived; but he engaging Erigyus, the Macedonian killed him with his spear. His troops seeing their commander slain, betook themselves to flight; so that the Greeks made an easy conquest of the rest of the country, and settled it effectually under the king's obedience^s.

Enters Arachosia, which submits.

Satibarzanes defeated and killed.

Alexander, notwithstanding the inclemency of the season, advanced into the country of Paropamisus, so denominated from the mountain Paropamisus, which the soldiers called Caucasus. We are told by Diodorus, that he found the country, for the most part, open and plain, without trees, covered with snow, having large open boroughs scattered here and there. The houses in which the inhabitants dwelt were covered with tiles; the roof rising up like a spire, but open at the top, whereby they received light, and let out the smoke: the walls of these

Continues his march in the most rigorous seasons, and through the most barren countries.

^q Arrian. lib. iii. cap. 27. ^r Arrian. ubi supra. Diod. ubi supra. Curt. lib. vii. cap. 9. Justin. lib. xii. cap. 4. ^s Arrian. lib. iii. cap. 28. Diod. Sic. ubi supra. Curt. lib. vii. cap. 17.

houses

houses were so well built, and the mortar so excellently tempered, that they had in them no flaws or cracks, but were perfectly secured from the inclemencies of the air. In them, therefore, the people dwelt all the winter, having store of all sorts of provisions laid up, and having previously secured their vines, and other fruit-trees, by covering them with mats, from the effects of the frost. In their marches through this melancholy plain, the Macedonians were exposed to great inconveniencies, the reflection of the light from the snow and ice grievously affected their eyes, and the excessive cold seizing such as through weariness either walked slow or sat down, so that many of them perished. Alexander, however, pleasing himself with the thoughts of having reached Caucasus, in sixteen days marching cross Paropamisus, at length reached an opening leading into Media, which finding of a sufficient breadth, he directed a city to be built there, which he called Alexandria. He likewise founded several other towns, about a day's journey distant from thence: and in these places he left seven thousand persons, part of them such as had hitherto followed his camp, and part of the mercenary soldiers, who, weary of continual fatigue, were content to settle in this district. Having established the quiet of this province, sacrificed solemnly to the gods, and appointed Proexes, the Persian, president thereof, with a small body of troops under the command of Nilotenus to assist him, he resumed his former design of penetrating into Bactria^t (M).

Bessius,

^t Arrian. lib. iii. cap. 28, 29. Diod. ubi sup. Curt. lib. vii. cap. 15.

(M) We have omitted, in the text, a very remarkable instance of the inequality of Alexander's temper, and of that savage cruelty, which, notwithstanding his many virtues, still lurked in his breast. The reason of our omitting it was, because we find nothing of it in Arrian: the reason of our inserting it here is, its having been approved by the best compilers of history, though it is found in Curtius. It must be owned that there is a chasm in Diodorus, wherein, for ought we know, this story might have been inserted. However it be, the reader ought to find it somewhere, and therefore we have made it the subject of a note. "While the king expected Bessius to be brought to him, he came to a little town inhabited by the Branchidæ. These were a family of Milesians, removed thither by Xerxes, on account of their putting into his hands the sacred treasures reposed in the temple of Apollo Didymæus. They had not quite forsaken

Bessus, who, as we have hinted, had assumed the title of Artavaxes, when he was assured that Alexander was marching towards him, immediately began to waste all the country between Paropamisus and the river Oxus, which river he passed with his forces, and then burnt all the vessels he had made use of for transporting them, re-

forsoke the customs of their ancient country; but their language was a sort of jargon, made up of their own and that of the country they now inhabited. They expressed great joy at the king's arrival, and readily surrendered both themselves and their town to him. Hereupon Alexander called together the Milesians that served in his army. Now we must observe, that the Milesians bore an old grudge to the Branchidae. The king, therefore, referred it to them, whether they would consider their extraction, or revenge their former injury; and, as they varied in their opinions, he told them he would advise with himself what was best to be done in the matter. The next day, when the deputies from the Branchidae came to meet him, he commanded them to attend him; being come to the town, he entered the gates with part of his army, ordering the phalanx to surround the place, and upon signal given, to pillage the receptacle of traitors, and put them all to the sword. These poor wretches, being in a defenceless condition, were every where butchered; and neither conformity of language, the humble posture of suppliants, nor the most fervent

intreaty, could appease the rage of the Macedonians. The very foundations of the walls were dug up, that there might not be the least footsteps left of the town. Then fury did not stop here; for they not only cut down the consecrated woods, but also grubbed up the very roots, that there might be nothing left but a barren and waste solitude. Had their cruelty been practiced on the first transgressors, it might have been thought a just punishment of their crime; but here posterity is punished for the sins of its forefathers, without ever having so much as seen Miletum, far from being able to betray it to Xerxes." There is a passage in Strabo which seems to confirm what is here related by Curtius; he is describing Eactia, and from thence takes occasion to speak of Alexander's exploits there and in Sogdia; and, among other things, relates this: "Finding hereabouts the city of the Branchidae, he demolished it. These people had followed Xerxes out of their own country, after having betrayed to him the treasures of Apollo Didymæus; but Alexander, to express his abomination of their sacrilege and treason, razed their city (1)."

(1) Strab. Geogr. lib. xiv. p. 518.

Yr. of Fl.
2019.
Ante Chr.
329.

*Alexander
reduces
Bactria
and Sog-
dia, Bessus
being taken.*

*Passes the
Oxus.*

tiring to Nautaca, a city of Sogdia, fully persuaded that, by the precautions he had taken, Alexander would be compelled to relinquish his pursuit. This conduct of his, however, disheartened his troops, and exposed the futility of all his pretensions; for he had affected to censure Darius's conduct, and had charged him with cowardice, in not defending the rivers Euphrates and Tigris, whereas he now quitted the banks of the most defensible river perhaps in the whole world. As to his hopes, though it cannot be said they were ill founded, yet they proved absolutely vain; for Alexander continuing his march, notwithstanding the hardships his soldiers sustained, reduced all Bactria under his obedience, particularly the capital Bactra, and the strong castle Aornus; in the latter he placed a garrison under the command of Archelaus, but the government of the province he committed to Artabazus^u. He then continued his march to the river Oxus, on the banks of which, when he arrived, he found it three quarters of a mile over, its depth more than proportionable to its breadth, the bottom sandy, and its stream so rapid, as to render it almost unnavigable; neither boat nor tier in the neighbourhood, so that the ablest commanders in the Macedonian army were of opinion, that they should be obliged to retreat. The king, however, having first sent away, under a proper escort, all his infirm soldiers, that they might be conducted safe to the sea-ports, and from thence to Greece, devised a method of passing this river without either boat or bridge, which we have spoken of elsewhere^w. Having crossed the Oxus, he marched directly towards the camp of Bessus, where, when he arrived, he found it abandoned; but received, at the same time, letters from Spitamenes and Dataphernes, who were the chief commanders under Bessus, signifying, that if he would send a small party to receive Bessus, they would deliver him into his hands. This promise they performed accordingly, and the traitor was put to death. The disagreement among authors concerning his fate we have discussed in a note (N).

A sup-

^u Arrian. lib. iii. cap. 30.

^w See Hist of Persians.

(N) Diodorus says, that Bessus, after having undergone a variety of torments, invented by the brother of Darius, was cut in pieces. Cur-

tius affirms, that after his nose and ears were cut off, he was sent to Ecbatana and crucified; and Plutarch relates, that being fastened to two tall trees, bent

A supply of horses being now arrived, the Macedonian cavalry were remounted. Alexander continued his march to Maracanda the capital of Sogdia, from whence he advanced to the river Iaxartes, called by Arrian, and the rest of the historians who have written his life, Tanais, but without any foundation (O). On the side of this river, as some of his troops were foraging, they were surprised by the Barbarians, and a considerable number of Macedonian horse were slain. After which exploit, between twenty and thirty thousand of these rude people betook themselves to a high rock, the ascent of which was on all sides steep and rugged, in hopes that there they should be safe from Alexander's soldiers. But the king, as soon as he received advice of what had happened, marched thither with his horse and light-armed troops, and, notwithstanding the danger and difficulty of the attack, led his troops in person to ascend the rock. The Barbarians, having so great an advantage from the situation of the place, and fighting also for their lives, repulsed the Macedonians more than once; at last, however, notwithstanding the

Alexander marches to the capital of Sogdia.

Is surprised by the Barbarians.

bent together for that purpose, he was torn asunder by their elastic force, in flying back, when the power that bended them was removed. It is impossible, that he should die all these deaths; and, amongst these great variety of sentiments, it is as impossible to determine what death he died. That he lost his nose and ears by the command of Alexander, may be esteemed certain; and that he afterwards suffered capital punishment, is also certain; as to the manner in which he suffered it, nothing can be positively affirmed. In all probability Bessus might have escaped all this severity, if he had taken the advice of Cobanes, and submitted himself, and the provinces under his power, to Alexander; for there is good reason to believe, that his assuming the imperial title was at least as heinous in the

sight of Alexander, as his murder of Darius; and therefore, if he had not joined this to his former crime, he might have escaped punishment. The answers given by Bessus, as they are recorded in Arrian and Curtius, hint plainly at this; for he told the king, first, that Darius was murdered to obtain his favour; and, secondly, that he was not the sole author of the murder, but that all who were present concurred in it. Among these was Satibarzanes, who, on his submitting himself to Alexander, was not only well received, but had his government restored to him.

(O) For, besides a very large tract of land on this side, and a much larger on the other, the whole breadth of the Caspian Sea is between that part of the river Iaxartes, to which he came, and the fall of the Tanais into the Palus Mæotis.

*Alexander
wounded.*

*Great
slaughter
of the Bar-
barians.*

*Alexander
subdues se-
veral other
nations.*

king himself was wounded in the leg, so as to have the smaller bone broken, the Macedonians carried it, compelling numbers of those unhappy wretches to throw themselves over the rock, and slaying without mercy those that fell into their hands: of the whole multitude not above eight thousand escaped *.

In a few days after this transaction, the Abii, a famous Scythian people, sent ambassadors to Alexander, to desire peace: with them came ambassadors from the European Scythians: these he received courteously, and sent some of his own people home with them, under colour of concluding the negotiations; but, in truth, to bring him advice of the situation of the country, the nature of its inhabitants, their force, and after what manner they made war. The Scythians, whom he had already subdued, having some intimation of his design, and being also informed, that he had projected the building of a city to keep them in awe, at once took up arms, cut off his garrison, and joined with the discontented Bactrians and Segolians. As soon as Alexander was informed of this revolt, he directed his several battalions of infantry to furnish themselves with ladders, and marched instantly towards Gaza, the nearest city of seven which the Barbarians had seized. At the same time he dispatched Craterus to Cyropolis, the largest of those cities, into which most of the Barbarians had retired, commanding him to encamp near the walls, to draw a ditch and rampart round the town, and plant his engines; so that the citizens, finding employment enough to defend themselves at home, might not be able to secure any other place. On his arrival at Gaza, he ordered the wall, which was but of mud, and low-built, to be assaulted. Then his slingers, and archers, mixed with the foot, beginning the attack, incommoded the besieged with missile weapons, and at the same time they were galled with darts from the engines; insomuch that the walls were deserted by the Barbarians. The ladders being immediately fixed, the Macedonians mounted, and, entering, killed all the men they met; but the women and children, with the riches of the place, were given as a spoil to the soldiers. Another of these cities, built and fortified like the former, Alexander assaulted and took the same day, and disposed of the captives in the same manner. Thence proceeding to the third city next day, he took it at the first attack.

*Takes se-
veral ci-
ties.*

* Arrian. lib. iii. cap. ult. Curt. lib. vii. cap. 26, 27.

While he, at the head of his foot was buſied in reducing thoſe places, he diſpatched his horſe to two other cities not far off, with orders to take care, that the citizens, when they heard of the ſtorming of their neighbouring towns, and his near approach, might not make their eſcape by flight. The diſpatch of theſe troops was neceſſary; for the Barbarians, who occupied the other two cities, not yet taken, ſeeing the ſmoke of that over againſt them, which was then on fire, and, beſides, ſome who had eſcaped out of that calamity, bringing them the news, they fled with the utmoſt precipitation; but falling in among the horſe, poſted for that purpoſe, were moſt of them ſlain.

Theſe five cities being thus taken and deſtroyed in two days, he haſtened to Cyropolis, the greateſt and moſt populous of the whole country. It was built by Cyrus, and ſurrounded with a wall much higher than any of the reſt; and as many of the Barbarians, both ſtout and well-armed, had fled thither for ſhelter, it was not to be ſuppoſed, that the Macedonians could gain it at the firſt aſſault. Wherefore Alexander, having planted his engines in convenient places, determined to batter the wall, and, wherever he made a breach, to ſtorm the place. But finding the channel of the river, which uſually ran through the town like a torrent, at that time dry, and the wall diſjoined, ſo as to afford an entrance for his ſoldiers, he with his body-guards, his targeteers, archers, and Argians, while the Barbarians were employed in guarding themſelves from the engines and the aſſailants, privately entered the city, at firſt with a few men, through that channel; and, having buſt open the gates, gave an eaſy admittance to the reſt of his army. The Barbarians then, notwithstanding they perceived their city taken, falling upon the Macedonians, a ſharp battle enſued, wherein Alexander himſelf received a blow on the head and neck with a ſtone, while Craterus, and many more of his captains, were wounded. However, the Barbarians were at laſt driven out of the market-place. In the mean time, thoſe who battered the wall, ſeeing it clear of defendants, mounted it, and at their firſt entrance ſlew about eight thouſand of the enemy. The reſt (for the whole number amounted to eighteen thouſand) retired into the caſtle: but theſe, when Alexander had continued his ſiege but one day, being deſtitute of water, ſurrendered the place. Thence moving to the ſeventh city, he took it at the firſt aſſault.

*Refuges
Cyropolis.*

*The city
taken.*

*Alexander
wounded.*

*The caſtle
ſurrenders.
Another
city taken
by ſtorm.*

*Alexander
builds a
city to awe
the Barba-
rians.*

The Scythians in Asia, seizing this opportunity, came down in great bodies to the river-side, to watch when they might attack Alexander advantageously. This irruption was followed by an account, that Spitamenes had besieged the garrison left in Maracanda, and that the Macedonians were in great danger. Alexander, however, would not abandon a design he once formed: having therefore dispatched relief to the city before mentioned, he proceeded to mark out that which he had formerly intended to serve for a fortress against the Scythians. In twenty days he walled it round; the soldiers vying with each other in the performance of the tasks assigned them. He gave the new city to such of the Barbarians as had served in his troops, to the mercenaries who were desirous of settling there, and to the Macedonians unfit for service, who were willing to have houses and lands allotted them in this place.

*Defeats the
Scythians
with dif-
ficulty.*

The king, having accomplished all that he intended in these parts, and being no ways desirous of entering into a war with the Scythians, from whom he knew there was nothing to be gained but blows, prepared to march away. The Scythians, having notice of his intention, came down in vast numbers to the river side, upbraided him and his soldiers, calling them cowards and bullies, who, proud of having subdued the effeminate Persians, were afraid of attacking men, and durst not engage the ancient conquerors of Asia. Alexander was exceedingly nettled at these reproaches, and was yet at a loss how to pass the river in the sight of so daring an enemy: however, he ordered Aristander to offer repeated sacrifices; but this augur constantly assured the king, that the omens were altogether inauspicious. Even this circumstance could not engage him absolutely to drop his design. On the contrary, when he reflected on the dishonour which Darius, the father of Xerxes, had sustained from his unfortunate war with this people, he imagined that his own fame would be no less injured; wherefore he at last determined at all events to pass, and attack the enemy, having first put them in some disorder by the darts and stones thrown from his engines, which, doing great execution across the river, were new to the Scythians, and amazed them very much. The Macedonian horse being few in comparison of the enemy, the Scythians repulsed them at the first attack;

but Alexander taking care to support them with light-armed troops, they charged again, and made some impression on the enemy; then the king brought up the heavy-armed troops, and the weight of their charge determined the dispute; for the Scythians being unable to sustain it, broke and fled, leaving a thousand men dead upon the spot, among whom was one Satraces, an eminent general; and a hundred and fifty were made prisoners: much more execution would have been done, if the Macedonians, through excessive heat, and violent thirst, had not been prevented from continuing the pursuit. Alexander, who was always among the number of the most forward and vigorous soldiers, finding himself very faint, drank freely of some standing water, which threw him into such a flux as endangered his life; and this disorder was deemed an accomplishment of Aristander's prediction². The king ordered the prisoners to be released; and some days after, when ambassadors arrived from the Scythian king, excusing the hostilities which he said had been committed against his orders, Alexander accepted his apology, and assured them of his protection. Being by no means willing to have any farther contest with them, he granted them a peace on their own terms, and began to turn his thoughts to the care of his other affairs, which were indeed in no little disorder; the war reviving when he least expected it: the troops under Spitamenus seeming to be beaten at last both into discipline and courage³.

We have before mentioned the relief sent by Alexander to the garrison in the castle of Maracanda; it consisted of sixty auxiliary horse, commanded by Andromachus and Menedemus; eight hundred mercenaries, under the command of Caranus; and fifteen hundred foot, led by Pharnaces the interpreter, who, though a Lycian by birth, yet was perfectly skilled in the language of those countries, and could therefore, upon occasion, treat with the Barbarians, in case they sought to avoid farther mischiefs, by submission. While these troops were upon their march, the Macedonians in the castle made a desperate sally on Spitamenus, and drove him and his forces from their works. The loss sustained on this occasion, and the news of Pharnaces's march, engaged that general to raise the siege, and to retire towards Sogdia. Pharnaces pursued him, and in his march fell in with a body of the Nomades,

The Macedonians under Pharnaces defeated by Spitamenus.

² Arrian. lib. iv. cap. 4. Curt. lib. vii. cap. 7.
lib. xii. cap. 5.

³ Justin.

which he attacked. They retired, however, and joined Spitamenes, who, elated with so sudden and unexpected a reinforcement, determined no longer to avoid, but rather to seek, the Macedonian army. There are two relations of the subsequent engagement, both in Arrian, one taken from Ptolemy, the other from Aristobulus; on the whole, they agree that the defeat and slaughter of the Macedonians was owing to the ill conduct of their officers. Pharnaces was a man void of military skill, a defect of which he was very sensible, and offered to resign the command of the troops; but this resignation the Macedonian generals would not yield to; for they foresaw that this business would be attended with great loss; and therefore were not willing to make themselves accountable for an unfortunate battle, and for exceeding their commission at the same time. The issue was, that, while they were full of doubts and confusion, the Scythians attacked them, supported by Spitamenes and his forces. The Macedonians behaved with great bravery, and in all probability would at least have made a good retreat, if they had either had a good general, or if their officers had acted in concert. But Caranus, with his squadron of horse, without consulting the rest, entered the river; upon which the greatest part of the foot followed, not his command, but his example, and with much difficulty gained an island not far from the shore. This shadow of safety proved their utter destruction; for the Barbarians cut off many as they entered the water, and more when they were in it; but as for all those who reached the island, they shot them with their arrows, so that of two thousand three hundred and sixty men, horse and foot, there did not escape above forty of the former, and three hundred of the latter; their officers being all slain, after having displayed much more courage than conduct ^b.

*Alexander
causes the
siege of
Maracanda
to be
raised.*

As soon as Alexander received the news of the defeat, which Pharnaces and the troops under his command had sustained, he determined to revenge it: with this view he took half his auxiliary horse, all his light-armed foot, and a battalion of the Macedonian phalanx, and marched with them sixteen hundred furlongs (if there be no mistake in the numbers), in three days, on the fourth he drew near to Maracanda, which Spitamenes had again invested; but on the news of Alexander's approach, he raised the siege

^b Arrian. lib. iv. cap. 5. Curt. lib. vii. cap. 36.

with great precipitation, and retired with all the celerity imaginable. Alexander pursued him, not only to the verge of the desert, but even a great way within it: when he found it was impossible to overtake him, he returned, and buried all the soldiers who had fallen in the late engagement. Then he caused all the adjacent country to be burnt and wasted, putting to death the inhabitants of such villages as had refused shelter to the flying Macedonians. After this transaction, the king marched to Zariaspæ, where he put his army into winter-quarters. Hoher came Phrataphernes, governor of Parthia, and Stasanor, who had been dispatched into Aria to seize Arlancæ, the author of some disturbances there; him they brought bound, and with him Barzaentes, whom Bessus had made governor of Parthia. About this period he was joined by the Macedonian officers, who had been sent to take care of the recruits, as also by those who had conducted such as were discharged to their embarkation. Thus the army was again reunited, to a formidable number; and at the same time the court of Alexander shone with extraordinary splendor, from the resort of the nobility of the adjacent provinces, and the arrival of many illustrious persons from Greece.

It was certainly at this time that Alexander began to throw off in a great measure the manners of a Macedonian prince, and to affect those of a Persian king. Authors vary not a little in the accounts they give us of this matter. Arrian says expressly, that he laid aside the Macedonian for the Median habit, adding, "That to him it appeared wonderful, the king did not blush when he changed the modest covering of his head, which he had worn in so many battles, for the Persian tiara." Yet Plutarch as positively affirms, he did not follow the Median fashion; that he wore neither their breeches, long vest, nor tiara; but made choice of a garb inclining to the Persian habit, more pompous and magnificent than the Macedonian vesture, yet not so rich and gaudy as that worn by the Persian kings. Perhaps Alexander proceeded by degrees in the alteration of his habit, as we know he did in the use of it; for at first he only dressed himself in this manner, when he had business to transact with his new subjects; but when he conversed with the Greeks, and commanded the Macedonians, he wore the habit of his own country. If there-

*Affects the
Persian
customs.*

fore this conjecture be adopted, Plutarch and Arrian may be reconciled; and indeed it is very probable, that in this great council, wherein he imitated the oriental severity, he appeared in habit as a Persian king; that is, as the lord of Asia, or, as the Greeks were wont emphatically to style him, the Great King^d. This change in his appearance greatly afflicted his Macedonians; and this very grief shewed, that they were still loyal and affectionate to his person. When therefore Alexander perceived this disposition in his army, he ought certainly to have soothed them, and endeavoured either to convince them of the rectitude of his behaviour, or to have quieted them by yielding in some measure to their desires. But this compliance was not in the nature of Alexander, or at least was no longer in his nature after he had visited the temple of Ammon. Besides, he had about him a multitude of sycophants, who are, and ever will be, the bane of princes, and the curse of nations. These, by complying with his humour, and soothing his passions, carried him daily into new extravagancies, and deprived him of that moderation and equanimity, which were necessary to preserve the acquisitions he had made.

*Murders
Clytus at a
banquet.*

The Greeks, and especially the Macedonians, observed an anniversary festival to Bacchus. This year, it seems, the king, omitting Bacchus, transferred the honour of this festival to the Dioscuri, i. e. Castor and Pollux; and strictly commanded, that for the future, to them, and not to Bacchus, these solemn rites should be constantly dedicated. These sacrifices were followed by a magnificent banquet, to which all the principal commanders in the army were invited, and Clytus the son of Dropidas, who stood as high in the king's favour as any of them, amongst the rest. At supper, the discourse turned on the heroes to whom they had sacrificed; and a question was started, With what propriety they were styled the sons of Jupiter, when it was notorious that Tindarus was their father? Some who sat near the king laid hold of this opportunity to magnify his actions above those of Castor and Pollux, and even of Hercules. They insisted on the natural envy of men towards their contemporaries, and how unwilling they were to worship those virtues in the living, which with the utmost readiness, and the most profound respect, they adored in the dead. Clytus took ire at these expressions: he said, "he could not bear to

^d Arrian. lib. iv. cap. 7. Plut. in Vit. Alex.

hear such indignities offered to the gods, or the credit of ancient heroes undervalued, to tickle the ears of a living prince." As to Alexander's actions, he allowed, that they were great and glorious; but he affirmed, that they had nothing in them supernatural; besides, they were not performed by him alone, but by his army; and that therefore all the Macedonians had a right to share in the praise due to those deeds, in which they, as well as he, had exerted themselves. These reflections excited the indignation of Alexander. To soothe this anger, some of his flatterers began a discourse about his father Philip, in which they endeavoured to lessen his actions, and to represent him as a prince who had done nothing extraordinary. These discourses provoked Clytus so far, that he began to detract from the merit of Alexander, and to suggest, that none of his achievements deserved to be compared with what had been performed by his father. At this freedom the king lost all patience; and when Clytus proceeded to affirm he had preserved his life at the battle of the Granicus, stretching out his arm, and saying, "This hand, O Alexander, saved thee," the king leaped upon him, and endeavoured to kill him; but was prevented by the interposition of his friends. Clytus, in the mean time, continued his reproachful expressions; whereupon the king called for some of his guards; but none appearing, he began to bemoan himself exceedingly, saying, "That he was now in the same condition with the unfortunate Darius, when in the hands of Bessus: that he had the empty name of a king, and nothing more." His friends, upon this complaint, retiring, he snatched a lance, or long Macedonian pike, and laid Clytus dead on the spot (P).

Alexander's

(P) The detail given us by Plutarch, of what happened at the death of Clytus, differs much from what has been inserted in the text, from Arrian. He informs us, "That the king, having a present of Grecian fruit brought him from the sea-coast, so well preserved, that it seemed to be but just gathered, sent for Clytus, that he might see and partake of it. Clytus was then sacri-

ficing, but came straight to supper with the king. When they had drank pretty freely, some of the company began to sing the verses of one Phanichus, or Picion, which were made upon those captains who had been lately worited by the Barbarians, on purpose to disgrace and turn them into ridicule. Clytus, who had drank too much, and was besides of a froward and peevish temper, was

*Repents,
and abandons himself
to grief.*

Alexander's passion immediately subsided; his intoxication seemed to vanish instantaneously; and reflecting on the

was so nettled at the satire, that he could hold no longer; saying, "It was not well done thus to expose the Macedonians before the Barbarians, since, though it was their unhappiness to be overcome, yet they were much better men than those who laughed at them." To this sarcasm Alexander replied, "That sure Clytus spoke so tenderly of cowardice, when he called it misfortune, only to excuse himself." At which intimation Clytus starting up, "This cowardice, as you are pleased to term it, laid he, saved your life, though you pretend to be sprung from the gods, when you were running away from Spithridates' sword; and it is by the expense of Macedonian blood, and by these wounds, that you are now raised to such a height, as to despise and dethrone your father Philip, and adopt yourself the son of Jupiter Ammon." "Thou hast reason," said Alexander, now thoroughly excited, "dost thou think to utter these things every where of use, and stir up the Macedonians to sedition, and not be punished for it?" "We are sufficiently punished already," answered Clytus, if this be the recompence of our toils; and esteem those happy, who have not lived to see their countrymen ignominiously scourged with Median rods, and forced to sue to the Persians to have access to their king." While Clytus talked thus imprudently, and the king

in the bitterest manner retorted upon him, the old men that were in company endeavoured all they could to allay the flame; and Alexander seemed willing to change the subject of conversation, by asking softly some question of Xenodolus, the Cardian; then Clytus calling aloud, bid him, "if he had any thing to say, to speak out; or else, why did he invite men who were free-born, and used to speak their minds openly without restraint, to sup with him?" He said, "he had better live and converse with Barbarians, and conquered slaves, who would not scruple to adore his Persian girdle, and white tunic." Which word so provoked Alexander, that not able to suppress his anger any longer, he took one of the apples that lay upon the table, and flung it at him, and then looked about for his sword, which Aristophanes, one of his life-guards, had conveyed out of the way. Others came about him, and besought him to restrain his fury, but in vain; for, breaking from them, he called aloud to his guards in the Macedonian language, which was a certain sign of some great disturbance in him, and commanded a trumpeter to sound, giving him a blow on the ear for delaying, or rather refusing, to obey him, though afterwards the same man was commended for disobeying an order which would have put the whole army into tumult and confusion. Clytus continued

the deed he had perpetrated, he fell into a fit of excessive grief. He accused himself, with great bitterness, of having slain his father's brave soldier, his own faithful friend, the constant companion of his toils, the foster-brother to whom he owed his life: it was then, that, in the anguish of his soul, he disclaimed all kindred to the gods, and with a laudable sorrow mourned for having done a base and cruel act unworthy of a man. It was then he cried out on Clytus, on his mother Hellanicæ, whose breasts he had sucked; and inveighed against himself as one forgetful of the bond of gratitude, the ties of friendship, and the laws of nature, depriving his friends of life, and executing those as evil-doers, who could not patiently hear or see him do ill. For three days he refused meat, neglected his apparel, and, as some say, with the pike that killed Clytus would have slain himself. The army in the mean while were disconsolate; their regard to Clytus is said to have given way to their love and loyalty to Alexander; insomuch, that to soothe their afflicted prince, they condemned Clytus, and prohibited his interment, seeking thereby to colour the fact, or at least to comfort Alexander, by seeming to think his resentment just. This stratagem was excusable in soldiers. The priests and philosophers went greater lengths: the former

*Isattered
by the army*

nued still in the same quarrelsome humour, till his friends with much ado forced him out of the room, but he came in again immediately at another door very incontinently, and insolently sung this passage out of Euripides's *Andromache*. "Ye gods! what an ill custom have you introduced in Greece! When an army has erected a trophy upon the defeat of the enemy, it is never considered, that the victory is owing to the valour of the troops who fought, but the general claims all the honour of it: though he had exposed himself to more danger than many thousands besides, and had done no more than a common soldier; yet he only is celebrated in the songs of tri-

umph, and is by the rest of the nation the glory." Then Alexander, taking up a spear from one of the soldiers, met Clytus as he was passing by the curtain that hung before the door, and ran him through the body. He fell immediately, and after a few pining groans expired. In the very instant the king's indignation cooled, and he came privately to himself; but when he saw his friends about him all in profound silence, as seized with horror at the fact, he pulled the spear out of the dead body, and would have turned it against himself, if the guards had not held his hands, and by force carried him away to his chamber."

told

told the king, that what he did was not the error of his own will, but the effects of a fury inspired by Bacchus, on account of his festival's being transferred to the Dioscuri. Thus did these execrable dissemblers seek to transfer a crime unworthy of a man to him they worshipped as a god, and most impudently called that a divine fury, which at best was the effect of brutal intoxication.

*Basely
flattered by
Anaxar-
chus.*

Anaxarchus of Abdera, whom most historians style a philosopher, but Arrian rightly terms a sophist, was the next who undertook to moderate the king's grief; and finding him upon his bed, sighing and dejected, he thus addressed him: "Is this the Alexander whom the world looks upon with such admiration? Behold him extended on the ground, and weeping like an abject slave for fear of the law, and reproach of men, to whom he himself ought to be a law, and the measure of equity, since he conquered for no other end but to make himself lord of all, and not to be a slave to a vain idle opinion! Do not you know, that Jupiter is represented sitting on his throne, with law assisting on one side, and justice on the other; intimating thereby, that let a sovereign prince do what he will, all his actions are just and lawful." These were admirable doctrines, tending not only to set the king's mind at rest, as to the murder he had committed, but to prevent any more qualms, in case rage, envy, or drunkenness, should plunge him again into the same outrages. Callisthenes, the scholar, and relation of Aristotle, sought to settle his mind by honest and moral discourses.

*Alexander
aspires to
divine ho-
nours.*

If the tragical death of Clytus had brought Alexander to a right way of thinking, perhaps posterity, like the Macedonian soldiers, would have drawn a veil over this dark scene, and have chosen rather to commend the king's compassionate concern, than to have censured his drunken cruelty. But no sooner was his sorrow for the death of this worthy man alleviated, but he began again to give himself up to the management of those sycophants, whose detestable flattery had wrought that mischief. Still they were endeavouring to persuade him, that he was something more than man, and that it was injustice and disloyalty in his subjects not to own his divinity. The result of all these discourses was, that a god he should be, or at least have divine honours paid him, which heretofore had been given to Persian monarchs. Anaxarchus the sophist, Agis a miserable poet, Chœrilus, Agnon, and other parasites, undertook to accomplish this business, and to engage the Greeks, as well as the

Asiatics, to pay him adoration ^e. Alexander was highly pleased with this scheme of adulation; and a great banquet was appointed, at which it was to be carried into execution. At this entertainment Anaxarchus, in a premeditated oration, proposed that Alexander should be adored. He affirmed, that Bacchus was a Theban; and though he allowed that Hercules was a Greek, and without reproach, yet he asserted, that Alexander's being descended from him was at once the most certain, and the greatest honour which could be attributed to that hero. Hence he inferred, that if Bacchus and Hercules were justly worshipped, so without doubt would Alexander be, whose actions so far exceeded theirs, at some distance of time; but inasmuch as that worship would be of small consequence to him then, he alleged it would be more rational, as well as more grateful, to offer it him now while he was living, and could take pleasure in their adoration. The Macedonians were astonished at the speech, and knew not either what to think of its author, or what answer to return to what he had propounded; so that a long and deep silence ensued. Callisthenes at last broke silence, and, as Arrian tells us, endeavoured by a long harangue to awake in his mind more sober thoughts ^f. Alexander was highly provoked at his speech, and the more for that the Macedonians could not forbear applauding it; however, he ordered the business to go on, and settled the ceremonial of his adoration thus: when he drank to a person, it was expected, that the guest should immediately rise up, adore him, and, having received a kiss from the king, depart. The eldest and most considerable of the Persians first complied with this ceremonial, in which they followed their old custom, and were perhaps not displeased at the perplexity and concern of the Greeks (Q). Leonatus, one of the king's friends,

Encouraged in it by Anaxarchus.

^e Arrian. lib. iv. cap. 11. Plut. in Vit. Alex. Curt. lib. viii. cap. 18. Justin. lib. xii. cap. 7.

^f Arrian lib. iv. cap. 2.

(Q) Bowing down, and even prostrating one's self before a prince, ever was, and still is, held in the East an act of civil reverence, and no more. The Persians, therefore, as deities, paid these profound marks of submission to their king, not as supposing him a deity, but from a persuasion,

that he derived a supreme authority from God. It may be, and indeed it is probable, the Persians did not explain this matter, either to Alexander, or those about him; but contented themselves with satisfying the king by their actions, and themselves by their thoughts.

as Arrian has it, or, as Curtius reports, Polyperchon, observing a Persian touch the floor with his chin, laughed, and bid him hit it a little harder; for which sarcasm Alexander caught hold of him, threw him from his couch, and, as he lay on the floor, told him, he made as ridiculous a figure as he whom he had despised. When it came to the turn of Callisthenes, he pledged the king, and then came for his kiss. Alexander, being deeply engaged in discourse with Hephæstion, did not perceive he had missed any part of the ceremony; but Demetrius, one of his friends, told him that the philosopher had not adored him. The king therefore put him back with his hand; and Callisthenes, going out, was heard to say, "So then, I have only lost a kiss?" But the king afterwards revenged himself more severely (R).

*A new con-
jecture
gains him.*

While the minds of men were yet warm, the murder of Clytus unforgot, and the king's affectation of foreign manners continually provoking his natural subjects, a new conspiracy was discovered, which very narrowly missed taking effect: the king had nearest his person fifty Macedonian youths of the first quality, who, according to the rules of waiting, continually attended him in the field, at his exercises, when at table, and when he retired to rest. Among these was one Hermolaus, the son of Sopolis, who had contracted a violent antipathy to his master. One day, when he attended Alexander in the chace, a boar crossed him as he rode before the king; whereupon the young man, eager in his sport, struck the boar with his spear, and killed him on the spot. Alexander, provoked at losing an opportunity of shewing his own dexterity, ordered the youth to be scourged in the sight of all his companions, and his horse to be taken from him. Hermolaus, almost distracted with the deep sense of the disgrace he had suffered, complained of it in the most moving terms to Sostratus, the son of Amyntas, one of his companions, alleging, that he should never be at peace till he had revenged on Alexander the injury he had received. Sostratus, who loved him tenderly, came easily

§ Art. lib. iv. cap. 12. Curt. lib. viii. cap. 20. Justin. ubi sup.

(R) Arrian represents Callisthenes as a man exceeding proud of his knowledge, and, in point of vanity, very little behind Alexander himself. His temper was morose; but he

had a vehement and persuasive elocution. Aristotle made a right judgment of him and his abilities, when he said, "He was an excellent orator, but had no judgement."

into

into his measures; and they two, having formed the design, afterwards drew in Antipater, Epimenes, Anticles, and Philotas, all youths of quality like themselves, and attendants on the king's person. The result of their consultations was, a resolution that when it came to be Antipater's watch, they should kill Alexander in his sleep.

It does not appear that any of the conspirators relented when the day came; nor is it probable that the king could possibly have escaped, if an unforeseen accident, or, as some would have it, a miracle, had not interposed, and defeated all their purposes. Aristobulus, in his memoirs, relates it thus: there was a certain Syrian woman, who attended the camp of Alexander, and who frequently acted and spoke as if deprived of her senses. This woman pretended to foretel future events; but she delivered her predictions in so peculiar a manner, that, till their accomplishments compelled people to take notice of them, she was despised and ridiculed; but when, by degrees, the accomplishment of things, she had foretold had gained her some degree of credit, the king, who was always inclined to superstition, directed that she should never be restrained from entering his presence. It happened, that the night the conspirators had fixed for the execution of their design, Alexander drank pretty late with his friends. As he retired from the place where they were drinking, to his own apartment, this woman threw herself in his way, and, in one of her frantic fits, bid him go back, and drink all night; an advice which he is said to have followed. He certainly did drink all that night, and this circumstance rendered the scheme of the conspirators abortive. Next day Epimenes, the son of Aricles, who was one of the number, discovered the whole plot to Charicles, his friend; and this Charicles communicated it to Eurylochus, the brother of Epimenes: Eurylochus immediately addressed himself to Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, who informed the king of it: upon which directions were instantly given, that all who were named by Eurylochus should be immediately apprehended, and examined apart. They did not make any difficulty of confessing the whole design; and each of them named his accomplices. Some time after this discovery, Hermolus, according to the Macedonian constitution, was brought before the army, and there charged with intending the murder of his sovereign. Instead of a defence, the young man, with great serenity of mind, and cheerfulness of countenance, said, "That a man of spirit, who was born

The conspiracy, how detected.

How discovered.

All the conspirators stoned by the army.

His friendship courted by the kings of the Barbarians.

free, could never tamely support the indignities which had been offered him by the king. He alleged also, that not himself only, but his country, had been grossly injured; that Philotas had been murdered without proof; Parmenio assassinated without pretence; numbers put to death on slight suspicions; Clytus butchered in a fit of drunkenness; the Median habit and customs were preferred to those of Macedon; and edicts issued to deny a man, while that man plunged himself in drunkenness, luxury, and other vices, scandalous to himself, and detrimental to the state. From all which enormities he intended to deliver himself and his country, by the death of the tyrant." This speech being uttered, he and his accomplices were stoned by the army^h (S).

When the season of action approached, ambassadors from Scythia arrived, to inform the king, that their monarch, to whom he had sent ambassadors, was dead, and that his brother had succeeded him; that this new prince was willing to receive his commands; would give him his daughter in marriage, if he thought fit; and, if he desired it, would come to wait upon him in person. Alexander answered them in terms of friendship, but declined a Scythian alliance. Pharaïmances, king of the Chorasmians, came about the same time to Alexander's camp, with a body of fifteen hundred horse: he informed him, that his territories bordered on the Euxine Sea; and offered his service, both for providing his army with necessaries, and furnishing whatever quota the king should

^h Arrian. lib. iv. cap. 13, 14. Plut. in Vit. Alex. Curt. lib. vii. cap. 23.

(S) As all the Macedonian youth were auditors and admirers of Callisthenes, the sophist was charged as an accomplice in this conspiracy, and apprehended. There is a passage in a letter from Alexander to Antipater, as follows: "The young men were stoned to death by the Macedonians; but for the sophist (i. e. Callisthenes) I will take care to punish him, and them too who sent him to me, who harbour those in their cities who conspire against my life." Plu-

tarch tells us, that Aristotle was threatened by these insinuations: however, certainly the king grew inexorable, and at the same time very suspicious. As to Callisthenes, what became of him it is impossible to determine. Aristobulus, who was an eye-witness of all he wrote, affirms, that he was carried about in chains, till he died of a natural death. Ptolemy, who was also an eye-witness of all he recorded, asserts, that he was first racked, and then crucified.

think

think fit, in case he intended to turn his arms on that side. With this offer Alexander was perfectly well pleased, applauded the king, entered into an alliance with him, and recommended him to Artabazus, president of the provinces bordering on his dominions: however, as to the expedition proposed, he declared, that his intentions were first to reduce the Indians, and then to return into Greece; after which expedition, he proposed to make use of this prince's offer, and, with his whole force, to invade the countries bordering on the Euxine Sea. With this answer he dismissed Phraimanes, and immediately prepared for carrying his own projects into execution¹, though they were far from being approved either by his council or his army.

He first directed his march to the banks of the river Oxus, and then determined to enter the country of the Sogdians, on account of their refusing to yield obedience to the governor he had appointed over them. Polyperclon, with some other generals, and a considerable body of forces, he left in Bactria. The rest of his army he divided into five columns; the first under the conduct of Hephæstion; the second under Ptolemy Lagus; the third was headed by Perdicas; the fourth by Cœnus and Artabazus; the last he led himself. Other detachments spread themselves over the country, reducing all the castles and other fortresses which were held by the enemy. The body commanded by Alexander marched on to Maracanda, where, shortly after, the rest of the columns arrived; the whole province being reduced under his subjection. Spitamenes, however, who was at the head of the revolted Sogdians, retired towards Scythia. Having procured a supply of six hundred horse, he suddenly entered Bactria, surpris'd a castle, where he put the governor and garrison to the sword, and then advanced to the very suburbs of Zariaspa; but, not having a force sufficient, he could not besiege the town. However, some Macedonian horsemen, who had been left there in sick quarters, finding themselves now a little recovered, immediately mounted, and followed him. The Scythians were so terrified at their approach, that they abandoned all their booty; but while the Macedonians were employed in collecting it together, Spitamenes prevailed on his Scythians to take post in a wood behind them; from whence perceiving the victors returning carelessly, and without order,

*He re-
enters
Sogdia.*

*A body of
his troops
cut off by
the Sog-
dians.*

¹ Arrian. lib. iv. Curt. lib. viii.

they suddenly issued, and cut them off to a man. As soon as the news of this defeat came to Craterus, he marched against the Massagetæ, who, when they heard of his approach, fled towards the desert, but were closely pursued: they, and others of the same nation, to the number of about one thousand horse, were overtaken just at the entrance; and a sharp conflict happening, the Macedonians were victors. Of the Barbarians, about one hundred and fifty were slain; the rest escaped into the desert, Craterus and his soldiers not being able to pursue them farther.

*Amyntas
appointed
governor
of Bactria.*

In the mean time Artabazus, desiring to be discharged from his government of Bactria, on account of his advanced age, his petition was granted; and Alexander substituted Amyntas, the son of Nicolaus, in his room. Having left Cœnus there, with his own troops, besides four hundred of the auxiliary horse, the pikemen on horseback, and the Bactrians and Sogdians, under Amyntas, the chief command over all those was given to Cœnus, who ordered them to winter in Sogdia, partly for garrisons, to defend the country, and partly to encounter Spitamenes, if he should attempt to make any inroad there during the winter. But Spitamenes understanding that all places were filled with Macedonian garrisons, and that it would be difficult for him to make a retreat, resolved to turn his whole power against Cœnus and his forces, imagining he could penetrate most easily into the country that way. When he approached Gabræ, a fortified place belonging to the Sogdians, seated on the borders between them and the Massagetæ Scythians, he prevailed on four thousand Scythian horse to join his forces, that they might make an irruption into Sogdia. These Scythians, being extremely poor, as having neither cities nor fixed habitations, nor possessing any thing which they were afraid to lose, were easily induced to join their forces with any nation. Cœnus, having intelligence of Spitamenes' approach, marched with his army to meet him, and a battle ensued, in which victory declared for the Macedonians. The Barbarians lost above eight hundred horse, and Cœnus about twenty-five horse and twelve foot, in this conflict. The Sogdians, who survived this day's action, as also many of the Bactrians, leaving Spitamenes in his flight, came to Cœnus, and, having surrendered themselves into his power, swore fidelity to him. But the Massagetæ, and other Scythians, after the loss of the battle, having seized upon the baggage of the Bactrians and

*The Bar-
barians de-
feated by
Cœnus.*

and Sogdians, their allies, accompanied Spitamenes in his flight into the desert; but understanding that Alexander was preparing to scour those retreats, they slew Spitamenes, and, having cut off his head, sent it as a present to the king, hoping, by this action, to make him cease his pursuit^k (T).

*Spitamenes
killed by his
own people.*

At the beginning of the spring the king marched into Sogdiana, in order to besiege a fortress built on a rock, to which Oxyartes, the Bactrian, had conveyed his wife and family, as to a place impregnable. It was, indeed, the last resource of the rebels; and Alexander rightly judged, that, unless he could reduce it by force, it would afford them a constant asylum, and spin out the war to an excessive length. When he arrived at the place, he found it strong beyond his apprehension; for the rock was not only rugged and steep, but so slippery that it was almost impossible to ascend it; besides, it was covered with snow, which melting, afforded the besieged plenty of water, their granaries being filled with corn; so that there was as little probability of starving them by a blockade, as of reducing them by a siege; yet Alexander resolved to attempt it by the method last mentioned. To this he was the more strongly urged by the answer sent him when he summoned the place; implying, that when he had soldiers with wings, he might expect to take the place. In order to stimulate the courage of his troops, he caused proclamation to be made, offering the soldier, who should first gain the summit of the rock, twelve talents, and prizes of an inferior, but still great value, to those who should mount after him. On the publication of this reward, no less than three hundred of the Macedonians offered themselves for this service. These men, taking with them their tent-pins, and strong ropes, went to make their attempt on that side of the rock which was least accessible, supposing that there they should find the least opposition.

*The Sogdians
on rock
besieged.*

In this conjecture, though they were not deceived, yet, in ascending, they lost thirty of their number, whose bodies were never found, being, by the height of their fall, deeply interred in the snow; for the manner in which they ascended the rock was thus: they struck

^k Arrian. lib. iv. cap. 18.

(T) The fate of Spitamenes was murdered by his own wife, is differently related by Curtius. This historian says he camp of Alexander.

and taken. their iron pins into such places as would afford them fastening; and, having fixed ropes to these pins, they ascended by them; whenever, therefore, the pins or ropes gave way, the Macedonians fell, and were lost in the snow. Those who had gained the height safely, making the appointed signal from the top of the rock, Alexander summoned the place a second time, giving the besieged to understand, that he had now a corps of winged soldiers. The Macedonians above, in compliance with the signal from below, making a loud shout, and clattering their weapons, the garrison were so much affrighted, that, without making any inquiry as to the number of those who were mounted, they surrendered the place at discretion. Oxyartes was absent when this fortress fell into the hands of the king, who entertained his wife and family with that complacency and generosity for which he was so justly famous (U).

*Another
fortress
held im-
pregnable
besieged.*

After the reduction of Sogdiana, Alexander determined to march into the country of the Paratarae, where there was another fortress on a rock, held to be absolutely impregnable. This was called the rock of Chorienes, because one of the principal noblemen in the country, of that name, had retired thither for shelter, and commanded a very numerous garrison, well stored with all sorts of provisions. The sloping height of this rock was near five miles, its circuit near fifteen; but it was every where so steep and craggy, that, except by a narrow way made by art, it was perfectly inaccessible. The whole was surrounded by a deep and broad dry ditch. These difficulties

(U) The daughter of Oxyartes, by name Roxana, was esteemed the most beautiful woman in Asia, after the death of the wife of Darius; and she had the good fortune to subdue the heart of Alexander, who hitherto had not given any signs of an amorous disposition. Some writers say, that he saw her at a feast, and that he was so struck with her beauty, that he immediately ordered bread to be divided between them, according to the Macedonian method of espousing; but Arrian says nothing of this ceremony. He only tells us, that Alexander, falling violently in love with his captive, was yet a man of so much honour and temperance, that he would not make use of the privilege of war, but openly and generously espoused her; of which marriage, Oxyartes having advice, he instantly came and surrendered himself, and was received with all the testimonials of kindness and respect (1).

(1) Arrian. lib. iv. cap. 20—24. Curt lib. viii. Plut. in Vita Alex.

served

served only the more strongly to determine Alexander to surmount them : he therefore provided instantly for the siege, by cutting down a vast number of trees, of which ladders were made for descending the ditch. One half of his army was employed all day in this labour ; the other half, by three divisions, worked all night in the ditch itself, where they began to drive huge piles, and to cover them with hurdles, and other materials, for establishing a solid bridge, over which the army might march to the assault. At first the besieged derided their attempt ; but when they saw them proceed in it, and found that they themselves, with all their advantage of situation, were not able to injure them with their missiles, on account of their enemy's contrivances to cover themselves in the ditch, they began to be dismayed. At length Chorieneſ sent to desire that Oxyartes would come and confer with him ; and his request was accordingly granted. Oxyartes having assured him that nothing was inaccessible to the spirit and industry of the Macedonians ; and that, on the other hand, there could not be a more generous or merciful enemy than Alexander, he, with some of the principal persons among the besieged, descended the rock, and went to wait on Alexander in his camp. The king received him so obligingly, that he presently sent back some who accompanied him, to direct the garrison to yield up the place ; which was surrendered without delay. Alexander then ascended, with five hundred armed foot, to view the rock ; which afforded him great satisfaction, on account as well of its capaciousness and conveniency, as of its extraordinary strength. However, in respect of Chorieneſ, he left no garrison there ; but, having enrolled him in the number of his friends, committed it again to his charge. This nobleman, to give some testimony of the sense he had of such honourable treatment, finding Alexander's army was much distressed for provisions, distributed corn, wine, and salt-meat, for two months, to all his soldiers ; and, at the same time declared, that he had not exhausted a tenth part of his own stores. This declaration made the favour appear still greater in the king's eyes, since it demonstrated the surrender of Chorieneſ to have proceeded solely from his sense of Alexander's generosity, and not from any necessity he was under¹ (W).

*The place
surrenders.*

*Alexander's army
supplied
with provisions.*

Catanes

¹ Arrian. lib. iv. cap. 24, 25.

(W) In giving an account of Alexander's reducing the Sogdian rocks, we choose to follow Arrian rather than Curtius,

Yr. of Fl.
2020.
Ante Chr.
378

*The war
transferred
towards
the Indus,*

*Several
Indian
princes
submit.*

Catanes and Aulanes were now the only rebels remaining in this country. Against these Craterus was detached, with a considerable body of horse and foot: a battle ensuing, the Barbarians were entirely routed; Catanes was slain, and Aulanes taken alive and put in chains. All things being now in a state of quiet, Alexander passed Mount Caucasus, as his soldiers called it, and in ten days reached the city of Alexandria, which he had founded. There he displaced the governor for neglect of duty; and leaving such of his Macedonian foot as were unfit for farther service, he, after pompous sacrifices to Minerva, advanced to the river Cophenes. Thence he dispatched a herald to Taxiles, and the other princes on this side the river Indus, directing them to come forth, and meet him as he advanced towards their territories; an injunction which they accordingly obeyed, bringing with them the most valuable presents which their dominions would afford. Taxiles, in the name of the rest, made him a promise, that they would present him with twenty five elephants^m. Hephæstion, and part of the army, was sent with king Taxiles, and the rest of the Indian princes, to reduce the country as far as the Indus, and to make the necessary preparations for the king's passing that river with all his forces. Hephæstion executed this commission with little trouble; only one of the petty princes in the country presuming to make any resistance; and he being slain, and the city, where he had fortified himself, taken by storm, the succets of the invaders, struck such a terror as kept all the adjacent country in a tranquil state.

*Several
places re-
duced by
Alexander;*

*who is
wounded.*

Alexander, in the mean time, bent his march, with the rest of his forces, towards the river Choe, by some called Choaspes, on the banks of which he found a rough and barbarous people, whose cities he prepared to reduce. The first he attacked was surrounded by a double wall; and yet the people were so hardy, that they issued out into the field, and offered him battle. Alexander, with his horse and light-armed troops, immediately engaged them, and, after a short and smart conflict, compelled them to take shelter in the place; he was, however, slightly wounded in the shoulder. Ptolemy, son of

^m Arrian. lib. iv. cap. 24, 25.

rius, which last is very inaccurate in his facts; and in his florid descriptions seems rather to aim at the character of a

historian, than studious to deserve the reputation of an exact historian.

Lagus, and Leonatus, two of his principal captains, were also wounded. He then caused the place to be invested, and the next day attacked the first wall, where he thought it weakest. The inhabitants made a vigorous defence; but finding it absolutely ineffectual, they at last retired within the inner wall. While the Macedonians were preparing to attack that also, they opened their gates on the other side towards the mountain, and many of them made their escape, though numbers were slain by Alexander's soldiers, who gave no quarter. The king then ordered the town to be razed; and afterwards proceeded to Andaca, a considerable city in those parts. This was surrendered to him upon terms; and he left Craterus, with the heavy-armed forces, to reduce the rest of the country. Himself, with the horse and light-armed troops, continued their march to the river Euaspia, where the chief strength of the Aspii, the principal nation in those parts, was assembled.

After two days hard march they drew near the city, which the enemy immediately set on fire, and retired towards the mountains, whither however the Macedonians pursued them, and cut off great numbers in their rear. Here it was that Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, gave a shining proof of his bravery; for he attacked the general of the Aspii, who was posted on a little hill, and slew him in single combat. The Barbarians, on the other hand, fought desperately to preserve his body, till Alexander, at the head of some dismounted horse, ascended the hill, and, charging them in flank, obliged them to retire without carrying off their dead general. He now passed over one of these mountains, and advanced to the city Ariganus, which he found burnt and deserted; but Craterus having rejoined the army, he left him there with orders to repair it, and people it with such of the inhabitants of the country as were willing to dwell there, and such invalids as were glad to have a place of rest. The king still advanced, till, encamping at the foot of a mountain, Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, informed him, that he discerned a great camp of the Barbarians. Alexander therefore divided his army into three bodies; the first under the command of Leonatus; the second under Ptolemy; and the third commanded by himself. All three advanced towards the enemy, who trusting to their numbers, rushed into the plain; but they fought in confusion, though they behaved valiantly, and the Macedonians had the victory in the centre, where Alexander commanded. Ptolemy

He over-comes the Aspii.

Gains a complete victory.

was constrained to attack a considerable body of the enemy posted upon a hill. Marching up that side of it which was most accessible, he, without attempting to surround it at bottom, forced them to fly; and, by leaving an open passage, tempted them to give up the dispute the sooner. Leonatus on his side also prevailed; but the victory was obstinately contested. According to Ptolemy's memoirs, the enemy lost forty thousand men, and two hundred and thirty thousand head of cattle; which Alexander perceiving to excel those of Greece, both in size and beauty, he caused the largest and best to be selected, and sent them into Macedon, where they might serve to improve the breed, and to perpetuate the memory of his conquests. After this battle he continued some time encamped, until Craterus joined him with the heavy-armed foot. Alexander then projected a new expedition for reducing the Assaceni, who were said to have twenty thousand horse, thirty thousand foot, and thirty elephants, ready to take the field^a.

*Invas-
es the As-
saceni.*

In order to reach these Assaceni, Alexander was forced to pass through the territories of the Gurari. This route he followed with his horse and light-armed troops, and crossed a very rapid river in that country, not without much difficulty, on account of the swift current of the water, and of round slippery stones at the bottom, where on neither man nor horse could tread with safety. The Assaceni, at his approach, retired into the city, and gave up all thoughts of defence of the plain and open country (X). The government of this country, at the time Alexander invaded it, was in the hands of a woman, as Plutarch, Curtius, and Justin agree; the latter calls her Cleophes. She was, according to them, the wife of Assacenus; but Arrian says nothing of her, though he seems to acknowledge the fact^b. This lady had very providently entertained a body of seven thousand mercenary Indians, who, from the Upper India, came to

^a Arrian. ubi supra. ^b Arrian. lib. iv. cap. 26. Curt. lib. viii. cap. 34. Justin. lib. xii. cap. 7. Plut. in Vit. Alex.

(X) This capital of theirs is and, if Curtius took the description he gives us from any author who had really seen it, we might reasonably esteem its siege to have been one of the boldest enterprizes that Alexander ever undertook.

throw

throw themselves into the place; and, as Plutarch tells us, they also hired themselves for the defence of other cities. These Indians perceiving, that the army of Alexander was far from being numerous, persuaded the garrison to issue out, and try their fate in the field, that, if it were possible, a siege might be avoided. Alexander rightly imagining, that if the battle was fought immediately under the walls of the city, the enemy would reap great advantages, drew up his phalanx a mile behind his horse and archers, causing these to advance against the enemy, and then, as if amazed or dismayed, to retire towards the phalanx. His stratagem had the desired effect: the Indians conceiving highly of their own valour, followed the Macedonians, as if they had already defeated them; but when they drew near the hill where Alexander had posted his phalanx, the horse and archers attacked them in both wings, and the king with his foot charged in the centre. Thus the Indians were broken at the first shock, and exposed to great slaughter in their retreat to the city; though they behaved with great bravery, and taught Alexander to conceive better of them, than of any of the nations he had yet encountered.

*Alexander
deceats
them in the
field.*

Immediately after this victory, Alexander caused the city to be invested; and, going to take a view of the works which he had ordered to be erected before it, had the misfortune to be wounded in the leg. A bridge being made, the king gave directions, that it should be immediately assaulted; a service which was accordingly performed with that vigour and vivacity shewn by the Macedonians upon all occasions. The Indians, however, repulsed them with considerable loss. Next day the city was stormed again with the like ill success. On the third day Alexander caused a large wooden tower to be advanced to the breach, and a draw-bridge to be let fall from thence, that his men might pass over the more easily. This was a good contrivance, and answered the end; but the soldiers rushing forwards in too great numbers, the bridge broke, and they fell all into the ditch, where the defenders from the wall plied them with stones and darts: so that Alexander was forced to send Aleetes, with a fresh body of troops, to bring them off. The fourth day a new bridge was made, and the soldiers again attempted the place, but to no purpose. The mercenary Indians, as long as their general survived, behaved so gallantly, that Alexander was not likely to gain the city: but he being killed by a dart from one of the engines, and many of the sol-

*Magaza
their capi-
tal invest-
ed.
Alexander
wounded.*

*The Mac-
edonians re-
pulsed in
several at-
tacks.*

diers

The Indians submit;

diers disabled by their wounds, the rest were desirous of treating with the king, to whom they sent a herald for that purpose. Alexander, in order to save the effusion of blood, agreed to take them into his own service. On this condition they marched out, and, armed as they were, encamped on a hill at some distance from Alexander's camp. In the evening he received advice, that these Indians were determined to march off in the night, that they might not be obliged to serve amongst the Macedonians against their brethren. Upon this intelligence he surrounded their camp with his own soldiers, and cut them all to pieces ^P (Y).

but are all put to the sword.

Ora taken.

The next undertaking of Alexander was the siege of Ora. He detached Attalus, Alcoras, and Demetrius, to invest it, while in the mean time Crenus marched to besiege Bazira, another strong city. Neither of these places surrendered on the arrival of the king's forces, as it had been supposed they would; but, on the contrary, made

and Bazira.

^P Arrian. lib. iv. cap. 27.

(Y) Diodorus Siculus gives us a very distinct account of this business, and treats it as the blackest act of perfidy that ever was committed: he does not indeed say, that the Indians were to be taken into the service of Alexander; at that they had leave to march out of the place; and that, when they had so done, the king followed, and fell upon them. When they exclaimed that he had violated his oath, he equivocally answered, that he had given his oath, that they should come safely out of the city, but not that they should remain friends to the Macedonians: in consequence of which impious distinction, he killed them and also their wives, who bravely fought to defend their husbands. Plutarch allows, that this barbarous action left an indelible stain upon his memory. The

city of Massaga was soon after taken, and in it, according to Arrian, the mother and daughter of Astaneus, according to all other authors, his widow. Curtius says, that she went out at the head of a procession of noble ladies, carrying golden goblets of wine in their hands; and that she procured to herself not only pardon, but the continuance of her dignity, rather from her exquisite beauty than from her eloquence, or from any inclination of pity in the king. He adds, that she had some time after a son, who, whatever father he had, was called Alexander (2). Justin is still more plain: he says, that she procured this indulgence by prostituting herself to Alexander; and that the Indians ever after were used to style her the royal whore (3).

(2) Curt. lib. viii. cap. 35

(3) Justin, ubi supra,

all the necessary preparations for a vigorous defence; so that Coenus was forced to turn his siege into a blockade, and the king himself was obliged to go in person to the siege of Ora. This city was surrounded with a strong wall, and had in it a considerable body of mercenary Indians; yet Alexander quickly reduced it, seizing all the elephants for the use of his army. The inhabitants of Bazira, when they were informed of this success, took the advantage of a dark night to pass by the troops left by Coenus to block up the city, and escaped to the mountains. From these hills the inhabitants of Bazira, asserting themselves with such as were willing to defend their liberty to the last, withdrew to a certain rock, which, if not impregnable by its situation, they thought might be rendered so by their own skill and courage.

The rock of Aornus was in circuit two hundred furlongs, or not much less than twenty-five of our miles; its height, even in its lowest parts, eleven furlongs; the way leading to it artificial, and very narrow. On the top of it was a fine plain, part of which was covered with a thick wood; the rest arable land with a fountain, furnishing abundance of excellent water. Alexander, after making in due the necessary dispositions for preserving the country at peace behind him, marched to Embolana, the nearest city, from whence he afterwards advanced to the rock itself. While he was preparing all things for the siege, an old man, and his two sons, who had long lived in a cavern near the summit of the rock, came to offer their services to Alexander, to shew him a private way of ascending it; which proposition was readily embraced, and Ptolemy, with a considerable body of light-armed troops, was sent with them; having orders, in case they succeeded, to entrench themselves strongly upon the rock in the wood which the old man was to direct them to, before they attempted to attack the Indians. Ptolemy exactly executed all that had been given him in charge, and caused a lighted torch to be erected in his camp upon a pole, as a signal to Alexander, that they were safely lodged.

*The siege of
Aornus re-
pelled.*

The king gave immediate orders for a body of troops to attempt the ordinary passage, from which, however, they were repulsed by the Indians with great slaughter. Then he sent an Indian, whom he could trust, with letters to Ptolemy, directing him to issue from his camp, and fall

*The rock of
Aornus re-
duced.*

9 Arrian. lib. iv. cap. 27, 28. Dind. ubi supra. Curt. lib. viii. cap. 36. Justin. lib. xii. cap. 7.

upon the enemy behind, whenever he should perceive the army engaged in the next attack. But in the intermediate space, those who defended the rock attacked Ptolemy with great vigour, and were, though with much difficulty, at last repulsed. This incident, however, did not prevent that general from obeying the orders he had received; for, when Alexander renewed the assault, next day, he, on his side, came out of his camp with a party of soldiers, and assailed the enemy in the rear. The Indians repelled the Macedonians on both sides; and, though Alexander himself ascended as far as Ptolemy's post with a detachment of chosen men, yet all they could do was ineffectual, so that the king was forced to turn his thoughts another way: he saw clearly, that the great advantage of the Indians was owing to the straightness and declivity of the way by which they were attacked: in order, therefore, that his forces might fight upon more equal terms, he caused a vast quantity of trees to be cut down, and with them filled the cavities between the plain where the enemy was encamped, and the highest of his advanced posts. When the Indians understood his design, they despised it as a thing impracticable; but when they saw with what ardour this work was carried on, and felt the effects of it from the missiles which were now thrown among them by the Macedonians, they began to change their sentiments, inasmuch that they sent deputies to propose terms of surrender. Alexander having heard their proposals, suspected their true design was to amuse him till they should have made their escape; upon which he withdrew his guards from the avenues, and, as soon as he knew that the Indians were descended, he, with seven hundred light-armed foot from Ptolemy's post, took possession of the deserted rock, and then made a signal for his forces to fall upon the flying Indians. They, setting up a loud shout, so terrified the fugitives, that numbers of them fell from the rocks and precipices, and were dashed to pieces; of the remainder, the greater part were cut off in the roads. Thus, as Alexander's soldiers boasted, that rock was taken before which Hercules himself had been foiled. Certain it is, that the king sacrificed there with great pomp, and left a garrison under the command of Nisicottus, who had formerly served Bessus, but had now for some time been in Alexander's army, and behaved with much fidelity*. From hence he marched

* *ARRIAN. lib. iv. cap. 28. Diod. Sic. lib. xvii. Curt. lib. viii. cap. 30—38. JUSTIN. lib. xii. cap. 7.*

again into the territories of the Assaceni, where the brother of the deceased king had taken up arms; however, he found not only the cities but the country totally deserted. Perceiving, therefore, that little could be done there, he made it his business to search for and seize such elephants as the Indians had been forced to leave in the plain country; and, after a march of sixteen days, he arrived at the river Indus, where Hephæstion and Perdiceus had already provided a bridge of boats for the passage of the army*.

The king refreshed his troops thirty days in the countries on the other side of the river, which were those of his friend and ally, Taxiles, who at this time performed all that he had promised to the king, giving him thirty elephants, and joining his army with seven hundred Indian horse, to which, when they were to enter upon action, he afterwards added five thousand foot. The true reason of this conduct seems to have been his enmity to Porus, a famous Indian prince, whose territories lay on the other side of the river Hydaspes. During this recess, the king sacrificed with great solemnity, receiving also ambassadors from Ambifurus, a very potent prince, and from Doxareas, who was also king in those parts, with tenders of duty, and considerable presents (Z). These ceremonies being

Yr. of Fl.
2021.
Ante Chr.
327.

Alexander
passes the
Indus.

* Arrian. lib. iv. cap. ult. Diod ubi supra. Curt. ubi supra.

(Z) Strabo tells us, that the city of Taxila, which was the capital of the kingdom, was seated between the rivers Indus and Hydaspes; that it was extremely well built, governed by good laws, the adjacent country being exceeding fruitful, and well planted. The same author affirms, that this kingdom was as large as Egypt; a circumstance which is also confirmed by Plutarch. He adds, that, at the first interview between Alexander and Taxiles, the latter, who was reputed a very wise man, addressed him thus: "To what purpose should we destroy the subjects of each other, if it be

not your design to deprive us of our fruit and our water, which, as they are the only things necessary to preserve the lives of men, are only worth fighting about? As to what the world calls riches, if I am better provided than thou, thou shalt share with me with all my heart; but if thou art already richer than I, I am not so proud as to refuse being obliged to you, nor so base as to think of being ungrateful for your favours." To which Alexander replied, "Do not think, Taxiles, that by these fair speeches you shall avoid contending with me; I will no more be overcome in civility than

*Advances
to the Hy-
daspes.*

being performed, Alexander appointed Philip governor of Taxila, and put a Macedonian garrison into the place, because he intended to erect an hospital there for the cure of his sick and wounded soldiers. He then ordered the vessels, of which his bridge had been composed when he passed the Indus, to be taken to pieces, that they might be brought to the Hydaspes, where he was informed that Porus, with a great army, lay encamped to hinder his passage. When he approached the banks of this river with his army, and the auxiliaries under the command of Taxiles, he found that the people he had to contend with were not so easily to be subdued as the Persians, and other Asiatics. The Indians were not only a very tall and robust, but also a very hardy and well-disciplined people; and their king, Porus, a prince of high spirit, invincible courage, and great conduct.

*Meets
with great
difficulties.*

It was about the summer-solstice when Alexander reached the Hydaspes, and consequently its waters were broader, deeper, and more rapid, than at any other season; for in India the rivers swell as the sun's increasing heat melts the snow, and subside again as winter approaches. Alexander, therefore, had every difficulty to struggle with. Porus had made his dispositions so judiciously, that Alexander found it impossible to practise upon him, as he had done upon others, and to pass the river in his view; wherefore he found it necessary to divide his army into small parties, and to practise other arts, in order to get the better of so vigilant a prince¹. To this end, he caused a great quantity of corn, and other provisions, to be brought into his camp, pretending, that he intended to remain where he was, till the river, becoming fordable, should give him an opportunity of forcing a passage. This artifice did not, however, hinder Porus from keeping up very strict discipline in his camp; which

¹ Arrian. lib. v. Diodor. ubi supra. Plut. in Vit. Alex. Justin. lib. xii. cap. 8. Curt. lib. viii. cap. 42.

than war; and therefore do what you will, I will oblige you still more." Which promise he accordingly fulfilled, not only by bestowing on the king great presents, but also making large additions to his dominions (1). After this

incident, Arrian, and indeed all other authors, agree, that Alexander proceeded to reduce Nyssa, a famous city, said to be built by Bacchus, at this time governed by its own laws, and living in a state of freedom (2).

(1) Plut. in Vit. Alex.

(2) Strab. Geogr. lib. xv.
when

when Alexander perceived, he frequently made such motions as seemed to indicate a change of his resolution, and that he had still thoughts of passing. The Macedonians dreaded nothing but the elephants; for the bank being pretty steep on the other side, and it being the nature of horses to start at the first appearance of those animals, it was foreseen that the army would be disordered, and incapable of sustaining the charge of Porus's troops.

But after some time that the kings had amused each other, Alexander, impatient of inactivity, determined to pass at all events; yet, before he took that resolution, he contrived a method of passing with the least danger possible; which was this: there was, at the distance of one hundred and fifty stadia from his camp, a rocky promontory projecting into the river, thick covered with wood; and opposite this promontory there lay a large uninhabited island almost overgrown with trees. The king therefore conceived the practicability of a plan for conveying a body of troops from this promontory into that island, and upon this scheme he built his hopes of surprising Porus, vigilant as he was. To this end he kept him and his army constantly alarmed for many nights together, till he perceived that Porus apprehended it was only done to harass his troops, and therefore no longer drew them out of his camp, but trusted to his ordinary guards: then Alexander resolved to put his design in execution. A considerable body of horse, the Macedonian phalanx, with some corps of light-armed foot, he left in his camp, under the command of Craterus, as also the auxiliary Indians; giving these orders to be observed in his absence, that, if Porus marched against him with part of his army, and left another part with the elephants behind in his camp, Craterus and his forces should remain where they were; but if it so happened, that Porus withdrew his elephants, then Craterus was to ford the river, because his cavalry might then pass it safely. Alexander having marched half the way, about nine English miles, ordered the mercenary troops, under the command of Attalus and other generals, to halt; and directed them, that, as soon as they saw him engaged with the Indians on the other side, they should pass in vessels provided for that purpose. Then marching a long way about, that the enemy might not perceive his design of reaching the rock, he advanced as diligently as he could towards that post. It happened very fortunately for him, that a great storm of thunder, lightning, and hail arose in the night, whereby his march was perfectly con-

Determines to pass at all events.

Begins to put his design in execution.

*Passes the
river.*

ceased. His vessels of thirty oars being put together, and his tents stuffed and fluted, the troops passed from the rock into the island, without being perceived, a little before break of day; the storm ceasing just as he and his soldiers were ready for their passage. When they had traversed the island, they boldly advanced to gain the opposite shore in sight of Porus's out-guard, who instantly posted away to give their master an account of this attempt. Alexander was the first man who landed, and was followed by his forces, whom he took care to draw up as fast as they arrived. When they began their march again, they found that their good fortune was not quite so great as at first they esteemed it; for it appeared now, that they had not reached the continent at all, but were upon another island much larger than the former. They crossed it as fast as they could, and found that it was divided from the terra firma by a narrow channel, which, however, was so swelled by the late heavy rain, that the poor soldiers were forced to wade up to the breast. When they were on the other side, the king drew them up again carefully, ordering the foot to march slowly, they being in number about six thousand, while he with five thousand horse led on. As soon as Porus received intelligence that Alexander was actually passing the river, he sent his son, with two thousand horse, and one hundred and twenty armed chariots, to oppose him. But they came too late: Alexander was already on shore, and even on his march.

*The son of
Porus de-
feated, and
slain.*

When the Macedonian scouts perceived the enemy advancing, they informed the king, who sent a detachment to attack them, remaining still at the head of his cavalry in expectation of Porus. But when he found that this party was unstoppered, he instantly attacked them with all his horse, and defeated them with great slaughter, and the loss of all their armed chariots, the son of Porus being slain in the fight. The remainder of the horse returning to the camp with this disastrous account, Porus was in some confusion: however, he immediately took the best and wisest resolutions his circumstances would allow; which were, to leave a part of his army, with some of his elephants, to oppose Craterus, who was now about to pass the river also, and, with the rest, to march against Alexander and his forces, who were already passed. This resolution once taken, he marched directly out of his camp, at the head of four thousand horse, thirty thousand foot, three hundred chariots, and

*Porus
marches
against
him.*

two

two hundred elephants. He advanced into a plain which was firm and sandy, where his chariots and elephants might act to advantage; and there he halted, that he might put his army in order, well knowing that he need not go in quest of his enemy. Alexander soon came up with his horse, but he did not charge Porus, on the contrary, he made a halt, and arranged his troops, that they might be able to defend themselves in case they were attacked. When he had waited some time, his infantry arrived, whom he immediately surrounded with his horse, that, after so fatiguing a march, they might have time to cool, and take breath, before they were led to engage. Porus gave him no interruption, because it was not his interest to fight, and because he depended chiefly upon his order of battle, the elephants covering his foot, so that it could not be charged by the Macedonians.

When Alexander had disposed his infantry in proper order, he placed his horse on the wings; and observing that he was much superior in them to the enemy, and that the cavalry of Porus was easy to be charged, he resolved to let the foot have as little share as possible in this battle. To this end, having given the necessary directions to Crenus, who commanded them, he went to the right, and with great fury fell upon the left wing of Porus. The dispute, though short, was very bloody; the horse of Porus, though they fought gallantly, were quickly broken; and the foot being thus unsupported, the Macedonians charged them with their usual impidity. But the Indian horse, running up to their relief, yet were again defeated. By this time the archers had wounded many of the elephants, and killed most of their riders, so that they did not prove less troublesome and dangerous to the Indians, than to the Macedonians; whence a great confusion ensued, and Crenus taking this opportunity, fell in with the troops under his command, and entirely defeated the Indian army. Porus behaved with the greatest intrepidity, and with the most excellent conduct: he gave his orders, and directed every thing, as long as his forces retained their form; and when they were broken, he rallied them in different parties, and continued fighting till every corps of Indians was put to desert. In the mean time, Craterus had passed, with the remainder of the Macedonian army; and these, falling upon the flying Indians, increased the slaughter of the day. Twenty thousand foot, and three thousand horse were killed, all the chariots hacked to pieces, and many elephants were taken: two of

*An engagement in-
juce.*

*The Indian
army de-
feated.*

*The gallant
behaviour
of Porus.*

Porus's sons fell on this occasion, together with most of his officers of all ranks.

Who submits to Alexander, and is kindly treated by him.

As for Porus, Alexander gave strict directions, that no injury might be done to his person; he even sent Taxiles to persuade him to surrender, and to assure him, that he should be treated with all the kindness and respect imaginable; but Porus, disdaining this advice from the mouth of an old enemy, threw a javelin, which would have killed him but for the quick turn of his horse. Meroe, the Indian, who was also in the service of Alexander, succeeded better: he had been the old acquaintance of Porus, and therefore, when he intreated that prince to spare his own person, and to submit to fortune and a generous victor, Porus, being weary, and almost choaked with thirst, stopped his elephant, alighted, and, having refreshed himself with a little water, desired his friend to conduct him to Alexander. As soon as the Macedonian knew that Porus was coming, he went, with some of his friends, to meet him. The Indian king was seven feet high, exactly proportioned, of a noble aspect, and, in his air and behaviour, preserved such an unconquered spirit, that Alexander was charmed with his appearance and deportment; insomuch that he desired Meroe to ask him, "How he would please to be treated?" Porus answered, "As a king." Which reply being reported to Alexander, he said, "That, for my own sake, I shall do." "And therein (returned Porus) is comprehended all that I can ask." This moderation and magnanimity so well suited the genius of his conqueror, that, we may say, the condition of this Indian king suffered nothing by the loss of the battle. Alexander immediately gave him his liberty, and, in a little time, restored his kingdom, to which he annexed provinces almost equal to it in value. Neither was Alexander a loser by his munificence; for Porus remained his true friend and constant ally^u.

His proceedings in the conquest of India. Builds two cities.

Alexander, to perpetuate the memory of his victory, ordered two cities to be erected, one on the field of battle, which he named Nicæa, and seems to have been the same which Plutarch says was built to the memory of his famous dog Peritas; the other on this side of the river, where his camp had been, which he called Bucephala, in honour of his horse, who died here, as Arrian says, of mere old age, being on the verge of thirty. All the soldiers who fell in the battle he buried with great honours, offered

^u Arrian. lib. v. cap. 14, 15, 16. Plut. in Vita Alex. Curt. lib. viii. Justin. lib. xii.

solemn sacrifices to the gods, and exhibited pompous shews on the banks of the Hydaspes, where he had forced his passage. After this short recess from war he, at the head of his horse and light-armed troops, entered the territories of the Glaucæ, in which were thirty-seven good cities, and a multitude of populous villages; all which were delivered up to him without fighting. As soon as he received them he presented them to Porus; and, having reconciled him to Taxiles, he sent the latter home to his own dominions. About this time ambassadors arrived from Abissares, professing, that himself and his kingdom were at Alexander's devotion; among these ambassadors was his brother, who brought a large present, and forty elephants. The king directed Abissares to repair to him in person; and, having given orders to Philip to march with a body of troops to reduce the Assaceni, who had revolted, he himself, with the rest of his army, marched to the river Acesines; which being fifteen furlongs broad, extremely rapid, with great rocks in the midst of its channel, he passed with much difficulty, making use both of his vessels and skins. However, those on the latter escaped best; for when they struck on the rocks, the very force of the blow threw them off again; whereas the like accident dashed the vessels to pieces. On the other side of the river lay the territories of another Porus, whose conduct had been very fluctuating during the course of this war; for at some times he had thoughts of submitting to Alexander, at others, he determined to oppose him; at last he abandoned his dominions, and led away with him those soldiers by whom they ought to have been defended. Alexander, in pursuit of him, passed the Hydraotes, another Indian river; and, having now conquered the whole kingdom of the second Porus, he gave it to the other Porus his ally.

In the midst of all this success Alexander received advice, that the Cathi, Oxydracæ, and Malli, the most warlike nations in India, were confederated against him, and had assembled a great army. *The Indians confederate against him.* The king immediately marched to give them battle. In a few days he reached the city of Sangala, seated on the top of a hill, having a fine lake behind it. Before this city the confederate Indians lay encamped, having three circular lines of carriages locked together, and their tents pitched in the center. It was sufficiently evident to the Macedonians that the

▼ Arrian. Diod. Justin. Curt. Plut. in Vita Alex.

*Are put to
flight.*

forcing these people would be a work of great difficulty; however, Alexander resolved immediately to attack them: in pursuance of which resolution, he encamped as near as possible to their first line of carriages; and, having taken a view of it, chose out a place which he thought the most proper for the assault. The Indians made a noble defence; but at last the first line of their carriages was broken, and the Macedonians entered. The second was much stronger; yet Alexander attacked that also, and forced it, after a desperate resistance. The Indians, without crusting to the third, retired into the city, which Alexander would have invested; but the infantry he had with him not being sufficient for that purpose, he caused his works to be carried on both sides as far as the lake; and, on the other side of that, ordered several brigades of foot to take post; he likewise commanded the engines to be brought up for battering the walls, and in some places employed miners. The second night he received intelligence that the besieged intended to make their escape through the lake, which was fordable. Upon this he ordered all the carriages which had been taken from them, to be placed up and down the roads, in hopes to hinder their flight; giving directions to Ptolemy, who commanded the foot on the other side of the lake, to be extremely vigilant, and to cause all his trumpet to sound, that the foot might repair to that post where the Indians should make their greatest effort. These precautions had all the effect he wished with, for, of the five Indians who forded the lake, and passed the Macedonian horse, the greater part were killed on the road; but the great of their army was obliged to retire down through the water into the city. Two days after the capture of Julattan, the place was taken by storm, in which five or six thousand Indians were killed, seventy thousand taken prisoners, with three hundred chariots and five hundred horse. Alexander is said to have lost but a hundred men in the siege; twelve hundred were wounded, and amongst them many persons of distinction. After this exploit he sent Eumenes, his secretary, with a party of horse, to acquaint the inhabitants of the cities adjacent, of what had befallen the Scythians, with a promise that they should be kindly treated, if they submitted; but they were so much astonished at what had happened to their neighbours, that all Eumenes's good words and promises were lost upon them; inasmuch that, abandoning all their cities, they fled into the mountains, choosing rather to expose themselves to wild beasts than to those invaders

*The city
of Samaria
taken by
storm,*

invaders who treated their countrymen so cruelly. When the king was advised of their flight, he sent detachments of horse to scour the roads, and these, finding many aged, infirm, and wounded people, to the number of about five hundred, put them to the sword without mercy. Perceiving it was impossible to bring back the inhabitants of this country, he razed Bungalā, and gave the territory to the few Indians who had submitted. These points being settled, he prepared to pass the river Hyphasis, having nothing in view, as Arrian tells us, but to seek new encounters.

and razed.

His resolution to pass the Hyphasis.

The chief reason which induced the king to think of this expedition, was, the information he had received of the state of the countries beyond this river. He was told that they were in themselves rich and fruitful; that their inhabitants were not only a martial people, but also very much civilized; that they were governed by the nobility, subject to the laws; and that, as they lived in happiness and freedom, it was likely they would fight stoutly in defence of those blessings. He was further told, that among these nations there were the largest, strongest, and most useful elephants bred and tamed; he was filled with an earnest desire of reducing so bold and brave a people under his rule, and of attaining to the possession of the many valuable things that were said to be among them. As exorbitant as his personal ambition was, he found it impracticable to divide any part of it into the hands of his soldiers, who were so far from wishing to triumph over new and remote countries, that they were extremely desirous of leaving those they had lately conquered, and returning to their own. When, therefore, he was informed of the king's intention, they privately consulted together on the situation of their affairs. At this consultation the gravest and best of the soldiery held down their heads, wept, and lamented their misfortune, but the king should make use of them, not as lions, who fall fiercely on those by whom they are injured, but as mad-tiffs, to fly upon and tear such as were shown tender for enemies by their master. The rest were not at all other so modest; they expressed themselves without reserve against the king's humour of leading them from battle to battle, from siege to siege, and from river to river; protesting, that they would follow him no farther, nor lavish away their lives any longer to gratify his wild ambition.

Discontents in his army.

* Arrian. lib. v. cap. 25. Diod. Plut. Justin. ubi supra.

*Alexander
strives to
move them.*

Alexander was a man of too much penetration not to perceive that his troops were very uneasy; he therefore harangued them from his tribunal. He expatiated on the glory that would redound to them, if, after having conquered Asia, they went on to subdue the habitable world. He recapitulated the victories they had already gained; and promised them vast rewards and gratifications if they continued to be the companions of his labours, and enabled him to maintain the character of Invincible, which the oracle of Ammon had bestowed upon him as the son of Jupiter. His eloquence was great, and the love his army had for him was yet very strong: however, they did not relent; but remained sullen and silent; and at last turned their eyes on Cœnus, an old experienced general, whom Alexander loved, and in whom the army confided. He had generosity enough to undertake their cause, and to tell Alexander frankly, that men endured toil and labour in hopes of repose; that the Macedonians were already much reduced in their numbers; that of those who remained, the major part were invalids; and that they expected, in consideration of their former services, he would now lead them back to their native country; an act which, of all others, would contribute most to his own great designs, since it would encourage the youth of Macedon, and even of all Greece, to follow him in whatever new expedition he should please to undertake, whether to the north or to the south, against the Indians beyond Hyphasis, or the unknown nations bordering on the Hyrcanian Sea.

*Cœnus un-
dertakes
the cause of
the army.*

The king was far from being pleased with Cœnus, and much less satisfied with the disposition of the army, which remained buried in deep silence. He therefore dismissed the assembly; but next day he called another, wherein he told the soldiers plainly, that he would not be driven from his purpose; that he would proceed in his conquests with such as would follow him voluntarily; as for the rest, he said, he would not detain them, but leave them at liberty to go home to Macedon, "where they might publish, that they had left their king in the midst of his enemies." Even this expedient had no success; his army was so thoroughly tired of long marches and desperate battles, that they were determined against undertaking new enterprizes, either by persuasion or menaces. The king, therefore, retired to his tent, where he refused to see his friends, and put on the same gloomy and discontented aspect which appeared among his forces. For three days things remained in this situation;

situation; at last the king suddenly appeared, and, as if he had been fully determined to pursue his first design, he gave orders to sacrifice for the good success of his new undertaking. Aristander reported, after the sacrifices were over, that the omens were altogether inauspicious; upon which the king said, "That since his proceeding farther was neither pleasing to the gods, nor grateful to his army, he would return." When this declaration was rumoured among the army, they assembled in great numbers about the royal tent, saluting the king with loud acclamations, wishing him success in all his future designs, giving him, at the same time, hearty thanks; "for that he who was invincible had suffered himself to be overcome by their prayers" (A)

The king is prevailed on to return.

Alexander, having now resolved to make the Hyphasis the limits of his conquests, divided his army; and, having ordered twelve altars to be erected, equal in height, and exceeding in breadth redoubts of an ordinary size, he caused sacrifices to be offered on them with great solemnity. Here having exhibited public shews, after the Grecian manner, he added all the conquered country to the dominions of Porus, and then began his march towards the river Hydraotes. From thence he proceeded to the Acesines, where he found the city he had directed Hephestion to build, to which he invited all the inhabitants of the adjacent country, and left also therein such of his mercenaries as were infirm, and desired to reside in this place. Abissaes, a petty king, who had submitted to him in his march this way, and whom the king had ordered to repair to him, sent deputies to excuse himself on account of sickness; which excuse the king was pleased to

His generosity to Porus.

γ Arrian. lib. v. cap. 25—29. Diocl. lib. xvii. Olymp. cxiii. 2. Plut. in Vit. Alex. Curt. lib. ix. cap. 5—10. Justin. lib. xii. cap. 8.

(A) Plutarch says expressly, that the battle with Porus took off the edge of the Macedonian courage, and made them unwilling to engage any farther with the Indians, especially when they heard that, beyond the Ganges, the kings of the Gangarides and Præians had assembled eighty thousand horse, two hundred thousand foot, eight thousand armed

chariots, and six thousand fighting elephants. We have also from Plutarch an account of Alexander's causing arms of an extraordinary bigness, managers of an excessive largeness, and bits for bridles of an unusual size, to be left behind in his camp, when he was compelled by his soldiers to think of returning.

accept,

*Returns to
the Hy-
daspes.*

*Embarks
his army
on that
river.*

*His fleet
and him-
self in
danger.*

accept, because that prince had sent the thirty elephants which he had promised, and offered to submit to whatever terms the king should impose. Alexander therefore ordered Arfaces, president of the province adjoining to his dominions, to inspect his conduct. Having settled the tribute he should pay, he marched on to the river Hydaspes, where finding the new cities Nicaa and Bucephala somewhat damaged by the great rains which had fallen in his absence, he ordered his soldiers to repair them; gave the necessary directions for the security of his conquests; and then began to make the necessary preparations for passing down the river Indus into the ocean.

The care taken by Alexander for the execution of this project, displayed much more prudence than the project itself. He had ordered vast quantities of timber to be felled in the neighbourhood of the Hydaspes, through which he was to sail into the Indus; he had caused the vessels, with which he had passed other rivers, to be brought thither; and had assembled a vast number of artificers, capable of repairing, rebuilding, and equipping his fleet; which, when finished, and in a condition to be launched, consisted of eighty vessels of three banks of oars, and of lesser ships and transports, about two thousand. As for those who were to manage this fleet, he collected them from the Phœnicians, Cyprians, Carians, and Egyptians in his army, who were held to be perfectly well versed in all the branches of navigation. When all things were ready, the army embarked about break of day, the king, in the mean time, sacrificing to the gods, according to the rites used in his own country, and to those of that country where he now was. Then he himself went on board, and causing the signal to be given by sound of trumpet, the fleet began to move. Craterus and Hephaestion had marched some days before. On the third day, we are informed by Arrian, Alexander arrived at that part of the river which was over-against their camps. Here he had information, that the Oxydracæ and the Malli were raising forces to oppose him: whereupon he determined to reduce them; for he made it a rule, in the course of this voyage, to compel the inhabitants on both sides the river to yield him obedience. But, before he reached the coasts of the people before mentioned, he himself sustained no small danger; for coming to the confluence of the Acœsines with the Hydaspes, from whence

* Arrian. lib. vi. cap. 1—3.

both rivers roll together into the Indus, the eddies, whirlpools, and rapid currents, rushing with tremendous noise from the respective channels of those rivers into the great stream formed by them both, at once terrified those who navigated his ships, and actually destroyed many of the long vessels, with all those who were aboard. The king himself was in some danger, and Nearchus the admiral not a little at a loss. As soon as this danger was over, and the fleet and army had once more joined, he went on shore. Having ordered his elephants, with some troops of horse and archers, to be carried across, and put under the command of Craterus, he divided his army on the left-hand bank into three bodies; the first led by himself, the second by Hephaestion, and the third by Ptolemy. Hephaestion had received orders to move silently through the country, five days march before the king, that if, on Alexander's approach, any of the Barbarians should attempt to shelter themselves, by retiring into the centre of the country, they might fall into the hands of Hephaestion's forces. Ptolemy Lagus was commanded to march three days behind the king, that if any escaped his army, they might fall into Ptolemy's hands. As for the fleet, it had orders to stop at the confluence of this river with the Hydrates, till such time as these several divisions should arrive.

Alexander himself, at the head of a body of horse and light-armed foot, marched through a desert country against the Malli, and, scarce allowing any rest to his soldiers, arrived on the third day at a city, into which they put their wives and children for security, and a good garrison for their defence. These people, having no apprehension that the king would attempt to march through a barren country, were all unarmed and in confusion. Many of them, therefore, were slain in the field; the rest fled into the city, and shut the gates. The king, having ordered the place to be invested by his horse, attacked it; and, with some loss, took both that and the castle by storm, putting all he found in arms to the sword. He sent, at the same time, Perdicas, with a considerable detachment, to invest another city of the Malli at some distance; but, when he arrived, he found it abandoned: however, he pursued the inhabitants, who had but lately left it, and slew numbers of them on the road. After these achievements, the king took several other cities, not without

*He reduces
the Malli.*

* Arrian, lib. vi. cap. 6, & seq. Diod. ubi supra.

considerable resistance; for the Indians sometimes chose to burn their houses and themselves, rather than surrender. He seems, in respect to this nation, to have acted with more than ordinary resentment, hunting them rather as beasts, than fighting with them as men, and taking pains to cut off not only such as resisted him, but also those who fled into woods and deserts to escape his fury. At last he marched to their capital city; and, finding that deserted, he proceeded to the river Hydraotes, where he found fifty thousand men encamped on the opposite bank. He hesitated not to enter the river, though he had with him only an inconsiderable party of horse; and the Indians were so affrighted at his presence, that even with all these troops they retired; but when they saw how few accompanied the king, they returned, and charged him with vigour: but by this time the rest of his forces were passing the river, so that the Indians were constrained to retire to a city behind them, which Alexander invested that very night.

Next day he stormed the place with such impetuosity, that the inhabitants were compelled to abandon it, and to retire to the citadel, where they prepared to make a very resolute defence. The king instantly gave orders for scaling its walls, and the soldiers began to execute those orders; but the king, impatient of delay, catching hold of a ladder, placed it against the wall, and mounted it himself, covering his body with his shield, Peucestas following him, and after him Leonatus, all three by the same ladder. Abreas, a man of great courage, who on that account had double pay allowed him, mounted by another. The king having gained the top of the battlements, cleared them quickly of the defendants, killing some of them with his sword, and pushing others over the walls: but the Indians from the adjacent tower galled him with their arrows. His own battalion of targeteers, mounting in haste to second him, broke the ladders; which disaster, when Alexander perceived, he threw himself down into the castle, followed still by Peucestas, Leonatus, and Abreas. As soon as the king was on the ground, the Indian general rushed forward to attack him; but the king presently slew him, with several others of the enemy; the rest retired, and contented themselves with throwing stones and darts at a distance. Abreas was shot in the head with an arrow, and fell upon the spot; and another pierced through the king's breast-plate into his body. As long as he had strength, he defended himself valiantly;

*Alexander
in the ut-
most
danger.*

valiantly; but through a vast effusion of blood losing his senses, he fell upon his shield. Peucestas then covered him with the sacred shield of Pallas on one side, as did Leonatus with his own shield on the other, though they were themselves dreadfully wounded. The soldiers on the outside, eager to save their prince, supplied their want of ladders, by driving large iron pins into the walls. By the help of this contrivance, many of them ascended, and threw themselves over, where some, covering the body of the king, compelled the Indians to retire; and others, having pulled down the bars, broke down a gate between two towers, and thereby gave admittance to their companions. The soldiers, in the heat of their resentment, put all that they found to the sword, women and children not excepted. Then they took up the king, and bore him away upon his shield to the camp. There he continued for some time in so weak a state, that his recovery was very doubtful. The news of this accident having reached the camp on the river-side, struck a panic into the whole army. They immediately concluded that the king was dead: and when from time to time they were informed that he grew better, they attributed this report to the arts of the general officers; nor would they suffer themselves to be convinced, even when they received advice, that he was returning to the army.

*Saved by
the courage
and resolu-
tion of
his men.*

The king was perfectly sensible of all the mischiefs which might attend these fears and apprehensions of his soldiers: as soon, therefore, as his health would permit, he caused himself to be put on board his galley, and rejoined his forces. When he arrived at the camp, and shewed himself, both on horseback and foot, the soldiers gathering round him, eagerly kissed, not only his hands and his knees, but his feet and his robes, and resumed in a moment that courage and alacrity which had hitherto rendered them invincible. The officers, however, of the first rank, who were Macedonians by birth, after the first compliments were over, did not fail to tell the king, that he had done very much amiss in hazarding his person in such dangerous attempts: at which remonstrance Alexander, no longer a lover of truth, was very much displeased; but he received into his favour, and ever after treated with the greatest kindness, an old Bœotian, who told him, to soothe his vanity, that such extraordinary attempts became a hero^b.

*Received
in the camp
with great
joy.*

^b Arrian. lib. vi. cap. 12, 13. Diod. Sic. ubi supra. Curt. lib. ix. cap. 14, & seq. Justin. lib. xii. cap. 9.

Yr. of Fl.
2022.
Ante Chr.
326.

*The Malli
and Oxy-
drace
subdued.*

The Malli, by this time convinced, that nothing but submission could save the small remainder of them, sent their deputies to beseech Alexander to forget what was past, and to accept of the dominion of their country. At the same time arrived deputies from the Oxydrace, to tender their submission. These had formerly entered into an alliance with the Malli, to oppose Alexander, and put a stop to his conquests; and actually assembled a great army, with which they proposed to have joined the forces of the Malli; but Alexander's marching through a desert, and thereby entering the country of the last mentioned people, when they did not in the least expect him, rendered this attempt impracticable; and the ruin which then fell upon the Malli, induced this other Indian nation to seek their safety by a timely submission. Their deputies, therefore, acquainted him, that not out of any disrespect to his person, but merely from the love of liberty, they had hitherto declined submitting; but that they were now ready to accept of such terms as he should please to propose. Alexander demanded no less than a thousand of the principal men among them to serve in his army, and to remain as hostages for the fidelity of the rest. As for the Malli, he added them to Philip's province, commanding him to have a strict eye over them. While he continued in this camp, at the confluence of the Hydrotas with the Acesines, for the recovery of his health, and in expectation of Perdiccas, the thousand men he had demanded of the Oxydrace arrived, together with five hundred chariots of war, properly harnessed and equipped. He was so pleased with this present, that he gave the whole thousand men leave to return home, adding, that the faith of so generous a nation was a full security for their obedience.

*Augments
his fleet.
Builds a
city.*

These affairs being settled, he employed his thoughts, first in augmenting his fleet, to which end he caused several new vessels to be built; as also in erecting a city, to which he was led from the commodious situation afforded by the confluence of two great rivers. Oxyartes, the father of his wife Roxana, came hither to pay his respects to him; and was kindly received. The king conferred upon him the government of Paropamisus, the former governor having been displaced for mal-administration. To this province, that he might farther gratify his father-in-law, the king joined all the country, from the junction of the Acesines with the Indus to the sea, joining Python with him in commission: then having transported

ported Craterus and his forces cross the river, and given him such directions as he thought fit, Alexander, with a large part of the army, embarked on board his fleet, and continued his voyage. He had received information, that the kingdom of Musicanus, which lay at no great distance, was one of the richest and most populous in India. He was therefore highly incensed, that this prince should neither have sent ambassadors to make his submission, nor have taken any other method to secure his favour; and for these reasons would not hear of making any stop till his fleet arrived on the coasts of this kingdom. Musicanus, surpris'd at his sudden visit, immediately went forth to meet him, with all his elephants in his train; and, having offered him presents of the highest value, delivered himself and his realms into his hands, and acknowledged his offence; which kind of behaviour always weigh'd much with Alexander towards obtaining whatever was request'd. Having therefore pardoned him, and admir'd the wealth and beauty of his kingdom and capital city, he deliver'd the government of both again into his hands; but lest he should attempt any innovation when he was at a distance, he order'd Craterus to build a castle in the city, and he himself arriv'd there to see it finished.

Musicanus, an Indian king, submits to him

He left it a strong garrison; because this fort seem'd extremely convenient for bridling the neighbouring nation, and keeping them in subjection. Then, with his archers and Agrians, and all the troops of horse which he had on board his navy, he march'd against a neighbouring prince nam'd Oxyeanus, because he neither came forth to meet him, nor sent ambassadors with the surrender of himself and country. He reduc'd two of his chief cities at the first assault, in one of which the king himself was tak'n prisoner. Alexander gave the spoils of them to his officers, and carried away his elephants; and upon all the other cities belonging to Oxyeanus immediately submitted without blows. So much did the courage and fortune of Alexander prevail against the Indians in those parts. He afterwards led his forces against Sambus, whom he had before declared governor of the Indian mountaineers; but who had fled, when he heard, that Musicanus was dispos'd in a friendly manner, and had his dominions restor'd; for he was at enmity with that prince. When Alexander approach'd the capital city of his province, call'd Sindomana, the gates being set open, the friends and domestics of Sambus came forth to

Marc'les against Oxyeanus, another Indian prince,

and takes him prisoner.

Reduces all or conquers

meet

Causus Musicanus, who had revolted, to be crucified, and with him many Brachmans.

Alexander sails into the ocean.

meet him, with presents of money and elephants, assuring him, that Sambus did not retire out of his territories in consequence of any sinister designs against him, but for fear of Musicanus after his enlargement. Having then received the homage of these, he reduced a city which had revolted from him, and put to death as many of the Brachmans as fell into his hands, charging them with being the authors of this rebellion. About the same time he received advice, that king Musicanus had revolted; whereupon Python, the son of Agenor, was detached, with a body of troops sufficient to reduce that kingdom again; which service he performed effectually, distributing garrisons throughout all the country, and bringing with him, on his return to the camp, Musicanus in chains. Alexander directed that prince to be carried back into his own dominions, there to be crucified, together with all the Brachmans who were about him, and had instigated him to this revolt^c.

The king of Pattala (a noble island in the river Indus) came and submitted to Alexander, who restored him to his dominions, promising to come shortly and visit him, and directing him to furnish all his army and fleet with provisions. The king then dispatched Craterus with a considerable body of horse and foot to escort the invalids through the countries of Arachosia and Drangia into Caramania, where they were to embark for Macedon, the elephants also being committed to his care. As to the rest of his army, part of it, under the command of Python, marched on one side of the river; another part, under Hephæstion, on the other side; the rest remained on board with the king, who, as soon as his affairs would permit, continued his voyage to Pattala. When he arrived, he was exceedingly surprised to find, that the prince, who had lately submitted to him, was fled with almost all his subjects, leaving the cities empty, and the fields destitute of husbandmen. He forthwith dispatched some light-armed troops, in order to make prisoners; and a number being brought to the camp, the king kindly dismissed them, ordering them to tell their countrymen, that they might safely return to their habitations; for that he would do them no injury whatever. Perceiving that, at the point of the island of Pattala, the river Indus divided itself into two vast branches, he ordered an haven and convenient docks to be there made for his ships; and,

^c Arrian. lib. vi. cap. 15, & seq. Diod. Sic. ubi supra. Plut. in Vit. Alex.

when

when he had careened his fleet, he sailed down the right-hand branch towards the ocean. In his passage, however, he sustained great difficulties from the want of pilots; and at the mouth of the river Indus very narrowly missed being cast away: yet all this danger and difficulty did not hinder him from pursuing his first design, though it does not appear, that he had any other motive, than the vain desire of boasting he had entered the ocean beyond the Indus. This conjecture is confirmed by what he performed when he entered the ocean; for, having consecrated certain bulls to Neptune, performed libations out of golden cups, and thrown them into the ocean, he came back again, having only surveyed two little islands, one at the mouth of the Indus, and the other farther from the land ^a (B).^c

Is in great danger.

On his return to Pattala, he found, that the commands he had issued when he left that place, were, in a great measure complied with; that the fort was in a defensible condition, and the dock capable of service. He then resolved to sail down the other branch of the Indus into the ocean, that he might see whether it were safer and more commodious for his fleet than that which he had already tried; nor did he fail of offering very plausible reasons for his conduct in this respect. He was informed, that the season of the year would not permit a favourite design of his to be executed; which design was this: he had resolved to send Nearchus with his fleet by the ocean, through the Persian gulf, up the river Tigris, to meet him and his army in Mesopotamia; but the possibility of this voyage depending on the ceasing of the Etesian winds, there was a necessity of laying up the fleet, till the season should prove favourable. Alexander, therefore, sailing through this branch of the Indus, sought on the sea-coasts for bays and creeks, where his fleet might anchor in safety; he caused also pits to be sunk, which might be filled with fresh water for the use of his people; and took all imaginable precautions for preserving them in ease and

He resolves to leave the navy, and proceed by land to Babylon.

^a Arrian. lib. vi. cap. 18, 19. Diod. ubi sup. Plut. in Vit. Alex.

(B) When Alexander sailed down the right-hand branch of the Indus, he found its mouth to be there two hundred furlongs broad. Here the flux and reflux of the sea, with which himself and his principal commanders were unacquainted, exceedingly amazed them (1).

(1) Arrian. lib. vi. cap. 19.

The History of the Macedonians.

safety, till the season would allow them to continue their voyage. He found this branch of the river Indus, at its mouth, spread over the plain country, and formed a kind of lake, wherein a fleet might ride without any danger: he therefore appointed Leonatus, and a part of his army, to carry on such works as were necessary; and caused them to be relieved, as occasion required, by fresh troops. Then having given his last instructions to Nearchus, he departed with his army, in order to march back to Babylon by land.

Some attempt to divert him from this design.

Before his departure several of his particular friends, impressed with the apprehensions of the hazard attending this expedition, remonstrated against his rashly exposing himself and his troops to the imminent dangers they must encounter. They acquainted him, that the country was a wild uncultivated desert, where his soldiers would be exposed to the danger of starving, or of expiring through heat and thirst: they added, that Semiramis, when she fled out of India, endeavouring to lead her army this way, brought but twenty of them home; and that Cyrus, in a like attempt, escaped with but seven. This remonstrance, so far from having the desired effect, more than ever determined Alexander to pursue his plan: for it was his peculiar vanity to desire not only to overcome all nations, but even nature herself, and to attempt and perform those things which none but himself would have dared to undertake. He remained therefore fixed to his first purpose; and, as soon as he had made the necessary dispositions, he marched at the head of a sufficient body of troops to reduce the Oritæ, who had been hitherto free, and who had never vouchsafed either to make submission, or to court his friendship. Their territories lay on the other side the river Arabis, which Alexander crossed so suddenly, that they had no intelligence of his march, and thus made an easy conquest of the whole country, though not of the inhabitants; for most of them fled into the deserts. Their capital he found so well situated, that he resolved to take it out of their hands, and to cause a new and noble city to be erected there, the care of which he committed to Iiephæstion; then he received the deputies of the Oritæ, and the Gedrosi. These he assured, that if the people returned to their villages, they should be kindly treated; and having appointed Apollonphanes president of the Oritæ, and left a considerable body of troops under Leonatus to secure their obedience, he began his arduous march through Gedrosia.

The Oritæ and Gedrosi submit.

The

The History of the Macedonians.

The road itself was exposed to many inconveniencies; *The mis-*
for, first, it was very uncertain: secondly, it was ex-
tremely troublesome on account of its lying through deep
and loose sands, rising in many places into hillocks, which
forced the soldiers to climb, and at the same time sunk
under their feet: thirdly, there were no towns, villages,
or places of refreshment, to be met with; so that after
excessive marches, they were forced to encamp among
these dry sands. As to provisions, they hardly met with
any during their whole march; the soldiers were there-
fore forced to kill their beasts of carriage; and such as
were sent to bring some corn from the sea side, were so
grievously distressed, that though it was sealed with the
king's signet, they cut open the bags, choosing rather to
die a violent death for disobedience, than to be famished.
But Alexander, when he was informed of the matter,
freely pardoned them; conceiving, that his own com-
mands were dispensed with by the necessities of nature:
he was likewise forced to overlook the excuses that were
daily made for the loss of mules, horses, &c. by excessive
heat, which were indeed eaten by the soldiers, and their
carriages broken in pieces to avoid farther trouble. As
for water, their want of it was a great misfortune; and yet
their finding it sometimes in plenty was a greater; for as
by the first they perished through thirst, so by the latter
they were surfeited, thrown into droppies, and rendered in-
capable of travel. Frequently they met with no water for
the whole day together; sometimes were disappointed of
it at night; in which case, if they were able, they march-
ed on; so that it was common with them to travel thirty,
not seldom they were forced to march forty, sometimes
they were constrained to go fifty, nay, even sixty miles,
without encamping. Numbers through these hardships
were compelled to march in the rear; and, of these, many
were left behind, and perished; for indeed scarce any
ever joined the army again: so that, of all others, this
was the most dreadful misfortune that had befallen them;
which however they sustained with the more patience
from the example of their king, who not only supported
all these evils with invincible patience, but even carried
his courage and self-denial farther, and performed such
things as nothing but the authority of the writers who re-
late them, could engage us to credit (C).

When

(C) These extraordinary acts of Alexander are recorded by Arrian after this manner: as
the forces continued their march
E e 2 through

*Alexander
arrives at
the capital
of Gedro-
sia.*

When he arrived at the capital of Gedrosia, he allowed his fatigued army some rest. Here he removed Apollonanes, for non-execution of his orders. Thoas was appointed his successor; and he dying soon after, the government was conferred on Sibyrtius. About this time Alexander was informed, that Philip, whom he had left president in India, had been murdered by the mercenary soldiers, but that most of these had been put to death by the Macedonians; an incident which occasioned his writing to Endemus and Taxiles to take upon them the administration of affairs there, till such time as he should send another

through these sands, which reflected the burning rays of the sun upon them, it was necessary that they should send out parties daily to seek for water. The king, though ready to faint away with thirst, marched on foot at the head of his troops, that his officers and soldiers, as is usual in such cases, might the more patiently endure those hardships which their general shared in common with them. In the mean while, some light-armed soldiers, who were to search for water, found a small quantity not far from the army, in the channel of a brook almost dried up; but it was very muddy: however, they drew it up, and, bringing it in a shield, presented it to the king as a choice present. He received it; and returning due thanks to those who brought it, poured it immediately upon the ground, in presence of all the army. This action encouraged the soldiers as much as if every man had drank a share of that water which he refused to taste; and his extraordinary self-denial is no less praise-worthy than the noble example he shewed of a wise and consum-

mate general. Another accident happened here, which, if it had not been speedily remedied, might have occasioned the loss of the whole army; for, the sands being moved to and fro by the winds, and all the surface reduced to a level, their guides themselves were at a loss how to conduct the army any farther. In this difficulty Alexander was forced to proceed as chance directed him. However, he ordered his army to turn to the left, and himself, with a few chosen horse, went before to point out the road; but their horses quite spent with heat, were most of them left behind; insomuch that only he, with five of his followers, passed through the sands to the sea-shore safe on horseback. However, on their arrival there, they dug nigh the coast, and found plenty of water sweet and clear; whereupon he ordered the army thither, and, after that, travelled seven days along the sea-coast, and always found plenty of water. Then his guides assuring him they knew the way again, he left the sea, and led the army into the inland parts (2).

(2) Arrian. lib. vii. Plut. in Vit. Alex.

president.

president. The king then began his march into Caramania, a very plentiful country, where the troops made themselves amends for the hardships and fatigues they had endured. Here the king again halted, to give time to those who were appointed to meet him at this rendezvous. Craterus first joined him with the troops and elephants; then came Stasanor, president of the Arians; and Pharifmanes, the son of Phrataphernes, governor of Parthia. They brought with them camels, horses, and other beasts of burden, in vast numbers; for they foresaw that the king's march through Gedrosia would be attended with the loss of most, if not all, the cavalry and beasts belonging to his army. Their care, in this respect, was highly commended, as also that of Craterus, who seized Ordones, a Persian nobleman, who had been practising to raise a rebellion*.

*His troops
refreshed in
Carama-
nia.*

The king's return into Caramania made a great alteration in the affairs of his empire; for, from the moment he entered it, he heard and redressed all grievances; and the people from all the neighbouring provinces, who had been heavily oppressed in his absence, came readily to inform him of their hardships. Clitander, Sitalces, and Heracon, who had, since the death of Parmenio, commanded in chief the forces quartered in Media, repaired thither with their troops, and were no sooner arrived, than they were accused of many flagrant crimes, such as suppressing the Persian religion, extorting vast sums of money from the people, ravishing women, and, in short, giving a loose to all their ungovernable passions. Clitander and Sitalces, being fully convicted, were immediately put to death; but Heracon, baffling his accusers, was acquitted: yet, the inhabitants of Susa preferring a new charge against him, he was seized, convicted, and executed. These examples effectually fixed the affections of the people, in all the provinces, to Alexander, and at the same time obliged the magistrates, acting under him, to behave with justice and integrity. The king, after a short recess, continued his march through Caramania, not with a Bacchanalian solemnity, as some authors, and particularly Plutarch, have reported, but gravely, and in good order, as Arrian assures us from Ptolemy and Aristobulus, who, in their memoirs, contradicted the vain relations which others took pains to propagate. In his march Nearchus, his admiral, joined him, and gave him an account, that all un-

*The mal-
administra-
tion of
governors
punished by
the king.*

* Arrian, lib. vi. cap. 27. Diod. Plut. ubi supra.

der his command were in perfect safety, and in excellent condition. The king was greatly pleased with this intelligence, and, having treated him with singular marks of favour and respect, sent him back to the navy.

*He sets out
for Persia.*

*The tomb
of Cyrus at
Pasargada.*

Some informations having reached the king's ear, of great disorders committed in Persia during his absence, he immediately set out, with a body of horse and light-armed troops, for Pasargadæ, where was the tomb of Cyrus. It was a small but neat pile of building, with a fine plantation about it; and near it a convenient house for some of the magi, who were appointed to take care of the monument. In the tomb itself lay the body of Cyrus, in a coffin of gold, placed on a bed of state, the apartment being, in every respect, royally furnished. This place, to his great concern and amazement, he found rifled, all things valuable taken away, except the coffin, which was strangely battered and bruised. All the enquiry he could make produced no discovery of the authors of this villainy; for the magi either could not, or would not, declare by whom it was done. All that, in such a case, therefore, the king could do, was to direct that every thing should be restored to the state it was in, before this accident; and Aristobulus was appointed to see those orders executed. Orsines, the Persian, acted at this time as governor of Persia, not by any appointment of the king, but by usurpation; the governor settled there by Alexander having died while he was in India. This Orsines was charged by the people with many grievous crimes, particularly with having put many persons of distinction to death, merely to gratify his own resentment. Upon which accusations, after due proofs exhibited, he was condemned to be crucified. Peucestas, who had saved the king's life when he fought against a whole garrison, was appointed governor of Persia. This dignity was no sooner conferred upon him, than he laid aside the Macedonian garb, and put on the Median habit, being the only individual of Alexander's captains, who, by complying with the manners of the people he governed, acquired their affection. Baryaxes, a Mede, who had put on the royal tiara, and assumed the regal stile, being brought prisoner by Atropates, governor of Media, with those who had counselled him to revolt, was, with them, by order of the king, put to death; after which execution Alexander marched to Persepolis, the ruins of which when he had a while contemplated, he is said to have expressed great concern for its destruction. In these marches Calanus, the Indian
brach,

*Alexander
orders the
governor of
Persia to be
crucified;*

*and Bary-
axes, the
Mede, to be
executed.*

brachman, who had accompanied Alexander at his in-treaty, finding himself declining in health, and labouring under an incurable distemper, besought the king that a funeral pile might be prepared, which with some difficulty was granted. The sage, now so weak as to be carried in a litter, caused himself to be placed in it, on the top of the pile, after having taken an affectionate leave of the Macedonians, particularly of Lyfimachus, who was his disciple, and stretching himself at full length, remained without voice or motion in the midst of the flames ^f (D).

The king, having dispatched Atropates to his government, marched to Susa, where Abulites, and his son Oxathres, being charged with enormous crimes in the administration of public affairs, were put to death. Afterwards the king gave an extraordinary loose to pleasure, resolving to make himself, his officers, and soldiers, some amends for the difficulties they had hitherto undergone; purposing, at the same time, so effectually to unite his new-conquered with his hereditary subjects, that the jealousies and fears which had hitherto agitated both, should no longer subsist. With this view he took two wives of the royal blood of Persia, Barsine, or Statira, the daughter of Darius, and Parysatis, the daughter of Ochus. Drypetis, another daughter of Darius, he gave to Hephæstion; Amastrine, the daughter of Oxyartes, the brother of Darius, married Craterus; and to the rest of his friends, to the number of eighty, he gave other women of the greatest quality. All these marriages were celebrated at once, Alexander himself bestowing fortunes on them; he directed, likewise, that the number of his officers and soldiers, who had married Asiatic wives, should

*Endea-
vours to
unite the
Macedoni-
ans and
Persians.*

*Takes two
wives of
the blood-
royal of
Persia, and
gives
others to
his friends.*

^f Arrian. lib. vii. cap. 3, 4, 5. Diod. Plut. ubi supra.

(D) While Alexander tarried in the dominions of Sambus, he was visited by this Indian philosopher, who soon acquired his esteem, and was prevailed upon to attend the motions of his army. Alexander desiring some proof of his extraordinary knowledge and sagacity, he called for a dried bide, and throwing it down, began to trample first upon one corner, then upon the other, so that while he pressed one down the other always rose; at last, setting his foot in the middle, the whole lay flat and even. By this emblem he demonstrated, that in order to keep a great empire quiet, the monarch should reside in the centre (1).

(1) Plut. in Vita Alex.

be taken, and though they appeared to be ten thousand, yet he gratified each of them according to his rank.

*Pays all
the debts of
the army.*

Resolved to pay the debts of his army, he issued an edict, directing every man to register his name, and the sum he owed. The soldiers complying slowly with this order, from an apprehension that there was something severe to ensue, he ordered tables, heaped with money, to be set in all the quarters of the camp, and caused every man's debts to be paid on his bare word, without so much as making any entry of his name; though the whole sum amounted to twenty thousand talents. On such as had signalized themselves in an extraordinary manner, he bestowed crowns of gold. Peucestas had the first, Leonatus the second, Nearchus the third, Onciscritus the fourth, Hephæstion the fifth, and each individual of his guards was distinguished in the same manner. He made other dispositions proper for conciliating the differences among all his subjects. He reviewed the thirty thousand youths, whom, at his departure for India, he had ordered to be taught Greek and the Macedonian discipline, expressing great satisfaction, that the fine appearance they made rendered them worthy of the appellation he had bestowed on them, to wit, *Epigoni*, i. e. *successors*. He promoted also, without any distinction of nation, all those who had served him faithfully and valiantly in the Indian war. When all these regulations were made, he gave the command of his heavy-armed troops to Hephæstion, with orders to march directly to the banks of the Tigris, while, in the mean time a fleet was equipped for carrying the king, and the troops he retained with him down to the ocean².

*Enters the
mouth of
the Tigris,
and sails
up that
river.*

When he arrived, with his fleet, in the ocean, he directed his course to the mouth of the river Tigris, which he entered, and sailed up to the camp of Hephæstion, without meeting either with any extraordinary obstacle, or performing any thing worth recording, except that he directed certain engines to be removed, which the Persians had placed in the river to render it less navigable; for he conceiving this to be a cowardly and scandalous practice, worthy of the old masters of the river, though not of him, would not permit these incumbrances to remain any longer, and therefore set the river free. At Opis, a city seated on the Tigris, he issued an edict, purporting, that such of the Macedonians as through infirmity or wounds were incapable of serving longer, or who,

² Arrian. lib. vii. cap. 6. Diod. ubi supra. Plut. ubi supra. Curt. lib. x.

through

through the hardships they had undergone were unwilling to make any more campaigns, might have their discharge, and return home; but that such as chose rather to remain with him, should receive so much encouragement, that those in their own country should envy their condition. This edict was certainly intended to please the soldiery, and to make them perfectly easy. It had, however, a quite contrary effect; for as soon as the army were informed of his intent, they began immediately to clamour in an unusual manner, and to transgress all the bounds both of reason and duty; inasmuch that when the king mounted his tribunal, they assembled round it, demanding, that they might all be discharged. They reproached him with the favours he had conferred on the Barbarians, bidding him take his dancing boys and conquer nations; and some of them had the insolence to tell him, that his father Ammon and he might go and subdue the world by themselves.

The army mutinies.

Upon this occasion the king performed the most shining action in his whole life; he leaped from his tribunal, and calling to his guards, made them seize, one by one, thirteen of the ringleaders, whom he pointed out, and ordered to be put to death upon the spot. This execution struck such a terror into the rest, that they were all silent; whereupon he remounted his tribunal, and, in an eloquent speech, shewed the justice of his own conduct and the folly of theirs. When he had done speaking, he descended again from the tribunal, and retired to his palace, where he neither put on his robes, nor admitted any of his friends, for two days; on the third he called the Persian nobility round him, promoted them to the principal commands in the army, and permitted such of them as were become his relations by marriage, to kiss his check. In the mean time the Macedonians stood most of them about the tribunal like statues; but when they were told that the king was forming a Persian army after the Grecian manner, and that he intended to give the title of the Royal Regiment to a Persian corps of horse, they ran like distracted people to the palace. There they laid down their arms, offered to deliver up the authors of the sedition, and protested that they would remain there day and night till the king should forgive their mutinous behaviour. When Alexander was informed of this their declaration, he came to the gate in order to speak to them; but when he saw their arms on the ground, and their dejected looks, he melted into tears, and lost the power of speaking.

The king's intrepidity and resolution.

*They are
reconciled
to him.*

speaking. A quarter of an hour past in deep silence; at last Callines, a veteran, who had served in an auxiliary troop of horse, broke it to this effect: "Your Macedonians, O king, (said he) are full of grief, because you have styled the Persians your kindred, and have suffered them to kiss you, while your countrymen were excluded." The king answered, "I now make you all my kindred, and henceforward will have you reputed so." Callines, thereupon, stepping forward, kissed him, as did every one of the Macedonians. After this reconciliation, Alexander gave a solemn feast, at which were present nine thousand persons. The Macedonians sat next the king, next them the Persians, and after them persons of all nations. This vast company ate together, and drank all out of one golden cup, to the prosperity and perpetual affection of all the nations over whom Alexander was king ^a.

Yr. of Fl. The Macedonians who were sent home as invalids, amounted to ten thousand. Over and above their pay, 3043. they received a talent each for their expences; Craterus Ante Chr. was appointed their commander, and Polyperchon 325. nominated to assist him in that office.

*Sends home
the inwa-
lids.*

*Harpalus
robs the
king's
treasury,
and flies to
Athens.*

Orders were likewise sent into Macedonia, directing, that these old soldiers should have great respect paid them, and themselves and their children enjoy extensive privileges: their sons, however, by Asiatic women, the king retained, appointing them schools and masters at his own expence. The severity with which he punished those governors who had offended during his absence, as it extremely pleased the people in general, alarmed such as were guilty of the same crimes, insomuch that many of them fled; amongst the rest Harpalus, who had fled once before; but now, to secure himself effectually, he took five thousand talents out of the king's treasury, and having collected about six thousand mercenary foldiers, left them at Tænarus, and went to Athens; from whence, after some time, being obliged to withdraw, he returned to his troops, and was killed by Thimbrio, one of his intimate friends. As for Alexander, having cured the army of sedition, he was plagued with disputes among his friends. Hephæstion, his favourite, especially, presumed too far on his kindness towards him, and had once the insolence to remove Eumenes, the king's secretary, and the man of the clearest head in his whole army, out of his apartments, for the sake of a musician belonging to himself: Eumenes,

^a Arrian. Diod. Plut. Curt. & Just. ubi supra.

thus insulted, went to the king, and, in the height of his passion, told him, "That the way to be in his favour now was to lay down their arms, and turn fiddlers." The king was very angry with Hephæstion; and, after having reproved him sharply, obliged him, against his will, to be reconciled to Eumenes. Then the king continued his march through Media (E). The cause of Alexander's route this way is not expressed by Arrian, or indeed by any other author; but it may with probability be imputed to Harpalus's flight, and the danger there was, that the rest of the royal treasures might be dissipated: however it was, the king continued his progress to Ecbatana by quick marches¹.

On his arrival at that noble capital, he offered sacrifice to the gods, and exhibited solemn sports and games, making also a royal banquet on that occasion; but the joy and mirth, as well of the king as of his army, was very soon interrupted by Hephæstion's falling suddenly ill, and appearing to be in great danger of death. Authors are not agreed as to the occasion of his sickness; some expressly affirming, that he over-drunk himself; others, that he was ill of a surfeit; however, on the seventh day of his illness, mortal signs appeared: of which when the king had notice, he immediately quitted the place of exercise, where he was at that time, and went to see him: but he came too late; for before he reached his lodgings, Hephæstion was dead. The king expressed a very deep concern for the loss of his friend, and did him all the honours that he could possibly devise (F). In the neighbourhood

Alexander arrives at Ecbatana.

The death of Hephæstion.

¹ Arrian. lib. vii. cap. 13. Diod. Sic. lib. xviii. Plut. in Vit. Alex. Justin. lib. xii.

(E) Arrian informs us, it was said that he received here from Atrobates a troop of female warriors, who were supposed to be Amazons; but the same author tells us, that no writer of any credit had presumed to publish such a story in his work: he therefore rejects it as a fiction, as we also do; nor shall we trouble the readers with what other authors relate of Thalestris, her corps of female warriors, and her

desiring Alexander's private intercourse; tales fitter for a romance, than for any thing which bears the name of history, much less the history of Alexander.

(F) Plutarch says, he ordered ten thousand talents to be spent on his monument; Arrian mentions the same sum spent in his obsequies at Babylon: as for what Ælian tells us, that he razed the callic of Ecbatana; and what others affirm,

bourhood of Ecbatana dwelt the Cossians, a race of rude and barbarous people, who sheltered themselves in the Median mountains, and were never subdued by the Persian kings. Against these people, on account of their having committed some new robberies, Alexander, though it was winter, resolved to march; having divided his army into two bodies, one under his own command, and the other under that of Ptolemy Lagus. The Cossians, as soon as Alexander entered their country, fled to their old hiding-places, supposing they would prove now, as they had been heretofore, so many inaccessible fortresses: but they were quite mistaken; for Alexander and Ptolemy continually pursued them, and, at the head of the light-armed foot, clambered up the rocks, and either compelled those who had taken shelter there, to come down, or blocked up the mouths of their caves, and left them to starve. At length the Cossians, in despair, sent deputies, and submitted to Alexander's mercy. While he remained at Ecbatana, he gave orders for felling a great quantity of timber in the mountains for building a navy, with which he designed to examine the Hyrcanian or Caspian sea, and to make himself as thoroughly acquainted with it, as he now was with the coasts of the ocean, and the passage into the Tigris by the Persian gulf. These directions being given, and the necessary orders distributed for the regular administration of affairs in the province, he set out for Babylon.

The Cossians submit.

Alexander marches to Babylon.

In his march from Ecbatana to the last mentioned city, he gave directions for collecting whatever Grecian statues, or other curiosities that had been brought by Xerxes, or any of his officers, in any of their expeditions, out of Greece into the Persian dominions; and ordered they should be carefully sent back. He likewise gave audience to many ambassadors, not only from the states of Greece,

affirm, that he crucified Hephæstion's physician, and forwarded the sound of the flute, or of any other musical instrument, in his camp; it really deserves no credit. One thing Arrian informs us of, relating to this business, which is more probable, and at the same time more curious, and better worth

relating; to wit, that all the great officers in Alexander's army devoted themselves and their arms to Hephæstion, at the motion of Eumenes, who took this method of shewing that, far from being pleased at the death of a man who had differed with him, he was deeply concerned (1).

(1) Arrian. ubi supra.

The History of the Macedonians.

but also from Barbarian princes, who came to congratulate him on his safe return from his Indian expedition; and he gave them not only courteous and obliging answers, but also gratified them in whatever requests they made. When he drew near Babylon, the magi are said to have sent a deputation, requesting the king not to enter that city, because they foresaw, that it would be fatal to his health. Others say, that they were afraid to deliver the message they were charged with to the king himself; but that they applied to Nearchus, who was then at court, and informed him of the king's danger: however it was, all agree, that the king had notice of these predictions of the magi, and that at first they made a great impression on him; but that when he heard the Grecian philosophers reason upon this subject, he began to slight such omens, and to resume his first resolution of marching directly to Babylon. When the Chaldeans found him thus determined, they offered him another piece of advice, which was this; that if he determined to enter Babylon, he should march round it, and so enter it with his face towards the east. To this expedient the king assented; but when he attempted to put it in execution, he found it impracticable; for the country on the other side of Babylon being a deep impassable marsh, he was constrained to return, and to enter it with his face to the west. This circumstance, with some other presages, and unlucky omens, gave the king great uneasiness (G).

The Magi endeavour to divert him from entering that city.

Is uneasy on account of some presages.

However,

(G) The presages referred to in the text are thus related by Arrian. Apollodorus, the Amphipolitan, one of the king's friends, having been deputed to preside over the army, which was left for the security of the province, Mazæus being then governor, met Alexander at his return from India; and perceiving how severely he had treated several governors of provinces, he wrote to his brother Pythagoras, one of those augurs who gave answers by inspecting the entrails of beasts, and consulted him about his own safety. Pythagoras asked him in answer to his let-

ter, of whom he principally stood in fear, that he might divine accordingly: and when he replied, that he chiefly dreaded Alexander and Hephæstion; Pythagoras, seeing the laps or fillets of the liver wanting, wrote a letter, and sent it sealed to his brother Apollodorus, then at Ecbatana; wherein he assured him he need not stand in fear of Hephæstion; for he would shortly be taken off by death. And Aristobulus tells us, that Apollodorus received this letter the day before Hephæstion's decease. Then Pythagoras, again consulting for Alexander, and

*Forms new
projects.*

However, when he had been some time in Babylon, he resumed his former spirit, and began to bend his thoughts to the execution of certain vast designs he had formed, such as the conquest of the Arabians, the draining the Babylonian fens, and making a basin at Babylon, capable of containing a thousand galleys. As to the first of these designs, he directed proper enquiries to be made concerning the country, people, and most proper time for invading Arabia. For his third project, he instantly assigned a number of ship-builders, architects, and labourers, to carry it on; and as to the second, he went in person down the Euphrates, about fourscore miles, to examine the canal called Pallacopas, by which the waters of the Euphrates were let out, in order to judge the bet-

and finding the fillets of the liver wanting, wrote to the same purpose a second time to Apollodorus. He never so much as endeavoured to conceal the transaction, but freely communicated the whole story to the king, as a testimony of his sincere good-will towards him, and intreated him to beware of the danger which threatened him. Alexander, hereupon, commended him for his fidelity; and, when he entered into Babylon, he demanded of Pythagoras by what means he was informed of those things which he had written to his brother concerning him; and, being answered, that the livers of the sacrifices offered for that purpose were defective, he again inquired what that portended: to which the augur replied, some great mischief. However, the king was so far from being offended at him, that he respected him the more for relating the whole matter to him simply and sincerely. Aristobulus tells us, that he received this story from Pytha-

goras's own mouth, who also afterwards inspected the entombs for Perdicas and Antigonus, and gave the same responses, and the events happened accordingly; for Perdicas was slain making war against Ptolemy, and Antigonus lost his life in a battle against Seleucus and Lyfimachus, at the river Ipsus. A strange story is also related concerning Calanus, the sage, to this effect: when he was carried towards the funeral pile, immediately before his death, he kissed all his friends, and took his leave of them, except Alexander; and, when he drew near the king for that end, he refused to kiss, and take his leave of him then; but told him, he would find him again at Babylon, and do it there. These words were not at all regarded at that time by those who heard them; but the decease of Alexander afterwards at Babylon brought them fresh into their memories, and they then looked upon them as a prophecy of his death (1).

(1) Arrian. lib. vii. cap. 18.

ter of the proposals he should receive for remedying those evils which fell so heavy upon Assyria. From thence he passed to the mouth of the canal, and so to the Arabian confines; where, finding an agreeable situation, he built a new city, and left in it a colony of Greek mercenaries. Then he determined to sail back through the marshes, having the city on his left hand. To shew the skill he had acquired in naval affairs, he directed the royal galley himself; but, as he was upon deck for this purpose, his tiara and fillet, which, according to the Eastern mode, he wore to denote his regal dignity, were blown off by the wind. The tiara, by its weight, was carried to the bottom of the river; but the fillet was borne by the winds to the sepulchre of one of the Assyrian kings, and there it stuck upon the reeds. A sailor, desirous to shew his zeal and courage in his master's service, leaped into the water, swam to the monument, and recovered the fillet; but being afraid that it might be wet as he swam back again, he put it upon his head, a circumstance which was believed to confirm the presage, already held sufficiently ominous^k. When the king returned to Babylon, he found there Peucestas, who was come from Persia with twenty thousand regular troops, besides a considerable corps of Cossians and Tapurians, nations lately reduced. Philoxenus also arrived with an army out of Caria, Menander with a body of troops from Lydia, and Menidas with several squadrons of horse. Ambassadors from Greece approached the king with garlands on their heads, and presented him with golden crowns; intending thereby to offer him divine honours, a thing which had been fatal to his father, and proved no less so to the son. He was extremely desirous of forming the Persian troops on the Macedonian model; and having first appointed them officers of that nation, he next determined to incorporate them into his grand army. For this purpose, having directed a review, he assisted thereat for some time with great pleasure; but finding himself on a sudden very thirsty, he quitted his throne to take some refreshment. A mean fellow, who was a prisoner, but sometimes permitted to go without chains, seeing the royal seat empty, passed briskly through the eunuchs, and sat himself down on the throne. The king being informed of his presumption, ordered the man to be seized, and examined whether any body had prompted him to this arrogance, or

An accident interpreted as ominous.

His army reinforced.

Ambassadors from Greece.

Another event thought likewise ominous.

* Arrian. lib. vii. cap. 22. Diod. Sic. lib. xvii.

what was his motive, if he did it of his own accord. The man answered, that he himself only was to blame, and that he did it from a levity of mind, for which he could not account. For this reason the thing was held still the more ominous, and the unhappy wretch, for his unaccountable presumption, immediately put to death.

*Other
omens.*

A few days after this transaction, when Alexander offered the accustomed sacrifices for the success of his affairs, and had added some new victims by the advice of his soothsayers, he feasted his friends, and continued the banquet till late at night. He is also said to have given the flesh of the sacrificed beasts to his army, and ordered wine to be distributed among them, according to their numbers in each troop and company. Some authors add, that he was then willing to retire from the banquet to his bed-chamber; but was met on his way by Medius, one of his friends, at that time in high favour, who intreated him to go and make merry with him that night, for that the sports and entertainments in his apartments would not be disagreeable. The Royal Diary (H) gives us an account, that he eat and drank with Medius, and then retired to rest; and when he awaked, and had washed and refreshed himself, he again supped with Medius, and drank till late at night. When he retired from the banquet, and had washed, he eat a little, and lay down there, because he had some symptoms of a fever. Afterwards he was carried in a chair to the temple, and there sacrificed after his usual manner. This act of devotion he repeated several days; and, when the sacrifices were performed, he lay in an apartment prepared on purpose for him, till the evening.

*Has some
symptoms
of a fever.*

In the mean time, he issued out orders to the generals to make ready for a march in four days, and even nominated the leaders who should proceed by land; but those

(H) Who was the writer of the Royal Diary, is uncertain. Some ascribe it to Cardianus Eumenes; others to Diodatus Erythræus, and others to Stratius Olynthius, who wrote, according to Suidas, a diary consisting of five books, giving a general account of Alexander's exploits, and a very particular one of his death. But, whoever was the author of that

piece, Plutarch, a most judicious and accurate writer, has preferred it to all other accounts. According to this diary, Alexander was taken ill on the twenty-eighth day of the Macedonian month Desius, answering to the twelfth of our May; and died on the eighteenth of the same month, the twenty-second of our May, in the evening.

that

that were to go on board the fleet with him had directions to prepare themselves against the fifth day. After this disposition, he was carried to the river; and being put on board one of his galleys, was conveyed to some pleasant gardens on the other side, where, he went to rest. Next day he bathed, and performed his accustomed sacrifices; which being offered, he entered his chamber, and discoursed with Medius, having given orders to his officers to attend in the morning. He then supped moderately; and being conveyed to bed, had a continued fever upon him all that night. However, next morning he again bathed and sacrificed, and ordered Nearchus, with the rest of his captains, to prepare for sailing on the third day. On the morrow he bathed and sacrificed as before, but his fever still continued; notwithstanding which, he called his captains to him, and ordered all things to be made ready for a voyage; but his fever increased towards the evening. Next day he was carried into a house adjacent to the bath, where he performed his usual sacrifices, and once more called his chief officers about him, to give orders concerning the intended voyage. The day following he was with great difficulty carried to sacrifice; however, he still continued to repeat his orders; and, notwithstanding he grew manifestly worse, could not be restrained from sacrificing the day after. He then commanded his chief officers to remain with him in the hall, and those of an inferior rank to wait at the gates. Growing still worse, he was conveyed from the hall in the garden, where he then was, into the palace; and his chief officers approaching to pay their attendance, he made signs that he knew them, but was not able to speak, nor pronounce any thing articulate; and thus he remained all that night. The day following his fever still increased; and all that night, and the next day, continued strong and violent. The army by this time began to suspect that the king was dead; and as all crowds are violent in the pursuit of whatever they believe, they openly published this opinion. When it was contradicted by those about his person, some of the soldiers had the assurance to force their way into the royal apartments, and even into that where the king lay. He was by this time speechless, and scarce able to stir; however, he raised himself up, and extended his hand for the soldiers to kiss; which when they had done, they retired. A little after this visit, Python, Attalus, Demophoon, Peucestas, Cleomenes, Menidas, and Seleucus came in.

Is seized with a continued fever.

The fever increases.

Yr. of Fl.
3025.
Ante Chr.
323.

*Alexander
dies.*

*Other re-
lations of
the king's
death.
Remarks
on his cha-
racter.*

They had watched all night in the temple of Serapis, and had proposed the following question to the god : " Whether Alexander should be brought into his temple to recover his health ? " To which question the oracle answered, " That it would be best for him to remain where he was " They had been in the room but a short time, when the king expired ; so that it was conjectured the oracle meant death was best for him. Thus far Arrian ¹ (1).

We have seen from the before mentioned relation, as also from what we have noted out of other ancient writers, that Alexander died a natural death. We are now come to the end of that famous reign which makes so great a figure in history ; but we shall not take upon us to conclude it with any character of Alexander, because, in the best

¹ Arrian. lib. viii. cap. 24, 25, 26.

(1) Diodorus Siculus, speaking of the death of Alexander, illustrates it in with an account of his losing his tiara and fillet ; to avert which ill omen, he informs us, the king was enjoined to offer certain sacrifices ; which having performed, Medius invited him, on his return, to a banquet, where the king, drinking off the Herculean cup, was immediately struck with excessive pains, so that he was carried instantly to his lodgings. His sickness increasing, he began himself to despair of life, and gave his ring to Perdicas. His friends enquiring to whom he left the kingdom, he answered, " to the most worthy. " He also intimated his foresight of their broils, by saying, " he could already view the funeral games which would attend him. " This author mentions the report of Alexander's dying by poison, through the contrivance of Antipater, with the circumstances alleged to support that opinion. But he leaves the reader to judge for himself on the facts and reasons pro-

duced. Plutarch relates the manner of his death circumstantially. He says, that, after having given an entertainment to Nearchus, as he was going from the bath to bed, Medius conducted him to a banquet. There the king drank all night, and the next day ; a debauch which threw him into a fever that carried him off. He rejects the story of the Herculean bowl, and of the king's being taken in an extraordinary manner. As to his being poisoned by Antipater's contrivance, he mentions it, and all its circumstances, but openly professes his disbelief of it. He cites the king's diary, as Arrian does ; from whence it is clear, that there was nothing hasty or violent in Alexander's death, but that he was taken off by a fever. Curtius copies the same authors with Diodorus, but adds several circumstances. He informs us, that the king directed his body to be carried to Ammon ; that when Perdicas demanded at what time divine honours should be paid him

best authors of antiquity, there are many characters of him already. To these we cannot altogether assent; and it would be, perhaps, placing our own authority too high, should we attempt to censure them: we shall therefore observe, that, in reading these characters, just regard ought to be had to the rank and credit of the several authors who wrote them. Historians have considered him either as an enterprising and successful prince, the glory of whose great actions scarce suffered the blemishes in his personal conduct to be seen, which is the light Arrian has placed him in; or they make his virtues and vices alike conspicuous, which seems the view of Curtius. Philosophers and moral writers have dealt more strictly with him, and have therefore seldom run into high panegyrics, Plutarch only excepted; who, in his orations on the fortune and virtue of Alexander, speaks as a rhetorician. The satirist Lucian hath described him with great spirit, and with consummate judgment; but he seems to have kept his eye too closely on the latter scenes of his life, when his fortune, not his merit, was at its greatest height. However it is considered, his character is always shining, as his actions were in themselves very extraordinary. We are so hurried by the rapidity of his conquests, that we have scarce time to consider his moral conduct, or to form a true estimate of his character, in which vanity and ambition seem to have chiefly predominated. Whether he possessed great talents as a general, it will not, we apprehend, be an easy task to determine. The nations he conquered were but rude and ignorant in the science of war, and many of them timorous and effeminate; besides,

him, he answered, "When you are all happy." He is positive, that the king was poisoned; and affirms, that this black affair was stifled by the power of his successors. This notion is at least very improbable; for the king died at Babylon; Antipater commanded in Greece; a sedition followed on the king's demise. Is it not strange none of the contending parties should mention it then? Justin writes more clearly than all the rest as to the poisoning, which he

takes for an indubitable fact. In other circumstances he agrees with Diodorus and Curtius. He is clear also as to the king's speaking, after the soldiers had quitted the room; and yet Arrian and Ptolemy, from the king's diary, seem to agree he was speechless before they saw him. Perhaps he gave his ring to Perdicas, and expressed his sentiments to his friends, just before he lost his speech (1).

(1) Diod. Sic. lib. xvii. Plut. in Vit. Alex.

the merit of his success must be shared with his generals and soldiers. Certain it is, he had an impetuosity of courage, that danger rather inflamed than extinguished; but this was little better than presumption and temerity, which, without good fortune, would have exposed him to censure and to ruin. He is said to have been of a liberal nature; and, without all doubt, he gave away lavishly the treasures which he had acquired in Asia; but it is natural for a robber to squander away the fruits of his rapine. There have been divers buccaneers of America, in this respect, as generous as Alexander. There have been many professed pirates less inhuman than he, notwithstanding all that is recorded of his clemency and goodness: will the few instances we have of his magnanimity, philanthropy, and compassion, atone for his unjust invasion of Asia, the destruction of cities, the desolation of kingdoms, the ruin of monarchies and states, and the massacre of nations, from which he had received no injury nor provocation? Will his complaisance to the mother and wife of Darius, excuse his implacability in hunting that unfortunate monarch, not only out of his own empire, but even out of his life? Will all his acts of justice and generosity efface the impressions made by his infamous cruelty to the brave governor of Gaza; to his best and most faithful general Parmenio, and his son Philotas, who was his own companion; or to his foster-brother and fellow-soldier Clytus, whom he basely murdered with his own hand, for an intemperance of tongue, occasioned by intoxication? If he was really a prince of excellent natural parts, and a happy disposition, which had been cultivated with the utmost care, one would think he should have been incapable of those excesses, and that brutality, which were but too conspicuous in the short course of this expedition. He died, according to the account of Aristobulus, in the hundred and fourteenth Olympiad, when he had lived thirty-two years and eight months, and had reigned twelve years and eight months^a.

*The wives
and de-
scendants of
Alexander.*

As to the issue he left behind him, we shall speak generally here, and more particularly in the subsequent section. By Barsina, or Arsinoe, the daughter of Artabazus, and the widow of Memnon, a lady of great beauty and merit, he had a son named Hercules, who was afterwards murdered. By Roxana, the daughter of Oxyartes the Bactrian, he had a posthumous son named Alexander, who enjoyed for a time the title of king. By Cleophes,

^a Ap. Arrian. lib. vii. cap. 28.

queen of part of India, he had a son named Alexander, who succeeded his mother in her kingdom. By Statira, the daughter of Darius, he had no children; nor by Parysatis, the daughter of Ochus. Of these ladies we have reason to suppose, that Roxana was the best beloved; since it appears, that he married her from the dictates of his passion, the rest for reasons of state.

We have now ended the history of a reign, which bestowed the epithet of Great on him of whom we have been speaking, and extended his empire, in name at least, over the world. This indeed was rather a slight of Grecian flattery, than any adequate description of his dominions. He was far from being master of the world then known; for he possessed but part of Asia, a small part of Africa, and a still smaller of Europe; yet he was the lord of many fair provinces, the sovereign of many large and powerful kingdoms, and held an empire more extensive than the world had till that time seen. Macedon was his hereditary kingdom; great part of Thrace and Illyria he had subdued; all Greece was under his protection; and the protection of so great a prince always did, and always will, include sovereignty. His Asiatic conquests reached from the Hellespont to the Indian Ocean, including all that the Great King had possessed, and more. Egypt and Lybia were his; and all the Greek islands owned his authority.

The extent of the Macedonian empire.

SECT. VI.

The Division of the Macedonian Empire.

Table of the Macedonian Princes who ruled after Alexander the Great.

Aridæus, the son of Philip.	Meleager.
Alexander, the son of Roxana.	Antipater, the son of Philip.
Cassander, the son of Antipater.	Sothenes.
Philip, the son of Cassander.	Antigonus Gonatus, the son of
Antipater and Alexander, sons of Philip.	Demetrius.
Demetrius Poliorcetes, the son of Antigonus.	Demetrius, the son of Antigonus.
Pyrrhus.	Antigonus Dofon.
Lyfimachus.	Philip, the son of Demetrius.
Ptolemy Ceraunus.	Perfes.
	Andriscus, or Pseudo-Philippus.

THE death of Alexander had well nigh proved the dissolution of his empire; for at first, the extreme grief that universally prevailed, hindered his ministers from giving proper attention to public affairs; and when these

State of things at the death of Alexander.

transports of affliction were over, their feuds and jealousies had almost occasioned the shedding a deluge of Macedonian blood round the dead body of their king. A day or two after the death of Alexander, his friends assembled in the council-room, and summoned thither all the principal commanders of the army; but the soldiers and people came in great crowds, and so blocked up the passages, that many of the great officers could not enter. Proclamation was then made by a herald, that none should presume to approach the assembly, or to remain there, but such as were called by name; which proclamation however was very little regarded; and we mention this as a remarkable instance of the difference between authority and power.

*Perdiccas
resigns the
ring.*

*Successors
proposed in
the council.*

Perdiccas, as soon as silence could be obtained, ordered the chair of Alexander to be produced, and placed the robes and regalia upon it, laid upon them the royal ring, declaring, that he most willingly resigned any authority that might be intended him by the king when he received this ring from his hands. However, he proposed it as a thing not only expedient, but necessary, that the empire should have a head; then he declared that Roxana was with child; and that, if she brought forth a son, he ought to be acknowledged his father's successor. Nearchus applauded the design of preserving the regal dignity in the family of Alexander; but said, it would be too long to wait for Roxana's delivery, especially as it would be attended with uncertainty. He therefore mentioned Hercules, the son of Alexander by Barsina. The soldiers signified their dislike of this proposal by the clangour of their arms. Ptolemy then propounded, that the chair of Alexander should retain the shadow of sovereignty, and that the state should be governed by a council of officers. This project being also disliked, a motion was made in favour of Perdiccas; but he, out of modesty, refused the honour. At last somebody mentioned Aridæus, the brother of Alexander, whom he had always accompanied, and with whom he was wont to sacrifice. The Macedonian phalanx closed immediately with this proposition, and called for Aridæus. Perdiccas, Ptolemy, and most of the horse-officers, were extremely averse to this measure; and they carried their obstinacy so far, as to retire from the assembly, and even to quit the city. However, Meleager, at the head of the phalanx, supported vigorously their first resolution, and threatened loudly to shed the blood of those who affected to rule over their equals, and to assume
a king-

*Aridæus
is printed
to succeed
his brother
Alexander.*

a kingdom to which they had no title. Aridæus they arrayed in royal robes, buckled on him the armour of Alexander, and saluted him by the name of Philip, that he might be rendered more popularⁿ.

While things remained in this situation, Meleager managed affairs for the new-created king, and Perdicas transacted all things for the other party. Both pretended great concern for the public, yet intended nothing so much as their own private advantage, each having formed a scheme of engrossing the administration, under colour of serving the interests of those they had induced, not to favour them personally, but their specious pretences.

Perdicas was a man of high birth; had a supreme command in the army; was much in favour with Alexander, and strongly confided in by the nobility. Meleager had rendered himself formidable by uniting the Macedonians who composed the phalanx in one opinion, and by raising one to the kingdom who was wholly under his direction^o. Aridæus was the son of Philip, by a dancer named Philina; a man of weak intellects, not by nature, but by the practices of Olympias, who by poisonous draughts had taken care to weaken both his constitution and his mind. He had however for his wife Eurydice his cousin, by whose assistance he was able to manage affairs with discretion. At present, being without counsellors, he acted as the times required. He did what Meleager prescribed: but declared that he acted by the advice of this minister, who, therefore, was made accountable for the measures he proposed. The Macedonians, besides their affection for the royal house, began to entertain a personal love for Aridæus, now called Philip, on account of his mildness and moderation^p.

The characters of Perdicas, Meleager, &c.

Besides these, who were the principal characters on the stage at this time, there was another who through modesty declined public notice, and was notwithstanding a prime instrument in adjusting the differences that now arose, and made a most shining figure in public affairs afterwards. This was Eumenes the Cardian, the late king's secretary. He was little distinguished by birth, though his father could not have been a waggoner, as some report, because he was Philip of Macedon's host, who re-

Eumenes.

ⁿ Curt. lib. x. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xyiii. Justin. lib. xiii. Oros. lib. in. Plut. in Vit. Alex. & Eumen.

^o Plut. in Vit. Alex. & Eumen. Diod. Curt. ubi supra. ^p Arrian. apud Phot. Biblioth. Cod. xcii. Justin. Curt. ubi supra.

tained Eumenes about his person, and having tried his fidelity, made him his secretary, in which post he was found, and continued by Alexander. This office alone would have rendered him very considerable, but the king had raised him besides to the highest military commands, on account of his rare genius, suited alike to camp and court, and no less capable of commanding in the field than of giving advice in the closet. When the marriages were made by the king's directions at Susa, Eumenes was in some measure allied to him, for he had then given him Artanis, whom some call Barsine, the daughter of Artabazus, and sister of Barsina, who was the mother of Hercules by Alexander. These were the principal actors at this period: Perdicas full of ambition; Meleager selfish and revengeful; Aridæus, or Philip, weak and timorous; Eumenes, brave, wise, and inviolably attached to the royal house.

*The sedition
now ap-
peared.*

The infantry under Meleager occupied Babylon; had the king's person in their hands, and were clothed with his authority, which however Meleager over-stretched when he sent some emissaries to seize Perdicas; but that great officer so intimidated them with his frowns and menaces, that they returned without effect; and thus the breach was widened. The cavalry under Perdicas, Ptolemy Lagus, and other generals, invested the city, or rather blocked up the avenues, so that presently the consequences of famine began to be felt. The inhabitants of the adjacent villages fled for safety to Babylon, and multitudes, pinched by hunger, issued from the city to seek subsistence in the country. This confusion compelled the phalanx to think of treating; and Eumenes, who, as a stranger by birth, had hitherto affected a neutrality, easily brought about an accommodation by blending both schemes together, allowing Aridæus or Philip the regal title, and vesting the authority in the great officers, of whom Meleager was to be held the third.

In consequence of this accommodation, all the great officers of the army came to court, especially Perdicas and Ptolemy, the former eagerly desiring to assume the sovereignty under the specious title of protector, and the latter secretly aiming at the division of the empire, that under the name of a government he might secure a kingdom to himself. Perdicas soon gained an ascendancy over

Plut. in Vit. Eumen. & Corn. Nep. in Vit. ejusd.

Philip,

Philip, inſomuch that he conducted all things according to his own will, though in the name of that prince. The firſt deſign of conſequence he aimed at putting in execution was the ſecuring Meleager's perſon, in order to which he framed a plot equally ſubtil and ſucceſſful; he directed ſome of his own adherents to complain openly of Meleager's being made equal to Perdiccas. Theſe murmurs naturally led Meleager to expoſtulate with him; upon which Perdiccas with an air of frankneſs told him, that ſuch incendiaries ought immediately to be puniſhed, and propoſed a general luſtration of the army, as the only probable method of taking off ſuch diſturbers of the public peace. Meleager readily came into this propoſal, looking upon it as an indubitable teſtimony of Perdiccas's friendſhip. But when the horſe and foot were drawn into the field, and the king quitting the phalanx, rode along the firſt line of the right wing with Perdiccas, the foot began to be in ſome terror, and in that terror all their courage forſook them; ſometimes they thought of retiring into the city, and ſometimes of oppoſing force by force. Meleager was leaſt preſent to himſelf; ſo that after deliberating long, and propoſing many things, they reſolved on nothing, till Perdiccas formed the horſe over-againſt them, with the elephants in front. Then taking the king with him, he rode along the firſt line of the phalanx, and demanded the authors of the late ſedition. Meleager and his ſoldiers answered nothing, yet by the dejection of their countenances, they plainly ſhewed how low their ſpirits were ſunk; this puſillanimity encouraged Perdiccas to draw out by force three hundred, who in the late affair had been moſt active for Meleager. Theſe were, by his order, immediately caſt to the elephants, and ſuffered to be trampled to death in ſight of the army, the king looking on rather as a ſurpriſed ſpectator, than as the author of ſo cruel a deed. As no perſon pretended to lay hands on Meleager himſelf, he neither ſpoke, nor ſtirred to ſave thoſe who had acted by his authority; a want of ſpirit which answered the end of Perdiccas; for on the other's return to Babylon every body ſhunned and was afraid of him. This general odium had ſuch an effect on his mind, already diſordered, that he took ſanctuary in a temple, vainly hoping that his enemies would not purſue him to the altar. But Perdiccas, who thought himſelf not ſafe while this man lived, ordered him without ceremony to be ſlain in the temple; and thus

*Perdiccas
takes off
Meleager;*

*Who is slain
at the al-
tar.
The empire
divided.*

thus the authority of Perdicas was for the present established (K).

To satisfy the ambition of the principal commanders in the army, to provide for the safety of the empire, and to free himself from competitors, Perdicas quickly called a general council, whercin the following distribution of honours and governments was made. Aridæus, and the new-born son of Roxana, named Alexander, were to enjoy the regal authority. Antipater had the government of

* Diodor. Curt. Justin. ubi supra.

(K) In this note we intend to acquaint the reader with the authors on whose authority we build what is delivered in this section. The first of these is Arrian, the same whom we chiefly followed in our history of Alexander the Great. He wrote upon this subject a treatise; consisting of ten books, which are all unfortunately lost; and what we quote is no more than a very brief account of their contents preserved by the famous Photius, who, at the end of his extract, hath added a character of this author worthy of the service which he has done to the commonwealth of letters. He tells us, that as an historian he knows none who ought to be preferred before him; his style, continues he, is strong and uniform, his narration seldom interrupted by digressions; those there are alike pertinent and short. His eloquence never misleads him into any thing forced, or difficult to be understood; yet in point of elegance his work is no less valuable than in point of veracity; his periods are sweet and perfectly well turned; his lan-

guage so accurately proper, that it is impossible to say he ever rises above, or sinks below his subject. In a word, there is such a harmony, perspicuity, and noble simplicity in the works of this writer, that to add or take away from them, would be doing visible injury both to the author and reader (1). Diodorus Siculus hath written as well and more copiously than any on the matters of which we treat in this section (2). Curtius at the close of his work treats very fully of what happened at, and immediately after the death of Alexander, in which he the rather deserves credit, because what he relates agrees very well with Arrian, particularly in the division of the provinces (3). Plutarch, in the close of his life of Alexander, in his lives of Eumenes and Demetrius, and in many other treatises of his, hath afforded us frequently materials. To these we may add Justin (4). We have collated them all; and where they differ, have selected what was most probable, and most consistent with other parts of the narration.

(1) Phot. Bibliothec. Cod. xcii.
xviii.

(3) Curt. lib. x.

(2) Diodor. Sicul. lib.
(4) Justin. lib. xiii.

the European provinces, as general of the army in that continent. Craterus was vested with the title of protector. Perdicas had in reality the office, with the style of general of the household troops, in the room of Hephæstion. Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, had Egypt, Lybia, and that part of Arabia which borders upon Egypt. Cleomenes, a man of infamous character, whom Alexander had made receiver-general in Egypt, was made Ptolemy's deputy. Laomedon had Syria; Philotas, Cilicia; Pithon, Media; Eumenes, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia; and all the country bordering on the Euxine Sea, as far as Trapezus; but these were not yet conquered, so that he was a governor without a province. Antigonus had Pamphilia, Lycia, and Phrygia Major; Cassander, Caria; Menander, Lydia; and Leonatus, Phrygia, on the Hellespont. In Europe, Thrace, the Chersonese, and the countries adjoining as far as Salmydessus, on the Euxine Sea, were given to Lyfimachus; the rest of the countries subject to the Macedonians, as far as the Ceraunian mountains, with all Greece, were left to Craterus and Antipater. The provinces not mentioned in this division remained under the governors appointed by Alexander (L).

This

(L) The division of Alexander's empire, according to other authors, ran thus: Diodorus Siculus affirms, that Perdicas confirmed the kingdom to Aridæus; gave to Ptolemy Egypt; to Python, Media; to Eumenes, Paphlagonia with Cappadocia, and the neighbouring countries; to Cassander, Caria; to Meleager, Lydia; to Leonnatus, Phrygia upon the Hellespont; to Lyfimachus, Thrace, with the adjacent nations as far as the sea; to Antipater, Macedonia, with the neighbouring countries: to the rest of the officers he distributed the other provinces in Asia; to Oxyartes, Caucasus, and the Paropamisus; to Sybirtius, Arachosia and Gedrosia; to Stafanor, the Sogdian, Aria, and Drangiana;

to Philip, the prætor, Bactria and Sogdia; to Phrataphernes, Parthia and Hyrcania; to Peucestas, Persis; to Tlepolemus, Carmania; to Atropas, Media; to Archon, Babylonia; to Arcefilaus, Mesopotamia; to Seleucus, the command of the royal cavalry, which Hephæstion had first, and Perdicas afterwards; to Taxiles and Porus, each their own kingdoms, as restored and augmented by Alexander. The king kept Perdicas with him, and constituted him captain of the guards, and the forces which attended him (5). According to Justin, the provinces and chief commands were thus divided. Ptolemy had Egypt, Africa, and part of Arabia; Laomedon, Syria; Philotas and his son, Cilicia and Illyri-

(5) Diodor. Sicul. lib. xviii.

cum;

*Perdiccas
assumes re-
gal power.*

This division of the empire, as well as all other measures, had the sanction of the royal name, and seemed to be done by authority of king Philip; but in truth it was the mere act of Perdiccas and his associates, who shared, at their pleasure, the empire of their deceased master, treating his lawful heirs as pageants and cyphers; but we need not wonder at this presumption, when we find

cum; Atropates, it should be Atropates, Media the Greater; Alcetas, the brother of Perdiccas, Media the Less; Scynus, Susiana; Antigonus, the son of Philip, Phrygia the Greater; Nearchus, Lycia and Pamphylia; Cassander, Caria; Menander, Lydia; Leonnatus, Phrygia the Less; Lyfimaachus, Thrace, and the countries adjacent to the Pontic Sea; Eumenes, Cappadocia and Paphlagonia; Seleucus, the son of Antiochus, the chief command of the forces; Cassander, the son of Antipater, the command of the king's guards; Taxiles, the countries between the rivers Indus and Hydaspes; Pithon, the son of Agenor, the colonies settled in India; Parapomenus, the borderers on Mount Caucasus; Extarches, the ——— Aigæans; Amyntas, the Bactrians; Scythæus, the Sogdians; Nicanor, the Parthians; Philip the Hyrcanians; Phrataphernes the Armenians; Tlepolemus, the Persæ; Peucestas, the Babylonians; Archos, the Pelasgæ; Archesilaus, Mesopotamia. There are other accounts of this division, which agree not either with these or with that of Arrian in the text; but in producing those of Diodorus and Justin, we have done enough to put it in the

reader's power plainly to perceive the sources of these discordances (6). For first, here are some names mis-spelt, or changed through ignorance of transcribers, which creates a seeming, without a real difference. As for instance, Scynus is undoubtedly put for Antigonus, though there is not the least conformity between them. Extarches is for Oxyartes; and Scythæus is put for Sybirtius; and, in Diodorus, the same person is called Ibertius. Secondly, Justin does not distinguish between the first and second division, neither do Dexippus, Orosius, or other authors, whence their differences with Arrian. Diodorus, indeed, mentions both the divisions by Perdiccas and by Antipater, and is, in all respects, more correct as well as more copious than the rest. The author of the first book of Maccabees hath a very short and very expressive account of this matter in the beginning of his work. "So Alexander reigned twelve years, and then died, and his servants bare rule every one in his place, and after his death they all put crowns upon themselves, so did their sons after them many years, and evils were multiplied in the earth (7)."

(6) Justin. lib. xiii.

(7) 1 Maccab. i. 7, 8.

that Alexander himself was no less slighted; for while these disputes were on foot, his body was altogether neglected, and seven days elapsed before any orders were given for its being embalmed.

As they had taken so little notice of his body, they made no scruple of vacating his will, which was no more than a short memorandum of such things as he desired might be done, reduced to five points. The first concerned the building a fleet of a thousand galleys, to be made use of against the Carthaginians, and other nations, who should oppose the reduction of the sea-coasts of Africa and Spain, with all the adjacent islands, as far as Sicily. The second directed a large and regular highway to be made along the sea-coast of Africa, as far as Ceuta and Tangier. The third ordered the erecting six temples of extraordinary magnificence, at the expence of fifteen hundred talents each. The fourth appointed forts, arsenals, havens, docks and yards for ship-building, to be made, in proper places, throughout his empire. By the fifth he proposed the building, in proper situations, several new cities in Europe and Asia; those in Asia to be inhabited by colonies from Europe, and those in Europe to be filled with Asiatics; that by blending their people and their manners, that hereditary antipathy might be eradicated, which had hitherto subsisted between such as dwelt in different continents. Lastly, he had projected the erecting a pyramid, equal in bulk and beauty to the largest in Egypt, in honour to his father Philip. All these designs, under pretence of their being excessively expensive, were referred to a council of Macedonians; but their time of meeting was never settled.

Alexander's will.

The proceedings of the new government, which was entirely in the hands of Perdicas and Roxana, soon grew very cruel, and of consequence generally distasteful. Soon after Alexander's death, Roxana dispatched letters, under his seal, to Statira and Drypetis, the daughters of Darius, directing them, in his name, to come to Babylon, where, when they arrived, she employed Perdicas to take them off by assassination, that no son either of Alexander or Hephaestion might give any trouble to her or son Alexander. As for Sisygambis, the mother of Darius, as soon as the news of Alexander's death reached her, she resolved to take away her own life, and executed her resolution accordingly.

The government in the hands of Perdicas and Roxana. The daughters of Darius put to death. His wife lays violent hands on herself.

The mercenary Greeks, who were dispersed in different parts of the inland provinces of Asia, despairing now of
ever

The mercenary Greeks mutiny, and resolve to return home.

Pithon sent against them.

Is defeated.

Greeks murdered by the Macedonians.

*Yr. of Fl.
3026.
Ante Chr.
322.*

A war in Thrace.

ever seeing their own countries by fair means, resolved to attempt something by force. With this view they chose Philo to be their general, and assembling to the number of twenty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, marched directly towards the sea. When Perdiccas received advice of this mutiny, he made choice of Pithon to command the forces destined to act against the rebels, as he called them. These forces consisted of three thousand foot, and eight hundred horse, all Macedonians: but Pithon carried orders to the governors to furnish him with ten thousand foot, and eight thousand horse, out of the provinces through which he passed. From the moment he was appointed to this command, Pithon had formed a scheme of setting up for himself, by offering the revolters any terms, if they would join in the execution of his design. Perdiccas, apprehensive of some such practices, gave him orders, in public, to put the rebels, without mercy, to the sword, and to distribute all their effects among his soldiers, whereby every man he commanded was made a check upon the commander. Pithon, when he drew near Philo and his troops, found means to corrupt Lipodorus, who commanded a body of three thousand men. This traitor, in the midst of a general engagement, when the victory was doubtful, retired with his troops to a hill; a retreat which so disordered Philo's army, that a general defeat ensued. After this action, Pithon sent to Lipodorus to come down with his troops and join him, declaring, that they should be treated as well as his own soldiers. Lipodorus coming accordingly into his camp, the Grecians were mingled with the Macedonians, and Pithon began to resume his former ideas, when of a sudden the Macedonians, conceiving that their new oath was incompatible with their old engagement to Perdiccas, massacred all of the Greek mercenaries, and seized their effects, after which Pithon, wholly disappointed, returned with his forces to Perdiccas.

Lyfimachus, who was in Thrace, found himself on a sudden in danger of being entirely stripped of the government of that province. Scuthes, descended of the ancient race of the Odryssian kings, had set up a claim to the dominions of his ancestors, and raised an army of twenty thousand foot, and eight thousand horse. Lyfimachus had no more than four thousand foot, and two thousand horse, yet he was forced to come to an engagement,

in which as he was not defeated, he may be said to have gained a victory; for he kept the field of battle, and preserved that part of the province which he governed¹.

Perdiccas was full of great projects, and very industrious in procuring means and instruments to execute them, though at present he did not think fit to produce them. He chose Eumenes for his confident and prime minister. He knew that this man was loyal to his prince; and therefore doubted not his friendship to himself, wherein he was by no means deceived; for Eumenes was as careful of his interests, as if they had been his own. It was also held requisite to put him in immediate possession of his government, which, though styled a province, was in truth an unconquered kingdom; Alexander, when he first invaded Asia, passed by Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, and never had time afterwards to reduce him to obedience. This prince believing that he should one day be obliged to fight for the kingdom of his ancestors, made use of that repose, which in the midst of general confusion his territories enjoyed, to amass great sums of money, and to hire mercenary troops for the defence of his dominions. Perdiccas, apprised of his management, directed Antigonus and Leonnatus, by letters in the names of the kings, to march against the Cappadocian prince, and to put Eumenes in possession of his province. As to Antigonus, he was now become too haughty to think of paying any respect to the commands of another. Leonnatus indeed marched with an army, as if he intended to perform what Perdiccas had directed, and therefore Eumenes was sent to join him. This friend of Perdiccas had not been long in the army before Hecateus, the tyrant of Cardia, his native country, arrived, and began to treat with Leonnatus to come to the assistance of Antipater; to which proposal the latter agreed. Yet he confessed to Eumenes, that his true design was to marry Cleopatra, the sister of Alexander the Great, and in her right to seize the kingdom. Eumenes, upon this intimation, securing of his treasure, which consisted of five thousand talents, quitted the camp in the night, with his attendants, and retired to Perdiccas. This was a new proof of his fidelity; and Perdiccas was so pleased with it, that he determined to march in person with an army, to execute what Leonnatus ought to have performed. Ariarathes, with an army of thirty thousand foot, and fifteen thou-

*Eumenes
put in pos-
sion of Cap-
padocia.*

¹ Idem ibid.

*Ariarathes
king of
Cappado-
cia taken
and cru-
cified.*

and horse, met him on the frontiers of his dominions, where a very obstinate battle was fought, in which the Cappadocian was entirely defeated, with the loss of one thousand men on the spot, himself with six thousand more being taken prisoners. To prevent any farther disturbance, and to secure Eumenes in the peaceable possession of his province, Perdiccas ordered Ariarathes to be crucified, in contempt of justice and humanity^u.

*Lauranda
and Isau-
rus taken.*

After this expedition, Perdiccas determined to reduce Lauranda and Isaurus, two cities of Pisidia, because they had slain Balacrus, the son of Nicanor, whom Alexander had appointed their governor. Lauranda was not very strong, Perdiccas therefore took it by assault, and dealt with the inhabitants very severely. All who were able to bear arms he put to the sword; the youths, women, and children he sold for slaves. He next invested Isaurus, which being a strong and populous place, held out till the number of the defendants being greatly reduced, those who remained resolved not to share the same fate with the Laurandians. Having appointed a sufficient number to defend the walls, they set the city on fire in all quarters, consuming their parents, wives, and children in their houses, while they themselves repelled the Macedonians, who sought to break in and extinguish the flames; and when Perdiccas with his troops surmounted all opposition, these desperate men leaped into the fire. The Macedonian army having collected what gold and silver they could find in the ashes, Perdiccas led them into winter-quarters, and left the conquered countries under the care of Eumenes^v.

*The pro-
jects of
Perdiccas.*

At the first division of the provinces, Perdiccas, in order to strengthen himself, had proposed to marry Nicaxa, the daughter of Antipater; and this proposal was so well relished, that her brethren, Jollas and Archias, now conducted her to him, in order to be present at the celebration of the nuptials. But Perdiccas had other things in view. Olympias, who hated Antipater, had privately solicited Perdiccas to marry her daughter Cleopatra; the widow of Alexander, king of Epirus, at whose marriage Philip had been slain. She now resided at Sardis, in Lydia. Eumenes strongly persuaded him to this match; without doubt, because he believed it would prove beneficial to the royal family; and his reasons had such weight

^u Plut. in Vit. Eumen. Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra. ^v Arrian. ap. Phot. ubi supra. Diodor. ubi supra. Plut. in Vit. Eumen.

with Perdiccas, that he dispatched him to Sardis to compliment Cleopatra, and to carry her presents in the name of her new lover. In the absence of Eumenes, Alcetas, the brother of Perdiccas, persuaded him to marry Nicæa, whom he accordingly took to wife, in order to soothe Antipater and his family. These designs tended all to gratify his ambition; for first he resolved to repudiate the wife he had just married; next he intended to marry Cleopatra: this match he conceived would give him a pretence for altering the government in Macedon; and as a necessary measure preparative to these, he entered into contrivances for taking off Antigonus. With this view he encouraged numberless accusations against the last mentioned person, who was a man not easy to be crushed; for he had a spirit not to be tamed, and an understanding too penetrating ever to be imposed on. Thus accused, he put on an appearance of submitting to Perdiccas, and pretended to busy himself in collecting proofs of his innocence against the day of trial, while he really intended nothing less.

An accident happened which compelled him to disclose his purpose sooner than he designed. Cynane, the daughter of Philip of Macedon by his second wife, who by Amyntas, the true heir of the Macedonian crown, had a child, brought her daughter Ada, afterwards called Eurydice, to court, in hopes of disposing her in marriage to Aridæus or Philip. Against Cynane, Perdiccas on some political motives conceived such a dislike, that he caused her to be murdered; an event which made a great noise, the soldiers retaining not only a great love for Alexander, her brother, but a high veneration for Philip, her father. Perdiccas, to quiet the storm he had raised, promoted the match between king Philip and Eurydice, to prevent which he had taken off her mother. Antigonus liked this method of proceeding so little, that he put himself, his son Demetrius, and all his domestics in whom he could confide, on board of some Athenian vessels, and sailed over to Greece, there to take shelter under the protection of Antipater and Craterus, whom he informed of the designs of Perdiccas; above all, painting the murder of Cynane in the blackest colours*.

Ptolemy, in the mean time, remained in peaceable possession of Egypt, which he governed with so much wisdom, clemency, and justice, that all who were willing to enjoy peace, and secure protection, resorted out of Eu-

Perdiccas causes Cynane, the daughter of Philip, to be murdered.

Yr. of Pl.
8027.
Ante Chr.
321.

* Arrian. Diodor. Plut. ubi supra.

*Success of
Ptolemy.*

rope and Asia thither, and thought themselves happy under his government. Thimbro, who had slain Harpalus, and possessed himself both of his army and his treasure, landed in Cyrene, where at first he had great success; but at last, after a long war, one Ophellas, who had fled into Egypt, and requested succours against this robber, returning into Cyrene, routed him, Thimbro himself being taken prisoner in the battle. He was immediately crucified, as his crimes justly deserved; and thus the Cyrenians lost their freedom, and became subjects to Ptolemy. Thus strengthened by so considerable an accession, he gave a willing ear to the ambassadors from Antipater and Craterus, who proposed to him a league against Perdiccas, to set bounds to his power at least, who plainly set none to his ambition.

*The corpse
of Alexander
conveyed to Ptolemy.*

Aridæus, to whose care the funeral of Alexander had been committed, having now spent two years in making preparations for it, much against the will of Perdiccas, set out from Babylon for Damascus, with intent to carry the king's body into Egypt. There was, it seems, a superstitious report, that wherever his body was laid, that country should flourish. Perdiccas, therefore, would have sent it to the royal sepulchres in Macedon; but Aridæus pleading the king's express direction, insisted upon carrying it into Egypt. Accordingly he executed his intention with all imaginable magnificence. Ptolemy, as soon as he knew of his coming, marched in person to meet the corpse as far as Syria; he did not, however, convey it to the temple of Ammon, but contented himself with depositing it in a noble temple, which for this purpose he built in the city of Alexandria. By this respect shewn to his dead master, he drew numbers of veteran soldiers to his service, a circumstance which proved of great consequence to him in his affairs.

*Perdiccas
makes war
on him.*

Perdiccas having undoubted intelligence of his enemies' designs, and perceiving that he should be obliged to oppose, at once, a veteran army from Greece, and the numerous forces of Ptolemy, he called a council of his friends, in order to resolve on the measures proper to be taken in so nice a conjuncture. In this council it was unanimously determined, that it would be necessary for Perdiccas to march with the kings, and the powerful army attending their persons, into Egypt against Ptolemy, whilst some commander of approved abilities should act against

7 Diodor. ubi supra. Justin. lib. xiii. cap. 6.
Justin. ubi supra.

= Diodor. &

Antipater and Craterus, who, it was foreseen, would transport an army from Macedonia to make war upon Perdiccas. This captain was immediately found in Eumenes; whom Perdiccas ordered to his government, creating him at the same time captain-general of the countries as far as the Hellespont. Alctas, the brother of Perdiccas, and Neoptolemus, the governor of Armenia, had directions to obey the orders of Eumenes. These things being settled, Perdiccas began his march towards Egypt*.

Eumenes, when he arrived in his province, found affairs in a very disagreeable situation; he had indeed an excellent body of foot, but they were much inclined to mutiny. Neoptolemus, who should have assisted him, began already to manifest an inclination to desert him, and Alctas, as soon as Antipater and Craterus approached, was prevailed on to be neuter in a war made against his brother. Larger offers than had corrupted these two were made to Eumenes, if he would concur with Antipater and Craterus. He answered, that he believed it would be some time before he could reconcile himself to Antipater, his old enemy, because he had a way of treating his friends like enemies. As for Craterus, his old friend, he said he should be glad to be an instrument of reconciling him to Perdiccas, whom he was determined not to desert. During these negotiations, Eumenes raised a body of three thousand six hundred horse, partly by bestowing horses on the soldiers he could confide in, and partly by encouraging the Cappadocians to accustom themselves to military affairs. By this contrivance he gained, not only a great body of cavalry on which he could depend, but also struck the phalanx with such awe, that they in some measure suppressed their turbulent humour. Neoptolemus earnestly desiring to gain the friendship of Craterus, by subduing his old friend Eumenes, contrived to attack him suddenly; but Eumenes, by a rapid motion, attacked his horse, routed them entirely, compelling Neoptolemus to make his escape, with only three hundred men, to Antipater and Craterus: then he charged the phalanx of Neoptolemus's army, offering to receive them into his own troops, if they would take an oath of fidelity to the kings; a proposal which they readily embraced.

This success was far from making Eumenes secure; he knew, that though he had defeated Neoptolemus, and

*Eumenes
defeats Ne-
optolemus
and Cra-
terus.*

* Arrian. Diodor. Plut. Justin. ubi supra.

*Craterus
slain, and
Neoptole-
mus mor-
tally
wounded.*

increased his own army, yet his situation was very delicate; for he was conscious, that if his own army knew they were to fight against Craterus, they would infallibly desert his banners. When therefore he received intelligence that Antipater had advanced into Cilicia, and that Craterus and Neoptolemus were in full march against him, he told his own army, that Neoptolemus and Pigris, with some Cappadocian and Paphlagonian horse, were marching to surprise them, wherefore he intended to decamp and meet them in the night. When they came to engage, he placed a body of foreign horse opposite Craterus, commanded by Pharnabazus and Phoenix, ordering them not to give the enemy any time to send heralds or messengers. These performed their commission so well, that Craterus, who fought bravely at the head of his troops, was mortally wounded before he was known. Eumenes, in the mean time, engaged Neoptolemus personally, and both falling together from their horses, fought afterwards on foot, till Eumenes gave Neoptolemus a mortal wound in the neck, and proceeded to strip him of his arms, reproaching him severely for his vanity and perfidy. Then returning to the center of his army, he found Craterus yet living, over whom he wept and lamented, permitting the Macedonian phalanx, after they had taken an oath of fidelity, to retire to their quarters. In violation of that oath, however, they privately repaired to Antipater in Cilicia, leaving Eumenes the reputation of having gained two signal victories in ten days, which however were more than balanced by the envy which other commanders conceived against him, and by the hatred his own army bore him for having made them the instruments of slaying their favourite Craterus. But it is now time to follow Perdicas.

*Perdicas
slain.*

The royal army marched as far as Damascus with all imaginable tranquility; but when they reached that city, and heard every where as they passed the character of Ptolemy, they began to grow dissident and uneasy; and when they entered Egypt, became more and more turbulent. Perdicas, being a man of high spirit, treated them with haughtiness, and threatened to punish them as rebels. This insolence increased the disorders in the army, his soldiers beginning to murmur, that he, who was but tutor to their princes, should never become a tyrant over them who had been allowed all liberty, even by Alexan-

^b Arrian. Diodor. Plut. ubi supra.

der; neither was this dissatisfaction confined to the common soldiers. Some of the chief officers were no less discontented, insomuch that they took the first opportunity of deserting his cause. This defection brought Perdicas to a true sense of his error; he therefore altered his conduct, caressed his soldiers, treated the officers familiarly, and encouraged all by fair words and fine promises. Then he persuaded them to pass the river Nile, and to attack Ptolemy in his intrenchments. The army on this occasion behaved with all the bravery imaginable; and, as they had the advantage in numbers, renewed the attack several times. But Ptolemy fighting in a fortification, being himself a great captain, exposing his person freely, and having scarce a man in his troops, who was not desirous of losing his life in this cause, maintained his post so well, that Perdicas was forced to retire.

Having marched a great part of the night, he attempted to repass the river. Part of his forces actually reached the opposite bank by wading up to the chin; but on a sudden the river grew deeper, and the stream so much stronger, that no more could pass: the water having been in some measure dammed by the obstruction of a large body passing, rushed down with such impetuosity as swept away the sand from the bottom, and of consequence deepened the channel. Perdicas had recourse to various expedients; but they all proved ineffectual; at last he ordered the forces which had passed to return, and this order was obeyed, but with the loss of two thousand men, one half drowned, and the other devoured by the crocodiles. Upon this misfortune the phalanx mutinied, and a hundred principal officers, among whom was Pithon, immediately went over to Ptolemy. A troop of horse mutinied also; and, having surrounded the general's tent, some of them entered and slew him on the spot. Next day they held a consultation; but before they resolved upon any thing, Ptolemy came to them, and brought with him a vast quantity of provisions, which he distributed among them, saluting every battalion of Macedonians, embracing their officers, and offering them all that was in his power. In this assembly Aridaus and Pithon were chosen protectors of the kings^c.

Two days after this transaction, news arrived of the victory gained by Eumenes, which, had it arrived sooner, would certainly have saved the life of Perdicas. At

*Pithon and
Aridaus
succeeded
Perdicas.*

^c Arrian. ubi supra. Diodor. ubi supra. Just. ubi supra.

*Antipater
chosen sole
protector,
with so-
vereign
power.*

present it served only to heighten the misfortunes of his friends; for the soldiers put all to death on whom they could lay hands; amongst the rest they murdered Atalanta, the sister of Perdiccas, and wife to Attalus the admiral; they likewise proscribed Eumenes, and fifty persons of quality; amongst whom was Alcetas, Perdiccas's brother, who was so scandalously inactive at the beginning of the war. Having thus glutted their resentment, they quitted Egypt, and, under the command of Aridæus and Pithon, marched back again to Cœlesyria. In this march Eurydice, the wife of king Philip, began to assume an authority which was very disagreeable to Aridæus and Pithon: yet, finding the army inclined to favour her, they were forced to temporize till they arrived at Triparadisus, where they were joined by Antipater. There a grand council was held, in which the new-elected tutors of the kings resigned their office, and Antipater was chosen sole protector, with sovereign power. He was no less dissatisfied with Eurydice's behaviour than his predecessors had been, and therefore began to check her; an opposition which irritated that lady so much, that in an oration she accused him to the army; and though he made a long and laboured answer, yet such a sedition ensued, that Antigonus and Seleucus were forced to rescue him at the peril of their lives. However, after some days the matter was adjusted, and the administration again put into the hands of Antipater. Peace being thus re-established, and the army satisfied with a promise of receiving their pay, Antipater proceeded to make a new division of the provinces^d.

*Antipater
divides the
provinces
anew.*

Egypt, Lybia, and the parts adjacent were given to Ptolemy, who would not have parted with them, even though Antipater had assigned them to any other. Syria was confirmed to Leomedon. Philoxenus had Cilicia. Mesopotamia and Arbelitis were given to Amphilochus. Babylon was bestowed on Seleucus. Susiana fell to Antigones, who commanded the Macedonian silver-shields, because he was the first who opposed Perdiccas. Peucestas obtained Persia. Tlepolemus had Carmania. Pithon possessed Media, as far as the Caspian streights. Stasander had Aria and Drangia. Philip, Parthia. Stasenor, Bactria and Sogdia; and Sybirtius, Aracofia. To Oxyartes, the father of Roxana, was allotted Parapomifis. Pithon ruled the country between this province and India. Porus and Taxiles held what Alexander had given them,

^d Arrian. ubi upra. Diod. ubi supra.

because

because they would not part with any of their dominions. Cappadocia fell to Nicænor. Phrygia Major, Lycaonia, Pamphylia, and Lycia were given to Antigonus. Caria, to Cassander; Lydia, to Clytus; Phrygia the Less, to Aridæus: Cassander was appointed general of the horse. The command of the household troops was given to Antigonus, with orders to prosecute the war against Eumenes, who was now reputed a public enemy. Antipater, when he had thus settled affairs, returned to his own province with the kings, admired by all the Macedonians^c.

Eumenes began to provide for the impending war, with all imaginable prudence. Alcetas, the brother of Perdiccas, joined him; so did Attalus with the fleet. This officer, on being acquainted with the death of his brother and his wife, sailed, with the navy under his command, to Tyre; where Archelaus was governor, by the appointment of Perdiccas, who had intrusted him with eight hundred talents. This governor retained so grateful a sense of the favours of his deceased patron, that he willingly received Attalus, and readily paid him the money which had been left in his hands. Here also Attalus collected such of the friends and soldiers of Perdiccas as repaired to him, with whom he afterwards sailed to Eumenes.

It was not long before a general engagement happened, wherein Eumenes, through the treachery of Apollonides, general of his horse, was totally routed, with the loss of eight thousand men. However, he performed on this occasion one of the most extraordinary actions that we find recorded in history; for, with the scattered remains of his army, striking off into a road parallel to that by which the enemy pursued him, he passed unperceived, and returned to the field of battle: where, collecting all the wood in the adjacent villages, he burned all the dead bodies of his soldiers in one heap, and those of his officers in another, covering the ashes of each with a large mount of earth. Then, dismissing such of his soldiers as were sick, wounded, or were unable to bear fatigue, he, with six hundred men, retired into the castle of Nora, a place exceedingly strong, by its situation on the top of an inaccessible rock, well fortified, and supplied with all sorts of provisions, where he resolved to defend himself, hoping that Alcetas and Attalus would be able to raise such a body of troops as might enable them to deliver him be-

Yr. of Fl.
2018.
Ante Chr.
320.

*Eumenes
prepares to
defend him-
self.*

*Eumenes
totally
routed.*

^c Arrian. & Diodor. ubi supra.

*Interview
between
Eumenes
and Anti-
gonus.*

fore the castle could be reduced. Antigonus immediately caused the place to be invested; but when he was informed how well it was provided, and how resolute those men were who composed the garrison, for Eumenes had none with him but such as requested it as a favour, Antigonus despaired of taking it by force. He therefore sent to desire a conference with Eumenes, who answered, that he had many eminent commanders in his army; but if he himself should be taken off, those in the fort would be destitute of any commander. Antigonus observed, that as he was the greater man, he expected that Eumenes should waive such excuses, and come to him. Eumenes replied; that while he had his sword in his hand, he held no man greater than himself. Antigonus, therefore, sent him hostages; and Eumenes coming to the foot of the rock, Antigonus went thither to meet him. They embraced each other, having been formerly intimate friends. Then Eumenes demanded that the provinces should be restored to him; exhorted Antigonus to act dutifully towards the kings: and behaved in all things as if they had treated upon equal terms. The Macedonians, who were near, admired the courage and spirit of the man. Those who could only see him, were charmed with the sweetness of his aspect, and the beauty of his person, for he was one of the handsomest men of his age, the most perfect in his exercises, and free from passion or pride. The throng of spectators grew so great, that Antigonus was in pain for his person; finding, therefore, that no accommodation could be made, he took Eumenes in his arms, and brought him to the passage of the rock, where they parted. Antigonus perceiving that the siege would much incommode his affairs, ordered the place to be surrounded with a strong wall, and leaving a sufficient body of troops to guard it, marched against Alcetas and Attalus.

*Alcetas de-
feated,
kills him-
self.*

These commanders lay with their army in Pisidia, where Antigonus surprised them by the celerity of his march; and though their troops behaved well, yet overcome with numbers, with elephants, and the skill of the old Macedonian soldiers, they were totally routed. Attalus, Docimus, and Polemon were taken; but Alcetas, with about six thousand men, escaped to Termessus. Antigonus followed him, and invested the city, demanding Alcetas. The magistrates were for delivering him up; but the people, to whom Alcetas had done innumerable favours, swore

swore they would live and die with him. The magistrates pretended to acquiesce in this resolution; but while the citizens were at their posts, they sent some of their servants to murder Alcetas, who, perceiving their intention, killed himself. His body, being delivered to Antigonus, he first used it ignominiously; and, after two days, when it began to corrupt, caused it to be thrown into the road, whence it was taken, and honourably buried, by the Termessians, who were, with difficulty, prevented from burning the magistrates in their houses[†].

Antigonus receiving the news of the death of Antipater, and understanding that he had, by his will, appointed Polyperchon tutor to the kings, conceived a great contempt of them all, resolving to make himself lord of Asia. *Antigonus resolves to seize Asia.*

He had now an army of sixty thousand foot, and nineteen thousand horse, many elephants, and treasure in abundance. He therefore made no secret of his designs; but removed all the governors of provinces who were not in his interest. Aridæus, governor of Phrygia, immediately began to arm; and when Antigonus threatened to deprive him of his province, as one who affected regal authority, he declared that his own intentions were honest, and that he armed, because he looked upon Antigonus to be a traitor. The next step Antigonus took was to bring over Eumenes, for which purpose he sent a trusty person to confer with that great captain in his castle of Nora, to desire him to forget the battle in Cappadocia, and to assure him, that if he would become his friend, he should be the second person in his court. Eumenes receiving these overtures favourably, Antigonus continued the negotiation, and sent the form of an oath to be taken by Eumenes, importing that he would be faithful to Antigonus. When this oath was tendered to Eumenes, he observed that it was not properly drawn; wherefore, instead of Antigonus, he inserted Olympias, the kings, and the royal family. This change the Macedonians immediately approved, and when Eumenes had sworn, they immediately raised the blockade of Nora. He no sooner regained his freedom than he began to collect forces for the defence of the kings, whose authority, he saw clearly, was on the point of being extinguished in Asia. Antigonus being informed of what had happened, was extremely angry, and ordered his generals to make war on

[†] Diod. ubi supra.

Eumenes, and, if possible, to secure his person; but these orders came too late, for Eumenes, having collected about two thousand foot and five hundred horse, quitted Cappadocia, and marched towards Mount Taurus².

*The kings
create Eu-
menes ge-
neral in
Asia.*

Poliperchon, finding himself exceedingly distressed through treachery, and the extraordinary power of Antigonus, endeavoured, by all possible methods, to secure himself and the kings from destruction. To this end he invited Olympias, who, afraid of Antipater, had fled from Macedon to Epirus, to return, and take upon her the education of Alexander's young son. He likewise dispatched letters in his own name and her's to Eumenes, constituting him general for the kings in Asia, ordering the governors to pay him five hundred talents, to indemnify him for his losses, and assigning him a thousand silver-shields for his guard. Olympias also wrote to him with her own hand, to desire his advice, whether she should remain still in Epirus, or return into Macedonia. She likewise exhorted him to remain firm to the interests of the royal family, for that she and her children put their whole confidence in his attachment. Eumenes answered, that to him it appeared advisable for her to remain where she was, till the war should be terminated. As for himself, he promised to be ever observant of the interest of the royal family, and to hazard all things in order to check the torrent of Antigonus's ambition. He said, he was the rather inclined to this conduct because the tenderness of young Alexander's age, and the all-grasping disposition of his father's captains, left an honest man no part to act but that of sacrificing his own concerns to the public safety. To shew that his loyalty did not consist in words, when his enemies were retired into Cappadocia, he made a quick turn into Cilicia, where he joined Antigonus and Tutamus, who had three thousand of the argyraspidæ, or *silver-shields*, under their command. They received him with all the marks of deference and respect which they could devise; but he soon perceived that neither they, nor the rest of the commanders who resorted to him, esteemed him in their hearts, but, on the contrary, envied his authority. He therefore applied himself to render their malice ineffectual, and provide for his own safety. He refused the five hundred talents, and the title of general, saying, "that great wealth and high titles were of no use to a man who en-

*His attach-
ment to the
royal
family.*

² Diodor. ubi supra.

deavoured

deavoured to serve his sovereign, and not to be a prince himself." He borrowed large sums of those who hated him most, and thereby made them careful of his safety, lest they should lose their money. With this money he furnished such friends as he could trust, ordering them to raise soldiers, and to give them extraordinary pay. By these means, before Antigonus was aware, he had assembled an army of fifteen thousand men.

These proceedings excited the admiration of all his contemporaries; but they were so far from increasing his ambition, that he contrived a scheme for lessening his own authority, and putting himself upon the same rank with the rest of the captains. He told the officers of the army, that he had in a dream seen Alexander, adorned in his royal robes, sitting on his throne, and giving orders, as usual, to all his commanders. He gave it therefore as his advice, that a tent of state should be erected, in which there should be placed a throne of gold, with all the ensigns of royalty, and before it an altar of the same metal, whereon each of the captains should offer incense, after which ceremony they should take their seats indiscriminately, and consult for the public safety. By this expedient he appeased the dissensions among the great, and inspired the common soldiers with enthusiastic bravery. Antigonus, in the mean time, sent Philotas with letters to the army, promising the silver-shields great rewards, if they would deliver up Eumenes. They read the letters, and debated upon them; of which hesitation Eumenes having notice, he went into the assembly, and told them, that the Macedonians were not used to consult, whether they should obey their prince, or deliver up his officers to traitors; and that it less became them to act in this manner, whom not Antigonus, but Alexander, had so eminently distinguished. This interposition determined the soldiers at that time to reject the offers of Antigonus. Eumenes then marched into Phœnicia, that he might be near the sea. This province Ptolemy had seized; wherefore Eumenes made no scruple of conquering it, saying, that all were his enemies who knew not their duty. But when Antigonus had defeated the royal navy, and then marched against him in person, Eumenes thought it more expedient to retire into the higher provinces, which he reached in safety, notwithstanding that he passed over the rivers Tigris and Euphrates in sight of the enemy ^a.

By what means he appeased the dissensions among the commanders, and inspired the soldiers with bravery.

^a Diodor. ubi supra. Plut. in Vit. Eumen.

The governors of the upper provinces join him.

Eumenes wintered with his army on the frontiers of the province of Babylon. Pithon and Seleucus, who were governors, one of Media, the other of the territory of Babylon, endeavoured by all means to debauch his soldiers. These attempts, however, proved ineffectual; and Eumenes having passed the river Tigris, advanced into Susiana, where he was immediately joined by Peucestas, Polemon, Sybirtius, Stafander, Androbazus, and Eudames, with upwards of twenty thousand men, and twenty elephants. The first consequence of this junction, was a dispute about the command, to which every one of the governors laid claim, and Eumenes was never thought of. At last they were forced to agree to the expedient of meeting in a tent; but every one of them hoped, by caressing the soldiers, to carry his point; and indeed they all carried it in their turns; for the army saluted every one of them general, when they were eating at his cost. But when Antigonus drew near, they called for Eumenes, saying openly, that, when fighting was the business, they would have no general but him. This preference, however, occasioned no disturbance; for the generals were as ready to submit to him as the soldiers; none caring to charge themselves with the weight of a command, where the least wrong step would not only endanger their power, but their lives. Eumenes then led the army to the Tigris, drawing them up in excellent order on the banks, where he waited for Antigonus. That ambitious captain marched first to Susa; but finding that castle held by Xenophilus, he left Seleucus, with a corps of troops, to besiege it, and then advanced to fight Eumenes. The climate was excessively hot, the soil dry and sandy, so that his troops were prodigiously fatigued. At last he arrived on the banks of the Copares, a very rapid river that runs into the Tigris, about eight miles from the camp of Eumenes. Here, with a few flat-bottomed boats, he passed over six thousand horse, and two thousand foot, giving strict orders to the latter to entrench themselves as soon as they were over. The horse dispersed for the conveniency of forage. The foot had scarce formed, and considered the situation of the place, before they found themselves in danger of being pushed into the river by their own horse, whom Eumenes had surprised, and entirely defeated. They covered them as well as they could, and received bravely the charge of Eumenes, at the head of five thousand men, with whom he had passed the Tigris; but finding themselves unable to withstand these fresh troops,

Defeats part of Antigonus's army.

troops, they threw themselves in heaps into the boats, till they sunk, affording Antigonus, and the rest of his army, the melancholy spectacle of four thousand of their companions killed and drowned, and as many taken prisoners. Antigonus was so effectually checked by this sudden blow, that he immediately retired, and left the army of the kings in possession of the field ¹.

The design of Antigonus in retiring, was to remove the scene of war to some part of Asia, where he might act with more advantage. With this view, he determined to march into Media, to which there were two roads; the one safe and pleasant, the other through the country of the Cossæans, the same base and barbarous people against whom Alexander had made an expedition, immediately after the death of Hephæstion. Pithon, knowing the temper of these mountaineers, very prudently advised Antigonus rather to purchase their friendship with a sum of money, than attempt to pass through their territories by force; but that expedient little suited the haughty disposition of him to whom the counsel was given. Antigonus thought it unworthy of himself, and of the great army he commanded, to pay for a passage. He therefore sent Nearchus, with the light-armed troops, before, in order to drive the Cossæans from their posts; and directed him, when he had performed this service, to line the roads with his men. Antigonus led the phalanx in his own person, Pithon, and a choice body of horse, bringing up the rear. The army, however, paid dearly in their march for rejecting Pithon's advice, the Cossæans attacking them on all sides with equal bravery and resolution, so that for nine days together they sustained the greatest hardships; but at last, coming down into Media, they were there so plentifully provided for, and, through the care of Pithon, the cavalry were so well remounted, and the soldiers so effectually indemnified for their losses, that the army resumed its wonted alacrity. Antigonus, therefore, determined to penetrate into the higher countries, in order to displace those governors who were attached to Eumenes ².

The confederate lords understanding that Antigonus again drew near them, were much divided in their counsels; some were for retiring to the sea-coasts, where, in case of any misfortune, they might receive aid from Poly-

*Antigonus
marches
into Me-
dia.*

*Eumenes
marches
into the
upper pro-
vinces.*

¹ Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra. Plut. & Corn. Nep. in Vit. Eumen.

² Diodor. ubi supra.

pherchon. The governors of the upper provinces attentive to their private concerns, were for marching back with the army, that they might secure their friends. Eumenes agreed in opinion with the former, yet sided against his own opinion with the latter, foreseeing that if he had declared for marching into the maritime provinces, the army would necessarily have been divided, and consequently too weak to effect any thing any where. His assent therefore having determined the question, they immediately marched into Persis, and in twenty-four days reached Persepolis. Here Peucestas made a grand feast for the army, and having them now in his own province, loaded them with such extravagant favours, that Eumenes began to suspect he aimed at somewhat more than he possessed. As soon as he entertained these suspicions, he struck out an expedient for bringing the army back to their former temper, without hurting Peucestas. He caused a letter to be written in Syrian characters, in the name of Orontes, governor of Armenia, importing, that the party of Olympias had killed Cassander; and that the power of the kings being thoroughly settled in Macedon, Polyperchon intended to march with a great army into Asia. This letter being directed to Peucestas, he gave credit to it, and published it in the army; whereupon all the officers paid their court to Eumenes, those especially who hated him most. Eumenes discovered no resentment; but, according to custom, borrowed money of those he feared, and thereby became master of their counsels. The news which Peucestas had received, occasioned more feasting; and Eumenes, contrary to his nature, was forced to drink hard; an excess which threw him into a fever, out of which, as he recovered, the generals received advice, that Antigonus approached. Immediately the army marched under the command of Peucestas and Antigones, Eumenes being carried in the rear in a litter. But when they were in the midst of their march, the van of Antigonus's army appeared. Peucestas instantly gave directions for forming a line of battle, but the soldiers absolutely refused to move till Eumenes should appear. He was accordingly brought in his litter, with the curtains drawn back, and after he had thanked the soldiers for their confidence in him, made the necessary dispositions. When Antigonus drew near enough to perceive in what manner the confederate army was drawn up, he was exceedingly surprised; for he depended on the sickness of Eumenes. At last, perceiving

perceiving the litter passing through the lines, he burst out a-laughing; and turned to the officers who were near him, said, "It is not that army, but yon litter that bids us battle." However he ordered a retreat to be sounded, and contented himself with encamping in a very advantageous post ¹ (M).

While the armies lay near each other, Eumenes received intelligence that Antigonus intended to decamp in the night. He presently guessed that his design was to put his army into quarters of refreshment in the rich district of Gabene. In order to frustrate this design, and at the same time to gain a passage into that country, he instructed some soldiers to pretend they were deserters, whom he sent into the camp of Antigonus, where they reported that Eumenes intended to attack them in their trenches that very night. But while Antigonus's troops were under arms, Eumenes marched for Gabene. At length Antigonus suspected his design, and having given proper orders to his foot, marched immediately after him with his horse, sending his baggage to an adjacent city, that it might not incommode him in his motions. Freed from

A battle ensues.

¹ Idem ibid.

(M) Antigonus a short time after this, finding the country where he lay excessively wasted, and that it would be very difficult for him to subsist, sent deputies to the confederate army, to solicit them, especially the governors of provinces and the old Macedonian corps, to desert Eumenes, and to join him, which at this time they rejected with the highest indignation. After the deputies were dismissed, Eumenes came into the assembly, and delivered himself in these words: "Once upon a time a lion falling in love with a young damsel, demanded her in marriage of her father. The father made answer, that he looked

on such an alliance as a great honour to his family, but stood in fear of his paws and teeth, lest, upon any trifling dispute that might happen between them after they were married, he might exercise them a little too hastily upon his daughter. To remove this objection, the amorous lion caused both his nails and teeth to be drawn immediately; whereupon the father took a cudgel, and soon got rid of his enemy." This, continued he, is the very thing aimed at by Antigonus, who makes you large promises, till he has made himself master of your forces, and then beware of his teeth and paws (2).

(2) Plut. in Vit. Eumen. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xviii.

all

To the disadvantage of Antigonus.

all incumbrances, pretty early in the morning he from the top of a hill discerned Eumenes with his army marching below. He immediately drew up his horse, as if his infantry had been behind the hill; and thus deceived Eumenes, who would otherwise have marched on; whereas believing the whole army of Antigonus to be at hand, he faced about, and disposed his troops in order of battle. By degrees the infantry of Antigonus came up, and as they arrived, formed behind the horse. The whole of Eumenes's force consisted of thirty-five thousand foot, six thousand horse, and one hundred and fourteen elephants. In the army of Antigonus was twenty-eight thousand foot, eight thousand five hundred horse, and sixty-five elephants. Antigonus charged the troops under Eumenes with great bravery. The battle was most obstinately fought, and the victory won and lost several times by each party. At last, after a whole day's engagement, the stars began to appear, when Antigonus had visibly the worst, yet his officers could not prevail upon him to retire from the field of battle; on the contrary, he encamped there with the troops that were yet unbroken. He then buried his dead, and by forced marches withdrew into Media, where he took up his winter-quarters. If Eumenes had been as absolute in the command of his army, as Antigonus, the latter could not have escaped, for Eumenes would have attacked him again, and in all probability have totally routed him: but the divisions which reigned in the confederate army, and the insolence of the soldier, prevented any thing more from being done, and even permitted Antigonus to inter the slain; so that their victory was called in question. However, according to the modern rules of war, Eumenes was the conqueror, because he carried his point, and actually brought his forces to winter in the rich country of Gabene, where they were five and twenty days march from the enemy^m.

Yr. of Fl.
2033.
Ante Chr.
315.

Eumenes's last campaign. Antigonus attempts to surprise him.

As soon as the army was settled in winter-quarters, and began to taste those advantages which the wisdom of their general had procured for them, they very gratefully began to despise him, and to pay all their court to the generals who treated best; and for the greater conveniency of receiving entertainments, dispersed themselves all over the country. Antigonus had his spies amongst them, and from these he quickly received intelligence of the bad

^m *Diodor. Sicul. Plut. & Corn. Nep. ibid.*

situation

situation of their affairs. He resolved, therefore, notwithstanding it was the depth of winter, to attempt surprising them; of which design he conceived the greater hopes, because he was informed that there lay a passage through the deserts, which in nine or ten days would bring him to Gabene; though by the ordinary route it was twenty-five days march from his quarters. Full of this mighty project, he gave out his orders for the soldiers to provide themselves with such provision for ten days, as required no dressing, hoping by this contrivance to avoid lighting fires. But after five days march he and his forces found the cold so intense, that to preserve themselves from perishing, they were forced to make fires in the night. Some shepherds who were upon the hills that bounded these deserts, perceiving the fires, dispatched messengers on dromedaries to carry advice to the confederate generals, who instantly called a council, wherein they shewed all the marks of terror and confusion, and acknowledging the miserable situation of their affairs, as the different bodies of troops were quartered at such a distance from one another, they neither proposed nor resolved on any method for defence. Eumenes observing their distress, informed them, that he would undertake to retard the march of the enemy for four or five days, if in the interim they would assemble the troops. This promise, which to them appeared impossible to be fulfilled, they readily accepted, and immediately transferred to Eumenes the command of the troops which lay nearest the scene of action.

As soon as Eumenes could draw them together, he marched directly towards the enemy, and when he was near enough for them to see the fires in his camp, he extended his troops as much in front, as if the whole confederate army had been collected. Antigonus seeing so many fires, concluded that Eumenes, having intelligence of his march, had led all his troops out of fresh quarters to meet him; he therefore quitted the road of the desert, and turned off through towns and villages, that his soldiers might receive some refreshment, and not be obliged to fight at a disadvantage against the fresh forces of the enemy. This motion was exactly what Eumenes foresaw, and consequently at the time Antigonus by the ordinary road arrived on the frontiers, the whole confederate army was assembled, and ready to give him battle, which Antigonus did not decline. In the private councils held by

but is disappointed by a stratagem of Eumenes.

the generals and governors of provinces, it was unanimously determined to make use of Eumenes in the approaching battle, and then to rid themselves of him; for they saw clearly, in matters of moment, they neither considered each other, nor were considered by the army; but his advice and his conduct only were relied on. Eudamus and Phadimus, two principal officers in the army, gave Eumenes notice of his dangerous situation, not out of any regard to him, but because he was very deeply in their debt. As soon as he was acquainted with this treacherous conspiracy, he retired to his tent, and put all his papers out of the way, that in case of the worst none of his friends might be prejudiced; he then considered whether it might not be possible for him to escape into Cappadocia; but then reflecting that his escape would be abdicating his command, and giving up the cause of Alexander's family, he generously resolved to die, as he had lived, with the glory of never having done a base or unbecoming action. This resolution being taken, he encouraged the soldiers, the greater part of whom were well affected to him, and saluted him with loud acclamations. Eumenes thanked them for those marks of their favour, and disposed all things for a battle, never divulging any part of the information he had received, though he could not help saying sometimes to his intimate friends, that he lived amongst wild beasts, by whom he expected some time or other to be torn in pieces.

Battle between Eumenes and Antigonus.

Antigonus seizes his baggage.

The battle was fought on the sea-shore, and Eumenes having the advantage in infantry, effectually routed the phalanx of Antigonus; but the enemy's cavalry had the advantage, through the base treachery of Pucestas. Antigonus, who was alike present to himself in all circumstances, perceiving that the engagement had raised a small white dust by the violent tossing of the sand, made use of the obscurity of the air to wheel round the army of Eumenes, and to possess himself of the baggage; a contrivance which availed him more than a victory would have done. The forces of Eumenes returning into their camp, and being made acquainted with the loss of their baggage, women and children, were ready to mutiny. Teutamus, who commanded a battalion of the silver-shields, and who had long inclined to Antigonus, took this opportunity of sending to him, and demanding of him the booty he had lately taken. Antigonus returned him for answer, that he would willingly restore to the silver-shields

shield the baggage, and all things that belonged to them, and would be ready to do them what farther favour they should request, provided they would grant him one in their turn, which was, to deliver up Eumenes, a stranger, a person once condemned by the Macedonians, and who had since attained power enough to do them considerable mischiefs. The silver-shields immediately cloted with this proposition, scandalous as it was, and gathering about their unsuspecting general, seized his sword, pinioned his arms behind him, and in this plight prepared to deliver him up who had so long protected them from their enemies. As soon as that illustrious person perceived what they were about, he most earnestly desired that he might have leave to speak to them, which when he had obtained, he in a very pathetic oration shewed them the folly and ill consequences of such a procedure, besides the disgrace that it would bring upon them. He concluded with this petition, that since they were determined to part with their general to regain their lumber, they would have the goodness to put him to death with their own hands, and not to deliver him up to his and their old enemy Antigonus, whom, under his command, they had so often beaten. The rest of the army wept and lamented, but the silver-shields cried out, "Away with him! let us hear none of his fine speeches; carry him to Antigonus, and bring us again our wives and children." This treachery was acted accordingly; and Antigonus, in pursuance of his promise, delivered up the baggage with all the women and children.

Eumenes delivered up to Antigonus by his own men.

As to Eumenes, when those who had him in custody demanded how he should be kept? "As you would keep an elephant or a lion," answered their general. The fate of Asia was now decided; for Eumenes being given up, the governors submitted upon the best terms they could obtain, suflering their troops to be incorporated into those of Antigonus. The only point which remained to be settled was the fate of the captive general. At first he was not only very strictly confined, but loaded with heavy irons; but, after some time, Antigonus was prevailed on to command part of the irons to be taken off, to allow him a servant to wait on him, and to permit his friends to visit him. While things continued in this state, Eumenes would often say to those who came to him, "I wonder Antigonus protracts my affairs thus; and that he has not courage enough to put me to death as an enemy, or by

The governors of Asia submit to Antigonus.

*Eumenes
put to
death.*

*His enemies
severely
punished.*

*Antigonus
resolves to
change the
governors
in all the
provinces.*

*Puts Pithon
to death.*

setting me free to make me his friend." There was indeed a party in the army of Antigonus, at the head of whom was Demetrius his son, who solicited him to set Eumenes free, supposing that this benefit would have bound him to his interest. But the rest of his friends, and the bulk of the army, earnestly entreated Antigonus to put him to death; an infamous advice which he actually followed, when the army was about to march. However, he and all his troops assisted with great solemnity at his funeral. After the body was burnt, he caused the ashes to be put into a silver urn, and ordered them to be transmitted to his wife and children in Cappadocia. Hieronymus, the Cardian, his most intimate friend, was taken by Antigonus into his favour and councils. Antigones, commander in chief of the silver-shields, was by his order put into a coffin, and burnt alive. Eudamus, Celbanus, and many others of the enemies of Eumenes, experienced a like fate^a.

Antigonus had now nothing in view but the executing of his old scheme of making himself lord of Asia; in order to which he resolved to sacrifice all such as he suspected, all who had obstinately opposed him, and all who by the fickleness of their conduct had shewn they were not to be depended on by any party. In the first place he resolved to take off Pithon, who had done him such eminent service; but who, while they were in winter-quarters in Media, had been tampering with the soldiers. Antigonus, to carry on his design, discountenanced those who objected to Pithon's conduct, gave out to his friends that he intended to make him governor of all the upper provinces, and under this pretence drew him from his own province of Media; but as soon as he got him into his hands, he called a council of war, wherein charging him with treason, those who had formerly been concerned with him were now ready to give him up; so that he was convicted, and instantly executed. Antigonus appointed Orontobates, a Mede, governor of Media, but made Hippostratus general of the forces, which he left for the preservation of the province. *Such of the governors as he found could not be dispossessed, he confirmed in their provinces. He sent for Sybirtius, governor of Aracofia, in whom he confided. To this man he transferred the command of the

^a Diodor. Sicul. Plut. & Corn. Nepos, ubi supra. Justin. lib. xii, esp. 2.

silver-shields, openly affirming that they would serve him to awe the barbarous nations; but giving him privately to understand that it was his desire they should be put out of the way as expeditiously as possible, as a race of seditious villains unworthy of returning to Greece. These precautions being taken, he stripped Peucestas of the government of Persia, where he was much beloved, and appointed Asclepiodorus in his stead. All the money and valuable curiosities which were in the treasury of Susa he seized, to the value of fifteen thousand talents, and out of the spoils and treasure he found in other places, he collected ten thousand talents more, with which prodigious mass of wealth, he doubted not to carry all his designs into execution*.

*Amasses
immense
wealth.*

When the season of the year permitted, he marched with all his army to Babylon, where Seleucus was governor. This man had done the highest services to Antigonus, who through his means had possessed the citadel of Susa, with all the wealth it contained. After all his services, Antigonus demanded an account of the revenues of the province, which demand plainly discovered, that he looked on him as a more dependent. Seleucus, however, was very far from making any servile submissions, or even endeavouring to temporize any longer with a man whom he esteemed no more than his equal. He told him the province of Babylon was conferred upon himself by the Macedonians as the reward of his services, and that therefore he did not conceive he was any more obliged to give an account than Antigonus had a right to demand it. But when he had considered attentively the great power of Antigonus, and the small capacity he had of resisting him, he began to conceive that he was in no small danger, especially when he recollected the fates of Eumenes, Pithon, and Peucestas: to secure himself, therefore, from such treatment as they met with, and to escape being either murdered or deposed, he with fifty horse made his escape, in order to fly to Ptolemy. Antigonus, rejoiced exceedingly at his flight, extremely pleased that he had got possession of the province, without proceeding harshly with his old friend, and a man in high credit with the army, supposing that now he should dispose of every thing according to his pleasure. But when the Chaldean priests informed him, they, by their astrological

*He marches
to Babylon.*

* Diodor. Sicul. Plut. & Corn. Nepos, ubi supra.

*Attempts to
seize Seleu-
cus;*

*who is sup-
ported by
Ptolemy,
Lyfima-
chus, and
Cassander.*

*Yr. of Fl.
2034-
Ante Chr.
314.*

*Antigonus
seizes Sy-
ria and
Phœnicia.*

rules, were certain, that if Seleucus escaped at present, he would be in process of time not only a formidable, but successful enemy, Antigonus was much alarmed; remembering how these people had foretold the death of Hephæstion, as well as that of Alexander. Terrified therefore with gloomy apprehensions, he detached some chosen squadrons of horse to seize Seleucus; but he had already reached the territories of Ptolemy, where he remained in perfect safety. The chagrin this accident gave Antigonus made him redouble his diligence, in disposing of the remainder of the provinces to his own advantage. Before he had well taken these precautions, Seleucus had raised him such a number of enemies, that he found it difficult to defend himself. Ptolemy, Lyfimachus, Cassander, all leagued with Seleucus, in order to reduce the power of Antigonus, that they might themselves be secure in their possessions: though Alexander, the son of Roxana, was still living, yet Cassander imprisoned both him and his mother, and treated them only as private persons. Antigonus openly inveighed against Cassander's conduct, and alleged that he himself took up arms to vindicate the rights of the royal house; whereas in truth he was the first who openly invaded them by assuming sovereign power, though he did not indeed at present take upon him the title of king.

As Antigonus, immediately after the escape of Seleucus had marched into Cilicia, in order to refresh and recruit his army, so when he was thoroughly informed of the confederacy set on foot against him, he determined to proceed first to hostilities, and to secure the provinces of Syria and Phœnicia, at present in the hands of Ptolemy. He perfectly discerned, that in case of a war against so many princes, his being master at sea would be of the last importance; and he hoped, by conquering these countries, not only to have the Syrian and Phœnician ports, but also their shipping at his command. In the former design he succeeded, yet with great difficulty; but in the latter he was totally disappointed. Joppa and Gaza he reduced by force; as for Tyre, it sustained a siege for many months; and, with respect to the shipping, Ptolemy seeing what would happen, had withdrawn them to Egypt. However, Antigonus persisted in his former resolution of being master of the sea. He ordered vast

† Diod. Plut. ubi supra.

quantities

quantities of timber to be cut down on Mount Libanus, and other places in his dominions, which being sent to the nearest ports, he had a numerous fleet immediately upon the stocks. But, while Antigonus was intent upon these important affairs, the army of Cassander made a great progress in the Lesser Asia^q.

To remedy this evil, Antigonus marched thither with a great part of his army, leaving his son Demetrius with the rest to preserve the conquests he had made in Syria and Phœnicæ. That prince was not above twenty-two years old, but of abilities far beyond his years; brave and generous, well versed in war, and a great despiser of those arts by which cunning men require reputation for wisdom. He was kind to his friends, gentle to his enemies, and had an innate clemency, uninfluenced by private designs or future prospects. If his greatness had not supplied him with flatterers, who seduced him to plunge into the grosser vices, he would have been the worthiest, as well as one of the most remarkable princes of the age in which he lived. His amiable qualities gained him the love of the army committed by his father to his charge, and he became very agreeable to the inhabitants of the provinces over which he presided for the space of a year. In that interval his father made war upon Cassander, and so effectually humbled him, that he was content to make a peace on very indifferent terms, which, however, he soon broke, and joined again with Ptolemy and Seleucus^r.

*Antigonus
repels Cas-
sander.*

*Demetri-
us's cha-
racter.*

The diversion given by Cassander to the arms of Antigonus, afforded Ptolemy an opportunity of making a descent in Cœle Syria, and afterwards in Cilicia, from which province he carried great spoils into Egypt. On his return thither Seleucus instigated him to invade Syria and Phœnicia, shewing how detrimental it was to his affairs for these provinces to remain in the hands of his enemies. Ptolemy began instantly to make all the necessary preparations for a war in those parts. At last, when all things were in readiness, he entered Syria with a numerous army; but he advanced no farther than Gaza, when Demetrius put a stop to his progress by offering him battle; a general engagement ensued, which was very obstinate and bloody; it ended, however, in the

*Ptolemy
recovers
Syria.*

^q Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra. Plut. in Demetrio. Justin. lib. xiv.
^r Diodor. & Plut. ubi supra.

*Demetrius
defeated by
Ptolemy.*

total overthrow of Demetrius, who lost thirteen thousand men, killed or taken prisoners, by the enemy. Among the former was Python, whom his father had assigned him for his colleague; he had been a principal officer in the army of Alexander, was a man of great abilities, and after the death of Eumenes had been received by Antigonus into the first place of his confidence and esteem. After this rout Demetrius retired, with the remains of his army, to Azotus, from whence he sent deputies to Ptolemy to beg leave to bury his dead, which favour was not only granted him, but Ptolemy and Seleucus sent him back his royal pavilion, his whole equipage, and all the prisoners who had any dependence on his family. Demetrius finding it impossible for him to make head against the victorious army, abandoned Phœnicia, Palestine, and Syria, to the victor. Tyre, indeed, made some resistance: Andronicus commanded there, who, not long before, had taken it for Antigonus. He was a man of spirit, and therefore absolutely refused to part with a place of such importance. The city, therefore, was invested, but in a little time the garrison mutinied, and Andronicus was forced to surrender it to Ptolemy, who had now recovered all that Antigonus had taken from him.

*Seleucus
recovers
the pro-
vince of
Babylon.*

Seleucus took this opportunity of requesting his friend to comply with the promise he had made him, of furnishing him with a body of troops for the recovery of the province of Babylon. Ptolemy very readily agreed to it, and assigned him a thousand foot, and three hundred horse, with which inconsiderable assistance Seleucus not only possessed himself of Babylon, but also of Media and Susiana, after having defeated Nicanor, who was governor of the former province for Antigonus. While Seleucus proceeded thus triumphantly, Ptolemy met with a very unlucky accident; he had sent Cilles, his general, with a considerable army, to drive Demetrius out of Upper Syria, where he, with the remains of his army still continued. This Cilles, being a bold improvident man, contemned an enemy so often beaten; for Demetrius had been driven from post to post after the battle of Gaza, without being able to make any considerable stand; and Cilles doubted not but he would now retire as fast as he should press upon him. Demetrius having intelligence of his self-sufficiency, resolved to repair the false step he had made at Gaza. He sent a small party of horse to view the camp of Cilles, and being informed that all things there

*Cilles, one
of Ptolemy's
generals,
defeated by
Demetrius.*

were

were in a very careless condition, he instantly determined to fall upon them; which resolution he executed with such celerity, that he totally defeated the enemy, and took Cilles himself, with seven thousand men, prisoners. This action, as it contributed much to the glory of Demetrius, and to the interest of his father Antigonus, so it gave the former an opportunity of returning that civility with which Ptolemy had behaved after the battle of Gaza, in restoring the principal prisoners. Demetrius immediately set back Cilles, and all his friends, to the camp of Ptolemy, with the same compliment that had formerly been made to himself, that he fought not so much for interest as for glory. As soon as Antigonus, who was at that time in Phrygia, received advice of this victory, he instantly passed Mount Taurus, and marched, with all imaginable speed, to join his son. This junction being effected, they marched, with all their forces, against Ptolemy, who clearly perceiving that he should not be able to resist so numerous an army, flushed with victory, demolished most of the cities which were fortified in the provinces he had conquered, and then retired into Egypt with an immense load of spoil and a vast number of people, not prisoners, but who voluntarily followed his fortunes. Thus the provinces of Syria, Phœnicia, and Judæa returned again to their old master*.

Antigonus recovers the provinces he had lost.

Antigonus, elated with this rapid change of fortune, conceived a desire of subduing the Nabathæans, or Arabs, inhabiting the deserts bordering on Judæa. Against these he detached his general Athenæus, who at first proceeded very cautiously in his expedition; for, having with him but four thousand foot, and six hundred horse, he knew that, in attacking so numerous a people, conduct would be of greater use than courage. He had intelligence that most of the Arabs were gone to a mart or fair, where they bartered their commodities with the Syrians; and that, on this account, their chief city, Petra, where they left their wives, their children, and their wealth, was but slenderly guarded. Upon this intelligence he marched with his forces three days and three nights, at an incredible rate; for, if there is no mistake in Diodorus, they must have gone sixty miles in twenty-four hours. This expedition effectually answered their end, for they invested the place before the Arabs had the least intimation of their approach; and having cut

Yr. of Fl.
2037.
Ante Chr.
311.

Antigonus makes war on the Arabs. Petra surprised.

* Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra. Plut. in Demetrio.

*His army
cut off by
the Arabs.*

the guards to pieces, plundered the city. Having carried away a prodigious booty, besides five hundred talents in ready money, they marched back again about twenty miles, when, through excessive fatigue, they were constrained to halt. As they lay in a careless manner, the Arabs, who had by this time intelligence of what had happened, followed them with such expedition, that, surrounding their camp, they put all to the sword, sixty horse excepted, who made their escape at the beginning of the attack. The Arabs, not satisfied with this carnage, sent immediately deputies to Antigonus, to complain of the injury offered them by Athenæus, and to shew the necessity they were under of treating him and his troops in this manner. Antigonus, knowing that it was not in his power to revenge what had happened at present, sent them for answer, that Athenæus had made this expedition without orders, and that he was very well pleased at the chastisement he had received. The Arabs, who knew how to dissemble as well as he, feigned to be perfectly well satisfied of the truth of what he said; but, in the mean time, they posted advanced guards at all the avenues into their country, and placed men in all their watch-towers, to prevent their being surpris'd again in the same manner.

*Demetrius
sent against
them.*

Their suspicions and precautions were just; for Antigonus, as soon as he had recruited his army, sent his son Demetrius with four thousand light-armed foot, and as many horse, to revenge the death of Athenæus. The young prince, at the head of his forces, passed in three days through the desert; but when he arrived at the city of Petra, he found it well garrisoned, and understood that the country being thoroughly alarmed, all the cattle, and whatever else was worth taking away, had been long since secured. However, he caused it to be invested, and afterwards formally besieged the place; the garrison, however, made an obstinate defence, and refused to listen to any terms, declaring, that if they could have borne slavery, they need not have retired from the world, and placed all hopes of safety in the strength of a fortress, and their own valour. Demetrius, therefore, finding that this would be a work of time, and knowing that his retreat would be attended with great hazard, gave the besieged to understand, that provided they sent deputies to appease his father Antigonus, made himself certain presents, and sent refreshments to his army, he would be

*Besieges
Petra, but
is glad to
compound
with the
Arabs.*

content

content to leave them. With these proposals they immediately complied, and Demetrius thereupon marched back to the lake of Asphaltites, of which he caused an exact description to be made, as also some computation to be framed of the profit of the bitumen taken from thence, and of the quantity of balm gathered from the famous plantation not far from that place, so much admired and prized under the name of the Balm of Gilead. Finally, he returned to his father, and gave him an account of his proceedings. Antigonus was very little pleased with the peace he had concluded with the Nabathians; but highly applauded his son's discoveries, especially on account of the profit he hoped to make of the bitumen and balm. He appointed, therefore, Hieronymus, the Cardian, one of the friends of Eumenes, and now his own, to superintend those he sent to the lake to collect all the bitumen they could find, and to carry it to a place assigned, in order to be sold for his own use. Hieronymus, who was now a man in years, executed his commission with all the prudence and fidelity imaginable; neither did he meet with any interruption from the Arabs, all they had collected the bitumen, and were carrying it away. Then with six thousand men they came down, surrounded those who were employed in the work, and having cut most of them to pieces, carried the bitumen clear off. Hieronymus himself escaped; and thus ended all attempts upon the Arabians.

As soon as Antigonus had received advice of the progress made by Seleucus in the East, he determined to send his son Demetrius with an army to oppose him. This army consisted of five thousand Macedonian foot, ten thousand mercenaries, and four thousand horse, with whom the prince immediately marched towards Babylon. Seleucus was at this time in Media, intent on settling his affairs in the upper provinces. Patroclus, whom he had left president of Babylon, perceiving that his force would not be able to resist the army of Demetrius, compelled the citizens of Babylon to abandon the place; he then withdrew himself and his troops into such fastnesses as he thought would effectually enable them to make a vigorous defence. When Demetrius entered Babylon, he to his great amazement found it deserted, except the castles, in which there were good garrisons, both of which he

*Demetrius
sent against
Seleucus.*

*Seleucus
abandoned
Babylon.*

† Diodor. ubi supra. Plut. in Demetrio.

besieged;

besieged; one he quickly reduced, and gave the spoil to his soldiers; but the other holding out till the time was expired which his father had allotted for this expedition, Demetrius left five thousand foot, and a thousand horse, under the command of Archelaus, to carry on the siege, and with the rest of his forces marched away, suffering his soldiers to live, as he retired, at discretion (N).

Demetrius

(N) In this part of our work we make use of two authors, viz. Diodorus and Plutarch, who frequently differ from each other: it is therefore reasonable that we should acquaint our readers where, and upon what reasons, we prefer the one to the other; this we shall do in few words. Diodorus had in view the writing a complete body of history, and therefore he is very exact in his chronology, and very nice in his descriptions; with respect to both, using the best authorities that were to be had in his days. Plutarch intended his lives chiefly as a moral performance; and therefore he is more careful in marking characters, than in accurately digesting facts. On this account, in the order of time, and in the description of sieges and battles, we generally follow Diodorus; but as to personal circumstances, and what was either said or done by the kings themselves, we take Plutarch for our guide. On this occasion, it may be proper to mention a particular fact, wherein these historians do not agree, and wherein we have

taken the liberty to differ from a very judicious writer of our own nation. Diodorus informs us, that when Demetrius quitted Babylon, he left behind him Archelaus with five thousand foot, and a thousand horse, to besiege one of the castles; the other of which he told us Demetrius had taken and spoiled (1). Plutarch, in his account of this transaction affirms, that Demetrius put a garrison of seven thousand men in the castle which he had reduced; but he says nothing of his leaving an army behind him (2). Dean Priccaux joins these two facts together, and makes Demetrius leave a garrison of seven thousand men, and an army of six (3). It is expressly said by Diodorus, that his whole army consisted but of nineteen thousand men; it seems to us therefore improbable, that he should leave thirteen thousand behind him, and especially when we consider, that Plutarch says in so many words, he led back the gross of his army. If we may venture to offer a conjecture, we think it not impossible that Archelaus, when

(1) Diodor. Sicul. lib. xix.
& in Apophthegm. Reg.
New Testament, p. i. book viii.

(2) Plutarch in Demetrio,
(3) Connection of the Old with the

Demetrius marching into the Lesser Asia, and finding the city of Halicarnassus besieged by Ptolemy, he took such measures as obliged that prince to raise the siege. Immediately upon this event, the confederate princes entered into a treaty with Antigonus; in which it was stipulated, that Cassander should hold Macedonia; Lytimachus, Thrace; Ptolemy, Egypt and its dependencies; and Antigonus all Asia; with a proviso that the Grecian cities should every where be free. In this treaty it was also mentioned, that these provinces were held in trust only for Alexander Ægus, the son of Alexander the Great, by Roxana, who had now held the regal title seven years alone, that is, from the time his colleague Aridaus or Philip was murdered by Olympias. But very soon after this peace was made, Cassander, who had before put to death the mother of Alexander, caused his wife and son, now about fourteen years of age, to be privately slain by the keeper of the castle wherein they were confined. From this time, therefore, those who had been before governors of provinces were now sovereigns; and we might here very well commence the reign of Antigonus and his son Demetrius in Asia; but inasmuch as they did not assume the title of kings till some time afterwards, we are inclined to follow the example of Ptolemy, who notwithstanding the death of Alexander Ægus, reckons still by the years of his reign, till Ptolemy Soter assumed the regal title as well as authority.

A treaty between Antigonus and the confederate princes.

The wife and son of Alexander put to death by Cassander.

This peace was broke almost as soon as made, under pretence that Antigonus had put garrisons into some of the Greek cities. Ptolemy then invaded Cilicia, and took several cities, while the rest of his confederates attacked Antigonus elsewhere, all with very indifferent success. Demetrius was sent by his father into Cilicia to recover the cities there lost, a service which he effectually performed; but in the mean time Ptolemy reduced the greatest part of the island of Cyprus, which was of great advantage to him. Soon after, he made a descent into the Lesser Asia, where he made various conquests, as also in the Archipelago; he likewise entered into a treaty with

The treaty broke.

he found he could not reduce the other castle, repaired and garrisoned that which had been taken, with his corps of between six and seven thousand men. This reconciles both the stories, offers violence to neither, and is perfectly consistent with the rules of good sense, and of war.

Cleopatra,

Cleopatra, sister to Alexander the Great, who resided at Sardis, and had been solicited in marriage by Cassander, Antigonus, and Lyfimachus, but in vain; yet now either out of regard to Ptolemy, who was every where applauded for an excellent prince, or out of pique to Antigonus, she began to listen to the propositions made her, and actually attempted to make her escape to Ptolemy's camp. The governor of Sardis having intelligence of her design, caused her to be arrested, and afterwards put to death by her own women, in pursuance of the orders of Antigonus; though he absolutely disclaimed all knowledge of the fact; and, to make his innocence apparent, he ordered the heads of the women concerned to be struck off, and buried Cleopatra with great solemnity.

*Cleopatra,
the sister of
Alexander,
put to death
by Antigonus's
order.*

Yr. of Fl.
3042.
Ante Chr.
306.

*Demetrius
defeats Pto-
lemy in a
sea-fight.*

An eager thirst of glory stimulated Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, to undertake an expedition into Greece: his pretence was setting the Grecian cities free; his real intent, to aggrandize his father and himself, by lessening the power of Cassander, who had garrisoned many of them. We have, in the history of Greece, related how he dispossessed Cassander of those cities, which he left entirely at liberty; defeated Ptolemy in a sea-fight, and reduced the island of Cyprus. It was upon this occasion that the father took the title of king, putting a crown upon his own head, and sending another to his son, with a letter of congratulation, addressed "To the excellent majesty of king Demetrius." His example in this particular was followed by Ptolemy, Lyfimachus, Seleucus, and Cassander (O).

■ Diodorus Siculus, ubi supra. Plutarch in Demetrio. Justin. lib. xiv.

(O) It may seem strange, that so politic, as well as so ambitious a prince as Antigonus was, should thus associate his son in the empire, and permit him not only to wear the title of king, but to share also in the administration: but if we consider attentively this transaction, we shall agree, that in this he was more happy, than either in his titles, or in his kingdoms; for Demetrius was not only dutiful and loyal

to his father, but had so warm an affection for his person, that he was, in the strictest sense of the word, Antigonus's best friend. As all degrees of bliss are either heightened or lessened by comparison, so the happiness of Antigonus in this respect appeared with the brighter lustre on account of the family dissensions in the courts of his several rivals; of which he was so sensible, that having given audience one day

to

to the ambassadors of Cassander, Ptolemy, and Lyfimaachus, and they being withdrawn, he ordered them to be called back, because his son Demetrius coming in warm from hunting, went into his father's apartment, kissed him, and then sat down with his javelin in his hand. When the ambassadors demanded what his pleasure was, "Tell your masters (said Antigonus), besides what I before mentioned

to you, upon what terms my son and I live." The sense the father had of the son's inviolable attachment to him, made him so readily compliment him with the regal dignity; we shall see this old politician mistaken in many instances, but never in this, in which so many fathers have erred. But these events we reserve for the following section (1).

(1) Diodor. Plut. Justin. ubi supra.

